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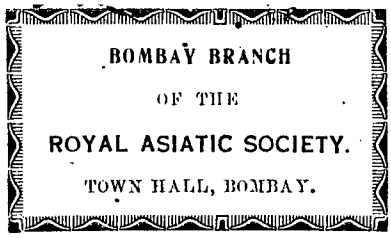

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Abra Marshall
1694

AERIUS REDIVIVUS:

OR, THE HISTORY OF THE Presbyterians.

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CONTAINING

The Beginnings, Progress and Successes of that active Sect. Their Oppositions to Monarchical and Episcopal Government. Their Innovations in the Church: and, Their Imbroylments of the Kingdoms and Estates of Christendom in the pursuit of their Designes.

From the Year 1536, to the Year 1647.

By PETER HEYLYN D.D.
And Chaplain to *Charles* the First, and *Charles* the Second, *MONARCHS of GREAT BRITAIN.*

OXFORD:
Printed for *Jo. Crosley*, and are to be sold in *London* by *Tho. Basset*, at the *George* neer *Cliffords*-Inne in *Fleetstreet*, and *Chr. Wilkinson*, at the *Black-Boy* over against S. *Dunstans* Church in *Fleetstreet*. 1670.

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To the Right Honorable,

The LORDS SPIRITUAL & TEMPORAL, and COMMONS in Parliament assembled.

May it please Your Honors,

You are here most humbly implored for the Patronage of a Post-humous *birth of my dear and honored Fathers Laborious mind, in the Cause of this Kingdoms profest and settled Religion. You may safely believe the Title-Page reports to You the true and genuine Author of the Book, but it's most humbly intreated that You would not: For if You rather please to read it, You will be assured of the Parent, by the Lineaments remarkable upon the Child; and therewith too receive, I hope, such satisfaction as may justly flow from the perusal of an* History, *which in some measure confirms the* Excellency *of those Laws* You *have devised, and* Sacred Majestie *confirm'd, for the Protection of that* Religion *and* Government You *profess and stand for. The Beauty, Justice and Prudence of the* Sanctions, *will not a little appear in the ill visage of that* Party, *whose* Rude humor *and* ungoverned Zeal *is here represented. It would be an*

immodeſt boldneſs in me to preſs Your belief with my Aſſertions of the happy performances herein. And they being for the moſt part but faithful Collections of matter of Fact, tranſacted by the Anceſtors of a Sect, to this day more then enough warm in the Bowels of theſe Kingdoms, are to ſtand and fall in Your Grave and Judicious opinions, according to their correſpondency with the Annals *of Your own and other Countreys. If I had nothing to plead for the* Publication *of this* Hiſtory; *but the zeal of a Son to preſerve his Fathers Off-ſpring from treading too cloſe after him to the Grave, I doubt not it would eaſily prevail with ſo much* Nobleneſs *as the* High *and* Honorable Court of Parliament *doth imply: But I am moreover apt to believe, that when Your* Wiſdoms *pleaſe to conſider, that the* Party *hereby proved peccant, are ſtill ſo far from Repentance, that they dare to boaſt their Innocency, and vie Loyalty and peaceable mindedneſs at the ſame rate (at leaſt) they did before our late* Troubles *and preſent* Diſtempers *made their* Turbulencies *and* Seditions *notorious; I may then reaſonably, I hope, beg Your favorable acceptance of this* Dedication; *or at leaſt depend upon that pardon from you, which the offended* Party *will be unwilling to allow to him, who though unworthy ſo great an honor, craves leave to ſubſcribe himſelf,*

(Right Honorable Lords and Gentlemen)

Your moſt Devoted and
Obedient Servant,

Henry Heylyn.

The Pre-

THE PREFACE

INtending a compleat Hiſtory of the *Presbyterians*, in all the Principles, Practices, and moſt remarkable Proceedings of that dangerous Sect; I am to take a higher aim then the time of *Calvin* (though he be commonly pretended for the Founder of it) and fetch their Pedigree from thoſe whoſe ſtepts they follow. For as our Saviour ſaid to ſome of the Jews, that they *were of their Father the Devil, and the works of their Father they would do:* So by their works, that is to ſay, by the Opinions which they hold, the Doctrines which they preach, and the Diſturbances by them made in theſe parts of Chriſtendom, we may beſt find from what Original they derive themſelves. I know that ſome, out of pure zeal unto the Cauſe, would fain intitle them to a deſcent from the Jewiſh *Sanhedrim*, ordained by God himſelf in the time of *Moſes*. And that it might comply the better with their ends and purpoſes, they have endeavoured to make that famous Conſiſtory of the Seventy Elders, not onely a co-ordinate power with that

of *Moſes*, and after his deceaſe with the Kings and Princes of that State in this Publick Government; but a Power Paramount and Supreme, from which lay no appeal to any but to God himſelf: A power by which they were enabled not onely to controul the actions of their Kings and Princes, but alſo to correct their perſons. Which as I can by no means grant to be inveſted in the *Sanhedrim* by God himſelf, or otherwiſe uſurped and practiſed by them in the times of that Monarchy; though poſſibly they might predominate in thoſe times and intervals in which there was no King in *Iſrael* (as ſuch times there were:) ſo neither can I yield unto the Presbyterians any ſuch Prerogative, as to derive themſelves and their pretenſions, whether it be over Kings or Biſhops, from the Jewiſh *Sanhedrim*. And yet I ſhall not grutch them an Antiquity as great as that which they deſire, as great as that of *Moſes* or the Jewiſh *Sanhedrim*, from which they would ſo willingly derive themſelves.

For if we look upon them in their profeſſed oppoſition, as well to all Monarchical as Epiſcopal Government, we cannot but give them an Extraction from that famous Triumvirate, *Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, combined in a Deſign againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, againſt the Chief-Prieſt and the Supreme Prince; though otherwiſe of different Families, and having different Counſels amongſt themſelves. For *Dathan* and *Abiram* were deſcended from the Line of *Reuben*, the eldeſt Son of Father *Jacob*; and therefore thought themſelves more capable of the Soveraign Power then *Moſes*, who deſcended from a younger houſe. And *Korah* thought himſelf as much neglected, in ſeeing *Elizaphan* the Son of *Uzziel* to have been made the Prince of the *Kohathites* (the principal Family of the *Levites* next to that of *Gerſon*) when he himſelf deſcended of the elder Brother. Nor was he able to diſcern, but that if there were any ſuch neceſſity of having one Prieſt above the reſt in place and power, the Mitre might ſit

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as well upon his head as on that of *Aaron*, whoſe readineſs in complying with the peoples humor in ſetting up the Golden-Calf, had rendred him uncapable of ſo great a truſt. Having conferred their notes, and compared their grievances, they were reſolved to right themſelves, and to have neither any Chief-Prieſt or Soveraign Prince to lord it over them; but to erect a parity both in Sacred and Civil matters, as moſt agreeable to the temper of a free-born Nation. They had got little, elſe, by being ſet at liberty from the Houſe of Bondage, if they ſhould now become the Vaſſals of their Fathers Children. But firſt they were to form their party; and they did it wiſely, drawing no fewer then two hundred and fifty of the chief men of the Aſſembly to conſpire with them in the Plot. And that they might allure the people to adhere unto them, they flatter them with an hope of an abſolute Freedom, and ſuch a power in Sacred matters, as ſhould both authorize and juſtifie their approaches to the holy Altar, without the intervention of Prieſt or Prelate. Which being done, they boldly ſhew themſelves againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*; and told them plainly to their faces, that they took more upon them then belonged to either; that all the Congregation was holy, every one of them, in regard that God appeared ſo viſibly amongſt them; and therefore that they had done that which they could not juſtifie, in lifting themſelves above the Congregation of the Lord. In which it is to be obſerved, that though ſome of the chief Princes of the Houſe of *Dan*, and perhaps many alſo of the other Tribes, did appear in the Action; yet it is plainly called in Scripture, *The Gain-ſaying of Korah*; either becauſe the practice was of his Contrivement, or chiefly carried on by the power and credit which he and his Accomplices of the Tribe of *Levi* had gained amongſt the common people, by reaſon of their Intereſts and Concernments in Sacred matters: ſo excellent are the opportunities which are afforded to unquiet and ſeditious men, when either by a ſeeming zeal to the Worſhip of God, or

by ſome ſpecial place and intereſt in his Publick Service, they are become conſiderable in the eyes of the Vulgar.

Theſe were the firſt ſeeds of thoſe dangerous Doctrines, and moſt unwarrantable practices, which afterwards brought forth ſuch ſad effects toward the latter end of the Jewiſh State, when the Phariſees began to draw unto themſelves the managing of all affairs, both Sacred and Civil. They were not ignorant of that high diſpleaſure, which God had manifeſtly ſhewn againſt the principal Authors of that firſt Sedition, who under the pretence of regulating the Authority of his two Chief Miniſters, had put a baffle, as it were, upon God himſelf, whoſe Servants and Miniſters they were. The Phariſees therefore were content, that both the Chief-Prieſt and the Supreme Prince ſhould ſtill preſerve their rank and ſtation, as in former times; but ſo, that neither of them ſhould be able to act any thing of weight and moment, but as directed by their counſels, and influenced by their aſſiſtance. For the obtaining of which point, what arts they uſed, what practices they ſet on foot, and by what artifices they prevailed upon mens affections; as alſo into what calamities they plunged that Nation by the abuſe of their Authority, having once obtained it, ſhall be laid down at large in the following Hiſtory. All the particulars whereof, the Reader is deſired to obſerve diſtinctly, that he may ſee how punctually the Presbyterians of our times have played the Phariſees; as well in the getting of their power by leſſening the Authority both of Prince and Prelate, as in exaſperating the people to a dangerous War for the deſtruction of them both; the calling in of Foreign forces to abet their quarrel; the fractions and diviſions amongſt themſelves; and the moſt woful Deſolation which they have brought upon the happieſt and moſt flouriſhing Church which the Sun of Righteouſneſs ever ſhined on ſince the Primitive times. *Nec ovum ovo, nec lac lacti ſimilius.*

similius. *Jupiter* could not make himself more like *Amphitrio*, nor *Mercury* play the part of *Sosia* with more resemblance, then the ensuing Story may be parallel'd in our late Combustions; Actor for Actor, Part for Part, and Line for Line; there being nothing altered (in a manner) in that fearful Tragedie, but the Stage or Theatre.

Change the Stage from *Palestine*, or the Realm of *Juda*, and we shall see the same Play acted over again in many parts and Provinces of the Christian Church. In which we finde the Doctrines of the Pharisees revived by some; their Hypocrisie, or pretended Purity, taken up by others; their Artifices to encrease their party in the gaining of Proselytes, embraced and followed by a third, till they grew formidable to those powers under which they lived; and finally, the same Confusions introduced in all parts of Christendom, in which their counsels have been followed. Which I shall generally reduce under these four heads; that is to say, The practices of the *Novatians* in the North; the *Arrians* in the East; the *Donatists* in *Affrick*, or the the Southern parts; and the *Priscillianists* in the Western. The arts and subtilties of the Pharisees were at first suppos'd to be too Heterogeneous to be all found in any one Sect of Hereticks amongst the Christians, till they were all united in the Presbyterians; the Sects or Hereticks above mentioned, participating more or less of their dangerous counsels, as they conceived it necessary to advance their particular ends: In the pursuance of which ends, as the *Arrians* ventured upon many points which were not known to the *Novatians*, and the *Donatists* upon many more, which were never practised by the *Arrians*; so the *Priscillianists* did as much exceed the *Donatists* in the arts of mischief, as they themselves have been exceeded by the *Presbyterians* in all the lamentable consequents and effects thereof: which I desire the Reader to consider distinctly, that he may be his own *Plutarch*, in fitting them, and every

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one of them with a perfect parallel in reference to thoſe men, whoſe Hiſtory I ſhall draw down from the time of *Calvin* unto theſe our days, tracing it from *Geneva* into *France*, from *France* into the *Netherlands*, from the *Netherlands* to *Scotland*, and from thence to *England*: And in this ſearch I ſhall adventure upon nothing but what is warranted by the Teſtimony of unqueſtioned Authors, from whoſe ſence I ſhall never vary, though I may finde it ſometimes neceſſary not to uſe their words. And by ſo doing, I ſhall keep my ſelf unto the rules of a right Hiſtorian, in delivering nothing but the Truth; without omitting any thing for fear, or ſpeaking any thing in favour of the adverſe party, but as I ſhall be juſtified by good Authors.

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Adverviſement of Books newly printed.

The Hiſtory of the late Wars in *Denmark*; comprizing all the Tranſactions, both Military and Civil, during the differences betwixt the two Northern Crowns, in the years 1657, 1658, 1659, 1660. Illuſtrated with ſeveral Maps. By *R. Manley.*

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A Help to Engliſh Hiſtory: Containing a Succeſſion of all the Kings of *England*, the Engliſh Saxons, and the Britains; the Kings and Princes of *Wales*, the Kings and Lords of *Man*, the Iſle of *Wight*: As alſo, of all the Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls and Biſhops thereof; with the deſcription of the places from whence they had their Titles: continued and enlarged with the names and ranks of the Viſcounts, Barons and Baronets, to the year 1669. By *Peter Heylyn.*

AERIUS REDIVIVUS:

OR,

The History

Of the

PRESBYTERIANS.

LIB. I.

Containing

The first institution of Presbyterie *in the Town of* Geneva; *the Arts and Practices by which it was imposed on the neck of that City, and pressed upon all the Churches of the Reformation; together with the dangerous Principles and Positions of the chief Countrivers, in the pursuance of that project, from the year* 1536, *to the year* 1585.

AT such time as it pleased God to raise up *Martin Luther*, a Divine of *Saxonie*, to write against the errours and corruptions of the Church of *Rome*; *Ulderick Zuinglius*, a Cannon of the Church of *Zurick*, endeavoured the like Reformation amongst the *Switzers*; but holding no intelligence with one another, they travailed divers ways in pursuance of it; which first produced some Animosities between themselves, not to be reconciled by a personal Conference, which by the *Lantgrave* of *Hassia* was procured between them; but after- 1517.

afterwards occasioned far more obstinate ruptures between the followers of the parties in their several stations. The *Zuinglian* Reformation was begun in defacing Images, decrying the established Fasts and appointed Festivals, abolishing set forms of worship, denying the old Catholick Doctrine of a real presence, and consequently all external reverence in the participation of the blessed Sacrament; which *Luther* seriously laboured to preserve in the same estate, in which he found them at the present: They differed also in the Doctrine of Predestination, which *Luther* taught according to the current of the ancient Fathers, who lived and flourished before the writings of St. *Augustine*; so that the *Romanists* had not any thing to except against in that particular, when it was canvassed by the School-men in the Council of *Trent*. But *Zuinglius* taught, as was collected from his writings, "That God was the total cause of all our Works, both good "and evil; that the Adultery of *David*, the cruelty of *Manlius*, "and the treason of *Judas*, were the works of God, as well as the "vocation of *Saul*; that no man hath power to think well or ill, "but that all cometh of absolute necessity; that man doth no-"thing towards his Predestination, or Reprobation, but all is in "the Will of God; that the Predestinate cannot be condemned, "nor the Reprobate saved; that the Elect and Predestinate are "truely justified; that the justified are bound by Faith to believe "they are in the number of the Predestinated; that the justified "cannot fall from Grace, but is rather bound to believe, that "if he chance to fall from Grace, he shall receive it again; "and finally, that those who are not in the number of the Pre-"destinate, shall never receive Grace, though offered to them. Which difference being added unto that of the Sacrament, and eagerly pursued on both sides, occasioned such a mortal and implacable hatred between the parties, that the *Lutherans* have solemnly vowed rather to fall off roundly to the Church of *Rome*, then yeild to those *Predestinarian* and *Sacramentary pestilences*, as they commonly called them. But *Zuinglius* in the mean time carried it amongst the *Switzers*; five of those thirteen Cantons entertain his Doctrine, the like did also divers Towns and Seignories which lay neareſt to them; of which *Geneva* in a short time became most considerable.

2. *Geneva* is a City of the *Alpian* Provinces belonging anciently to the *Allobroges*, and from thence called *Aurelia Allobrogum* by some Latine writers; scituated on the South-side of the Lake *Lemane*, opposite to the City of *Lozanne* in the Canton of *Berne*, from which it is distant six Dutch Miles: the River *Rhosno* (having passed through the lake with so clear a colour, that it seemeth not at all to mingle with the waters of it) runeth through the lower part thereof, over which there is a passage by two fair Bridges; one of them the more ancient, and the the better fortified, belonging heretofore to the old *Helvetians*, but broken down by *Julius Cesar*, to hinder them from passing

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that way into *Gallia*. The compaſs of the whole City not above two Miles, the Buildings fair, and for the moſt part of Free-ſtone; the number of the inhabitants about ſeventeen thouſand, and the whole Territory not exceeding a Diameter of ſix Leagues where it is at the largeſt. Brought under the obedience of the *Romans* by the power of *Cæſar*, it continued a member of that Empire; till the *Burgundians*, in the time of *Honorius*, poſſeſſed themſelves of all thoſe *Gallick* Provinces which lay toward the *Alpes*. In the Diviſion of thoſe Kingdoms by *Charles* the *Bald*, it was made a part of *Burgundie*, called *Tranſjurana*, becauſe it lay beyond the *Jour*; and was by him conferred on *Conrade* a *Saxon* Prince, ſon of Duke *Witibind* the third, and younger brother of *Robert* the firſt Earl of *Anjow*. At the expiring of whoſe line, by which it had been held under ſeveral Titles of King, Earl and Duke; it was by *Rodolph* the laſt Prince, beſtowed on the Emperour *Henry*, ſirnamed the Black, as his neareſt kinſman; and by that means united to the *Germane* Empire, governed by ſuch Imperial Officers as were appointed by thoſe Emperours to their ſeveral Provinces; till by the weakneſs or improvidence of the Lords in Chief, thoſe Officers made themſelves Hereditary Princes in their ſeveral Territories.

3. In which diviſion of the prey, the City and Signiory of *Geneva*, which before was governed by Officiary and Titular Earls, accountable to the *German* Empire; was made a Soveraign Eſtate under its own Proprietary Earls, as the ſole Lords of it. Betwixt theſe and the Biſhops (Suffragans to the Archbiſhop of *Vienna* in *Dauphine*) grew many quarrels for the abſolute command thereof. In time, the Biſhops did obtain of the Emperour *Frederick* the firſt, that they and their Succeſſors ſhould be the ſole Princes of *Geneva*, free from all taxes, and not accountable to any but the Emperours: which notwithſtanding, the Earl continuing ſtill to moleſt the Biſhops, they were fain to call unto their aid the Earl of *Savoy*, who took upon him firſt as Protector onely, but afterwards as Lord in Chief. For when the Rights of the Earls of *Geneva*, by the Marriage of *Thomas*, Earl of *Savoy*, with *Beatrix* a Daughter of the Earls, fell into that houſe; then *Ame* or *Amade*, the firſt of that name, obtain'd of the Emperour, *Charles* the Fourth, to be *Vicar-General* of the Empire in his own Country, and in that right Superiour to the Biſhop in all Temporal matters: and *Ame*, or *Amade* the firſt Duke got from Pope *Martin* (to the great prejudice of the Biſhops) a grant of all the Temporal juriſdictions of it. After which time the Biſhops were conſtrained to do homage to the Dukes of *Savoy*, and acknowledge them for their Soveraign Lords: the Authority of the Dukes being grown ſo great (notwithſtanding that the people were immediately ſubject unto their Biſhop onely) that the Money in *Geneva* was ſtamped with the Dukes Name and Figure; capital offenders were pardoned

by him; no sentence of Law executed, till his Officers first made acquainted; nor league contracted by the people of any validity, without his privity and allowance; and finally, the Keys of the Town presented him as often as he should please to lodge there; as once for instance to *Charles* the Third, coming thither with *Beatrix* his Wife, Daughter of *Portugal*. But still the City was immediately subject to the Bishops onely, who had as well the Civil as the Ecclesiastial jurisdiction over it, as is confest by *Calvin* in a Letter unto Cardinal *Sadolet*, though as he [a] thought extorted fraudulently, or by force, from the lawful Magistrate; which lash he added in defence of the *Genevians*, who had then newly wrested the Supream Authority out of the hands of the Bishop, and took it wholly upon themselves; it being no Felony (as he conceived) to rob the Thief, or to deprive him of a power, to which he could pretend no title but an usurpation.

[a] *Habebat jus gladii & aliam civilis jurisdictionis partem, sed magistratui ereptam.*

1528. 4. In this condition it continued till the year 1528, when those of *Berne*, after a publike Disputation held, had made an Alteration in Religion; defacing Images, and innovating all things in the Church on the *Zuinglian* Principles. *Viretus* and *Farellus*, two men exceeding studious of the Reformation, had gained some footing in *Geneva* about that time, and laboured with the Bishop to admit of such Alterations, as had been newly made in *Berne*. But when they saw no hopes of prevailing with him, they practised on the lower part of the People, with whom they had gotten most esteem; and travelled so effectually with them in it, that the Bishop and his Clergie in a popular tumult are expelled the Town, never to be restored to their former Power. After which they proceeded to reform the Church, defacing Images, and following in all points the example of *Berne*, as by *Viretus* and *Farellus* they had been instructed; whose doings in the same, were afterwards countenanced and [b] approved by *Calvin*, as himself confesseth. Nor did they onely in that Tumult alter every thing which had displeased them in the Church, but changed the Government of the Town; disclaiming all Allegiance either to their Bishop or their Duke; and standing on their own Liberty as a Free Estate; governed by a Common Council of 200 persons, out of which four are chosen annually by the name of *Syndicks*, who sit as Judges in the Court, the Mayors and Bayliffs (as it were) of the Corporation. And for this also they were most indebted to the active counsels of *Farellus*, whom *Calvin* therefore calls the father of the publike Liberty [c]; and saith in an Epistle unto those of *Zurick*, dated 26 *Novemb.* 1553, that the *Genevians* did owe themselves [d] wholly to his care and counsels. And it appears by *Calvin* also, that the people could have been content to live under their Bishop, if the Bishop could have been content to reform Religion; and more then so, that they had deserved the greatest Censures of the Church, if it had been otherwise. For thus he writes in his said Letter to Cardinal *Sadolet*; *Talem nobis Hierarchiam si exhibeant, &c.* If, saith he, they could offer to us such

[b] *Quæ à Viretο & Farello facta sunt, suffragio meo comprobavi.*

[c] *Libertatis suæ patrem, &c.*

[d] *Farellus, cui se totos debent, &c.*

a Hierarchy, or Episcopal Government, wherein the Bishops shall so rule, as that they refuse not to submit themselves to Christ, that they also depend upon him as their onely head, and can be content to refer themselves to him; in which they will so keep brotherly society amongst themselves, as to be knit together by no other bond then that of Truth; then surely, if there shall be any that will not submit themselves to that Hierarchy, reverently, and with the greatest obedience that may be, I must confess there is no kinde of *Anathema*, or casting to the devil, which they are not worthy of. But in regard the Bishop could not satisfie them in their expectations, they are resolved to satisfie themselves out of his Estate; and either for his sake, or their own, to cast off all relation to the Duke of *Savoy*, as their Patron Paramount. And though both Lords did afterwards unite against them, and besieged the Town; yet by the help of those of *Berne*, (with whom they joyned themselves in a strict Confederacie) they repulsed them both. Since which time, they have strongly fortified the Town on all sides, but most especially on that side which lies toward *Savoy*; and would never since permit the Duke to arm any Boats or Galleys upon the Lake, for fear he might make use of them to their disadvantage.

5. The power and dominion of that Citie being thus put into the hands of the common people, it could not be expected that any Discipline or good Order should be kept in the Church. The Common-Council of the Town disposed of all things as they pleased; and if any Crime which anciently belonged to the Ecclesiastical Discipline, did happen to be committed in it; it was punished by order from the Council. No Censures Ecclesiastical, no Sentence of Excommunication, was either thought on at *Geneva*, or at that time in any other of the Popular Churches, modelled according to the Form devised by *Zuinglius*; as [e] *Beza* hath observed in the Life of *Calvin*. The like affirmed by *Calvin* also, in his Letter above-mentioned to those of *Zurick*; who grants it to have been a received opinion, with some very grave and learned men, [f] that Excommunication was not necessary under Christian Magistrates. And so it stood till *Calvin's* coming to the Citie, *Anno* 1536, who being born at *Noyon*, (*Noviodunum*) the chief Town of *Picardie*, was by his father destined to the Civil Laws: but his own inclination carried him rather to the studie of Divinity, in the pursuit whereof he first began to fancie the Reformed Religion; and finding no assurance in the Realm of *France*, resolved to fix himself in *Strasburgh* or *Basil*. But taking *Geneva* in his way, upon the importunity of *Farellus*, he condescended to make that place the Scene of his actions and endeavours; and his assent being once made known, he was forthwith admitted to be one of their Preachers, and in the Month of *August* chosen their Divinity-Reader. This done, he presently negotiates with them not onely to abjure the Papacie, with all obedience to their Bishop for the time to come, but to admit some heads of

[e] *Si quidem Excommunicationi in ecclesia nullus locus*

[f] *Quibus Principibus Christianis non videtur esse necessaria Excommunicatio.*

of Doctrine, and such a f Form of Discipline as he and his colleagues had devised for them. And he prevailed in it at the last, though with no small difficulty; the said Discipline being generally sworn and subscribed unto, 20 *July* 1537. Which Form of Discipline what it was, I have nowhere found; but sure I am, that it had no affinity with the practice of the Primitive Church; which g *Calvin* plainly doth acknowledge in his Letter to *Sadolet*, who had objected it against him. But the people being proud and headstrong, and not willing to be stripped so easily of the precious Liberty which so happily they had acquired, became soon weary of the yoke, though they disguised it under colour of not giving offence to those of *Berne*, *Zurick*, and the rest of their neighbours, whose friendship was most necessary for them in all time of trouble. But *Calvin* being peremptory not to administer the Communion unto any of those, who could not quietly without contradiction submit themselves unto the Discipline which themselves had sworn to, and having *Farellus* and *Coraldus*, two of his Associates in conjunction with him; together with his two Associates is expelled the Town.

6. Three years, or thereabouts, he continued in his excile, being bountifully entertain'd at *Strasburgh*, where by his diligent preaching, and laborious writings, he grew into a greater reputation then the rest of their Ministers; the fame whereof being daily posted to *Geneva*, made them first sensible of the loss that they suffered in him, and afterwards procured them to sollicite the Chief Magistrates of the City of *Strasburgh* to license his return unto them: from whence at last with unresistable importunity he was again recalled by that unconstant multitude: A desire to which by no means he would hearken, unless both they and all their Ministers would take a solemn Oath, to admit a compleat Form of Discipline, not arbitrary, nor changeable, but to remain in force for ever after. Upon assurance of their conformity herein, he returns unto them, like another *Tully* unto *Rome:* and certainly we may say of him, as the Historian h doth of the other; that never man was banished with greater insolence, nor welcomed home again with an equal gladness. On the 13 day of *September* 1541, he is received into the Town; and on the 20 of *November* following, he confirm'd his Discipline, which he had modelled in this manner: A standing Ecclesiastical Court to be established; perpetual Judges in that Court to be the Ministers; others of the people annually chosen (twice so many in number) to be Judges together with them in the same Court: this Court to have care of all mens Manners, power of determining all kinde of Ecclesiastical causes, and Authority to convent, to control, and to punish as far as with Excommunication, whensoever they should think to have deserved it, none either small or great excepted. To this device he brought the people to submit, without any reluctancie: for what cause had they to suspect any yoak or bondage to be intended in

f Quod Doctrinam & Disciplinam capitibus aliquot comprehensam admitterent. Bez. in vit. Calv.

1537.

g Disciplinam qualem veteres habuit Ecclesia apud nos non esse (dicis) neq; nos diffitemur.

1538.

h Nec quisquam aut expulsus est invidiosius, nec receptus latius. Pater. Hist. lib. 2.

1541.

in that project, wherein they had a double Vote to each ſingle Miniſter, and conſequently a double number on their ſide upon all occaſions. But when the firſt year was expired, and that the Elders of that year were to leave their places, they then perceived how much they had inthralled themſelves by their own facility. And now they began to have ſome fear, that the filling up of the Seats in the Conſiſtory with ſo geat a number of Lay-men, was but to pleaſe the mindes of the people, to the end they might think themſelves of ſome power therein; that their Paſtors being men of parts, and practiſed in affairs of that nature, would eaſily over-rule the reſt, though the greater number; that the Lay-elders being onely annual, and changed from one year to another, might firſt or laſt come under the ſevere laſh of their Paſtors, who were in a perpetual reſidencie, if they ſhould dare at any time to act againſt them by their double Vote; and that amongſt the Miniſters themſelves, one being far in eſtimation above the reſt, the reſt of the voices are moſt likely to be given with reference to his will and pleaſure; which what elſe were it in effect, but to bring in Popery again by another name, in ſetting over them a Supream Paſtor, or perpetual Reſidence, with power to carry all before him?

7. But nothing gave them more offence then the confidence of that vaſt and unlimited power, which was to be put into the hands of the *Presbytery*, in reference unto crimes and perſons; and the unhandſome manner of proceeding in it: for power was given unto them by the Rules of the Diſcipline, not onely to proceed to Excommunication, if the caſe required it, againſt Drunkards, Whore-maſters, Blaſphemers of Gods holy Name, diſturbers of the peace by fighting, or contentious words; but alſo againſt ſuch as pleaſed themſelves with modeſt dancing, which was from henceforth looked on as a grievous crime; and what diſturbances and diſquiets did enſue upon it, we ſhall ſee anon. Nor were they onely Authorized to take notice of notorious crimes, when they gave juſt ſcandal to the Church, or ſuch as paſt in that account by the voice of *Fame*; but alſo to inquire into the lives and converſations of all ſorts of perſons, even to the private ordering of their ſeveral Families. In reference to which laſt, they are required to make a diligent and ſtrict enquiry, whether men lived peaceably with their Wives, and kept their Families in good order; whether they uſe conſtantly ſome courſe of morning and evening Prayer in their ſeveral houſholds, ſit down at their Tables without ſaying Grace, or cauſe their Children or Servants diligently to frequent the Churches; with many others of that nature. And to the end they may come the better to the knowledge of all particulars, it is not onely permitted by the Rules of their Diſcipline to tamper with mens Neighbours, and corrupt their Servants; but to exact an Oath of the parties themſelves, who are thereby required to make anſwer unto all ſuch Articles as may or ſhall

be

be tendred to them in behalf of the Consistory: which odious and unneighbourly office is for the most part executed by those of the Laity, or at the least imputed wholly unto their pragmaticalness; though the Lay-elders possibly have done nothing in it, but by direction from their Pastors. For so it was contrived of purpose by the wise Artificer, that the Ministers might be thereby freed from that common hatred, which such a dangerous and saucie inquisition might else draw upon them. And yet these were not all the mischiefs which their submittting to that yoak had drawn upon them; by which they had enthralled themselves to such hard conditions, that if a man stood Excommunicate, or in contempt against the censures of the Church, for the space of a twelve month, he was to suffer a whole years banishment by Decree of the Senate; not otherwise to be restored, but upon submission, and that submission to be made upon their knees in the open Church.

8. These melancholick thoughts had not long possessed them, when an occasion was presented to try their courage. *Perinus* Captain of the people, and of great power in that capacity amongst the multitude, pretends the common liberty to be much endangered by that new subjection, and openly makes head against him in defence thereof. Ten years together did it struggle with the opposition, and at last was almost ruined and oppressed by it. For whereas the Consistory had given sentence against one *Bertilier*, even in the highest censure of Excommunication; the Common-councel not onely absolved him from that censure under their Town-seal, but foolishly Decreed that Excommunication and Absolution did properly belong to them. Upon this he is resolved again to quit the Town, and solemnly takes his leave of them, at the end of one of his Sermons, which he had fitted for that purpose: but at the last the Controversie is reduced to these three questions, *viz.* First, after what manner by Gods Ordinance, according to the Scripture, Excommunication was to be exercised. Secondly, whether it may not be exercised some other way then by such a Consistory. Thirdly, what the use of other Churches was in the like case. And being reduced to these three questions, it was submitted to the judgement and determination of four of the *Helvetian* Churches; to whose Decree both parties were obliged to stand. But *Calvin* knew beforehand what he was to trust to, having before prepared the Divines of *Zurick* to pronounce sentence on his side; of whom he earnestly desired that they would seriously respect that cause, on which the whole State of the Religion of the City did so much depend; that God and all good men were now inevitably in danger to be trampled on, if those four Churches did not declare for him and his Associates, when the cause was to be brought before them; that in the giving of the sentence, they should pass an absolute approbation upon the Discipline of *Geneva*, as consonant unto the Word

Word of God, without any cautions, qualifications, ifs or ands: and finally, that they would exhort the *Genevian* Citizens from thenceforth not to innovate or change the same. Upon which pre-ingagement they returned this Answer, directed to the Common-council of *Geneva*, by which their judgement was required; that is to say, That they had heard already of those Consistorial Laws, and did acknowledge them to be godly Ordinances, *drawing towards* the Prescript or Word of God: In which respect they did not think it good for the Church of *Geneva* to make any innovation in the same, but rather to keep them as they were. This caution being interposed, that Lay-elders should be chosen from amongst themselves; that is to say, ten of them to be yearly out of the Council of two hundred; and the other two (for there were to be but twelve in all) to be elected out of the more powerful Council of the five and twenty.

9. Now for the quarrel which he had with Captain *Perine*, it was briefly this, as he himself relates the story in his own Epistles. Dancing had been prohibited by his sollicitation, when he first setled in that Town; and he resolved to have his will obeyed in that, as in all things else. But on the contrary, this *Perine*, together with one *Corneus* (a man of like power amongst the people) one of the *Syndicks*, or chief Magistates in the Common-wealth; one of the Elders for the year, who was called *Henricus*, together with other of their Friends, being merry at an Invitation, fell to dancing: Notice hereof being given to *Calvin* by some false Brother, they were all called into the Consistory, excepting *Corneus* and *Perinus*; and being interrogated thereupon, [a] They lyed, said he, most impudently both to God and us (*most Apostolically said.*) At that, said he, I grew offended, as the indignity of the thing deserved; and they persisting in their contumacie, [b] I thought it fit to put them to their Oaths about it, (*by which it seems that the Oath* Ex officio *may be used in* Geneva, *though cryed down in* England) so said, so done. And they not onely did confess their former dancing, but also that upon that very day they had been dancing in the house of one *Balthasal's* Widow. On which confession he proceeded to the censure of all the parties, which certainly was sharp enough for so small a fault, (for a fault he was resolved to make it) the *Syndick* being displaced; the Elder turned out of his Office; *Perine* and his Wife clapt up in Prison, and all the rest exposed to some open shame. So he in his Epistle to his Friend *Farellus*, *Anno* 1546. Upon this ground *Perinus* always made himself of the opposite party, and thereupon sollicited the relaxation given to *Bertilier*; but in the end was forced together with the rest to submit themselves unto this yoak; and the final sentence of the said four Churches was imposed upon them. And so we have the true beginning of the *Genevian* Discipline, begotten in Rebellion, born in Sedition, and nursed up by Faction.

[a] *Impudenter Deo & nobis mentiti sunt.*

[b] *Censui, ut jurejurando ad veri confessionem adigerentur.* *In* Epist. *ad* Farell.

10. Thus was the Diſcipline confirmed, and *Calvin* ſetled in the juriſdiction which he had aſpired to: But long he could not be content with ſo narrow a Dioceſs as the Town and Territory of *Geneva*; and would have thought himſelf neglected, if all thoſe Churches which embraced the *Zuinglian* Doctrines had not withal received the *Genevian* Diſcipline; for the confirming whereof at home, and the promoting it in all parts abroad, there was no paſſage in the Scripture, which either ſpake of Elders or Excommunication, but he applyed the ſame for juſtifying the Authority of his new *Presbytery*, in which the Lay-elders were conſidered as diſtinct from thoſe which laboured in the Word and Sacraments, but joyned with them in the exerciſe of a Juriſdiction (even that of Ordination alſo) which concerned the Church. Aſſuredly, we are as much in love with the Children of our Brains, as of our Bodies; and do as earneſtly deſire the preferment of them. *Calvin* had no ſooner conceived and brought forth this Diſcipline, but he cauſed it firſt to be nouriſhed and brought up at the charge of *Geneva*; and when he found it ſtrong enough to go abroad of it ſelf, he afterwards commended it to the entertainment of all other Churches, in which he had attained to any credit; proceeding finally ſo far, as to impoſe it upon the world as a matter neceſſary, and not to be refuſed on pain of Gods high diſpleaſure: by means whereof, what Jealouſies, Heart-burnings, Jars and Diſcords have been occaſioned in the Proteſtant Reformed Churches, will be made manifeſt by the courſe of this preſent Hiſtory: Which, notwithſtanding, might eaſily have been prevented, if the Orders which he deviſed for the uſe of this City, had not been firſt eſtabliſhed in themſelves, & then tendered unto others, as things everlaſtingly required by the Law of that Lord of lords, againſt whoſe Statutes there was no exception to be taken. In which reſpect it could not chuſe but come to paſs, that his Followers might condemn all other Churches which received it not, of manifeſt diſobedience to the Will of Chriſt: And being once engaged, could not finde a way how to retire again with Honour. Whenas the ſelf-ſame Orders having been eſtabliſhed in a Form more wary and ſuſpence, and to remain in force no longer then God ſhould give the oportunity of ſome general Conference; the *Genevians* either never had obtruded this Diſcipline on the reſt of the Churches, to their great diſquiet; or left themſelves a fair liberty of giving off, when they perceived what trouble they had thereby raiſed to themſelves and others.

11. Now for the means by which this Diſcipline was made acceptable to the many Churches which had no dependance on *Geneva*, nor on *Calvin* neither; they were chiefly theſe, that is to ſay, Firſt, The great contentment which it gave the Common people, to ſee themſelves intruſted with the weightieſt matters in Religion; and thereby an equality with, if not (by reaſon of their number, being two for one) ſuperiority above their

their Ministers. Secondly, the great Reputation which *Calvin* had attained unto for his diligence in Writing and Preaching, whereby his Dictates came to be as authentick amongst some Divines, as ever the Popes *Ipse dixit* was in the Church of *Rome*. Thirdly, his endeavours to promote that Platform in all other Churches, which was first calculated for the Meridian of *Geneva* onely: of which we shall speak more particularly in the course of this History. Fourthly, the like endeavours used by *Beza*, who not content to recommend it as convenient for the use of the Church (higher then which *Calvin* did not go) imposed it as a matter necessary upon all the Churches; so necessary, that it was utterly as unlawful to recede from this, as from the most material Points of the Christian Faith: of which more hereafter. Fifthly, the self-ends and ambition of particular Ministers, affecting the Supremacy in their several Parishes; that themselves might lord it over God's Inheritance, under pretence of setting Christ in his Throne. Upon which ground they did not onely *prate* against the Bishops *with malicious words* (as *Diotrephes* did against the Apostles) but were resolved to *cast them out of the Church, neither receiving them amongst themselves*, nor suffering those that would have done it if they might. Sixthly, the covetousness of some great persons, and Lay-Patrons; of which the one intended to raise themselves great Fortunes, by the spoil of the Bishopricks; and the other to return those Titles to their own proper use, to which they onely were to nominate some deserving person. For compassing of which three last ends, their followers drove on so furiously, that rather then their Discipline should not be admitted, and the Episcopal Government destroyed in all the Churches, they are resolved to depose Kings, ruine Kingdoms, and subvert the Fundamental Constitutions of all Civil States.

12. Thus have we seen the Discipline settled at the last, after many struglings; but settled onely by the forestalled judgement and determination of four neighbouring Churches, which neither then did entertain it, nor could be ever since induced to receive the same. And we have took a general view of those Arts and Practices by which it hath been practised and imposed upon other Nations; as also of those grounds and motives, on which it was so eagerly pursued by some, and advanced by others. We must now therefore cast our eyes back on that Form of Worship which was by him devised at first for the Church of *Geneva*, commended afterwards to all other Churches, which were not of the *Lutheran* Model; and finally received, if not imposed upon most Churches which imbraced the Discipline. Which Form of Worship, what it was, may best be gathered from the summary or brief view thereof, which *Beza* tendreth to the use of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches, then established in the City of *London*; and is this that followeth. The publick Meetings of the Church to be held constantly on the Lords [a] day, to be alike observed both 1537.

[a] *Congressum publici Ecclesiæ diebus Dominicis, &c. Bez. Epist. 24.*

both in Towns and Villages; but so, that in the greater Towns some other day be set apart, on which the Word is to be preached unto the people at convenient times: Which last I take to be the grounds of those Week-day-Lectures, which afterwards were set up in most of the great Towns or Cities of this Realm of *England*; a Prayer to usher in the Sermon, and another after it; the frame of which two Prayers, both for Words and Matter, wholly left unto the building of the Preacher: but the whole action to be sanctified by the singing of Psalms. At all such Prayers the people to kneel reverently upon their knees. In the Administration of Baptism, a Declaration to be made in a certain Form, not onely of the promises of the Grace of God, but also of the Mysteries of that holy Sacrament; [a] Sureties or Witnesses to be required at the Baptizing of Infants. The Lords Supper to be Ministred on the Lords day, at the Morning-Sermon; and that in sitting at the Table, (for no other gesture is allowed of) the men sit first, and the women after or below them: which though it might pass well in the *Gallick* Churches, would hardly down without much chewing by the Wives of *England*. The publication of intended Marriages, (which we call *the bidding of the Bains*) to be made openly in the Church, and the said Marriages to be solemnized with Exhortation and Prayer. No Holy-days at all allowed of; nothing directed in relation unto Christian Burials, or the visiting of the Sick, or to the Thanksgiving of Women after Child-birth; all which were pretermitted, as either superstitious or impertinent Actions.

[a] *Testium seu concuratorum, ad pædo-baptismum advocat.* ib.

14. That naked Form of Worship which *Calvin* had devised for the Church of *Geneva*, not beautified with any of those outward Ornaments which make Religion estimable in the sight of the people; and by the which, the mindes of men are raised to a contemplation of the glorious Majesty which they come together to adore: All ancient Forms and Ceremonies which had been recommended to the use of the Church, even from the times of the Apostles, rejected totally, as contracting some filth and rubbish in the times of Popery, without being called to answer for themselves, or defend their innocencie. And as for the habit of the Ministry, whether Sacred or Civil, as there was no course taken by the Rules of their Discipline, or by the Rubricks of the book of their publick Offices; so did they by themselves, and their Emissaries, endeavour to discountenance and discredit all other Churches, in which distinct Vestures were retained. Whence came those manifold quarrels against Coaps and Surplices, as also against the Caps, Gowns and Tippets of the lower Clergie, the Rochets and Chimeres of the Bishops, wherewith for more then twenty years they exercised the patience of the Church of *England*. But naked as it was, and utterly void of all outward Ornaments, this Form of Worship looked so lovely in the eyes of *Calvin*, that he endeavoured to obtrude it on all

Churches

Churches else. Having first setled his new Discipline in the Town of *Geneva*, *Anno* 1541, and crusht *Perinus* and the rest in the dancing business, about five years after; he thought himself to be of such confidence, that no Church was to be reformed but by his advice. Upon which ground of self-opinion, he makes an offer of himself to Archbishop *Cranmer* [a], as soon as he had heard of the Reformation which was here intended; but *Cranmer* knew the man, and refused the offer. Which though it was enough to have kept him from venturing any further in the business and affairs of *England*; yet he resoved to be of counsel in all matters, whether called or not. And therefore having taken Order with *Martin Bucer*, on his first coming into *England*, to give him some account of the English Liturgie; he had no sooner satisfied himself in the sight thereof, but he makes presently his exceptions and demurs upon it; which afterwards became the sole ground of those many troubles, those horrible disorders and confusions, wherewith his Faction have involved the Church of *England*, from that time to this. 1547

[a] *Si quis mei usus foret, &c.*

15. For presently on the account which he received of the English Liturgy, he writes back to *Bucer*, whom he requireth to be instant with the Lord Protector, [b] that all such Rites as savoured of superstition might be taken away: and how far that might reach, we may easily gues. Next he dispatched a long Letter to the Protector himself, in which he makes many exceptions against the Liturgie; as namely against *Commemoration of the dead*, which he acknowledgeth, notwithstanding, to be ancient; also against *Chrisme*, or Oyl in Baptism, and the Apostolical Rite of *Extream Unction*; though the last be rather permitted then required by the Rules of that Book: which said, he wisheth that all these Ceremonies should be abrogated [c]; and that withal he should go forward to reform the Church without fear or wit, without regard of peace at home, or correspondencie abroad! such considerations being onely to be had in Civil matters, but not in matters of the Church, [d] wherein not any thing is to be exacted, which is not warranted by the Word; and in the managing whereof (saith he) there is not any thing more distasteful in the eyes of God, then worldly Wisdom; [e] either in moderating, cutting off, or going backward, but meerly as we are directed by his will revealed. In the next place, he toucheth on the Book of *Homilies*, which very faintly he permits for a season onely, but not allows of; and thereby gave the hint to many others, who ever since almost have declaimed against them. But finding nothing to be done by the Lord Protector, he tryes his Fortune with the King, and with the Lords of the Council, and is resolved to venture once again on Archbishop *Cranmer*. In his Letter to the King, he lets him know, that in the State of the Kingdom there were many things which required a present Reformation: in that to the most Reverend *Cranmer*, that in the Service of this Church 1551.

[b] *Ut ritus illos, qui superstitionis aliquid redolent, tollenter è medio.*

[c] *Illa omnia abscindi jemel.*

[d] *In qua nihil non ad Dei verbum exegi fas est.*

[e] *Ut vel moderemur, vel rescindamur &c.*

a *Quæ non obscuret modo, sed propemodum obruat priorum & genuinum Dei cultum.* Epist.

Church there was remaining a whole Mass of Popery, [a] which seemed not onely to deface, but in a manner to destroy Gods publick Worship: and finally, in those to the Lords of the Council, that they needed some excitements to go forwards with the Work in hand, in reference to the Alteration (for that I take to be his aim) of the publick Liturgie.

16. But not content to tamper by his Letters with those Eminent Persons; he had his Agents in the Court, the City, the Universities, the Country, and the Convocation; all of them practising in their distinct and proper Circuits, to bring the people to dislike that Form of Worship, which at the first was looked on by them as an Heavenly Treasure, composed by the especial aid of the Holy Ghost. Their Actings of this kinde for bringing down the Communion-Table, decrying the Reverent use of Kneeling at the Participation, inveighing against the sign of the Cross, abolishing all distinction of days and times into Fasts and Festivals, with many others of that nature, I purposely omit till I come to *England*. Let it suffice, that by the eagerness of their sollicitations, more then for any thing which could be faulted in the book it self, it was brought under a review, and thereby altered to a further distance then it had before from the Rituals of the Church of *Rome*. But though it had much less of *Rome* then before it had, (though nothing was meerly Romane, and not Primitive also) yet was it still as far off from the
1554. Rules of *Geneva*, as it was at that time; which gave a new Alarum to *Calvin*, that he should take so much pains, and trouble so many of his Friends, to so little purpose: And long it shall not be before he lets us know his resentment of it. The English *Protestants* being scattered in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, betake themselves to divers places in *Germany*, at *Geneva*, and amongst the *Switzers*. In *Germany* some of them procure a Church in the City of *Frankfort*; but they were such as had more minde to conform themselves to *Calvins* Models, then to the Liturgie of *England*: and such a deviation thereupon was made from the Rules of this Church, as looked little better then an open Schism. The business bad enough before, but made much worse, when *Knox*, that great Incendiary of *Scotland*, took that charge upon him; when at his coming he found many not well pleased with those alterations which had been made by others from the Church of *England*; which he resolved not to admit of, how much soever the continuance of it had been recommended by such Divines as had retired to *Strasburgh*, *Zurick*, and elsewhere. To over-ballance whose Authority, which he found much valued, he flees for succour unto *Calvin*, sends him a Summary or Abstract of the English Book (in the Latine Tongue) and earnestly desires his opinion of it; not doubting but all opponents would submit to his final sentence. What *Calvins* judgement was in the present Point, and what sentence he was like to give in the case before him, *Knox*

could

could not but have good assurance, when he wrote that Letter, having lived with *Calvin* at *Geneva*, and published some Seditious Books from thence with his approbation, before his coming unto *Frankfort*: and it succeeded answerably to his expectation, as may appear by *Calvins* answer to that Letter; which in regard it was the ground of all those troubles which afterwards were raised against the Liturgy by the Puritan Faction, I shall here subjoyn.

17. *It is no small affliction to me, and in it self no less inconvenience, that a contention should be raised between brethren professing the same Faith, and living as banished men or exiles for the same Religion; especially for such a Cause, which in this time of your dispersion, ought to have been the Bond of Peace to bind you the more finally to one another: for what ought rather to be aimed at by you in this woful condition, then that being torne away from the bowels of your native Country, you should put your selves into a Church, which might receive you in her bosom, conjoyned together (like the Children of the same Parent) both in hearts and tongues? But at this time in my opinion it is very unseasonable, that troubles should be raised amongst you about Ceremonies and Forms of Prayer, (as happens commonly amongst those who live in wantonness and ease) by means whereof, you have been hindred hitherto from growing into one body. I do not blame the constancy of those men, who being unwillingly drawn into it, do earnestly contend in an honest Cause; but rather the stubbornness of those, which hitherto hath hindred the holy purpose of forming and establishing a Church amongst you. For as I use to shew my self both flexible and facile in things indifferent, as all Rites and Ceremonies are; yet I cannot always think it profitable to comply with the foolish waywardness of some few men, who are resolved to remit nothing of their Ancient Customs.* [a] *I cannot but observe many* tolerable fooleries *in the English Liturgy, such as you have described it to me. By which two words (those names of* tolerable fooleries*) I mean onely this, that there is not such Purity or Perfection, as was to be desired in it; which imperfections, notwithstanding, not being to be remedied at the first, were to be born with for a time, in regard that no manifest impiety was contained in them. It was therefore so far lawful to begin with such beggerly Rudiments, that the Learned, Grave and Godly Ministers of Christ might be thereby encouraged for proceeding farther in setting out somewhat which might prove more pure and perfect.* [b] *If true Religion had flourished till this time in the Church of* England, *it had been necessary that many things in that Book should have been omitted, and others altered to the better. But now that all such Principles are out of force, and that you were to constitute a Church in another place, and that you were at liberty to compose such a Form of Worship which might be useful to the Church, and more conduce*

[a] In Liturgia Anglicana, quaedam mihi describitis, multas video tolerabiles inceptias.

[b] Si hactenus in Anglia viguisset sincera Religio, altius in melius correctum, multaque detracta esse oportet.

to

to Edification, then the other did; I know not what to think of those [a] *who are so much delighted in the dregs of Popery. But commonly men love those things best, to which they have been most accustomed. Which though in the first place it may seem a vain and childish folly; yet in the next place it may be considered that such a new Model is much different from an alteration. However, as I would not have you too stiff and peremptory, if the infirmity of some men suffer them not to come up unto your own desires; so I must needs admonish others, not to be too much pleased with their wants and ignorances; nor to retard the course and progess of so good a work by their own perverseness; nor finally, to be transported in the manner by such a foolish Emulation. For what other ground have they for this contention, but that they think it a disgrace to yeild unto better counsels? But possibly I may address my words in vain to those, who peradventure may not ascribe so much unto me, as to vouchsafe to hearken unto any advice which doth proceed from such a despicable Author. If any of them fear that any sinister report will be raised of them in* England, *as if they had forsaken that Religion for which they put themselves into a voluntary exile; they are much deceived. For this ingenuous and sincere Profession will rather compel those godly men which are left behind, seriously to consider what a deep* Abyss *they are fallen into; whose dangerous estate will more grievously wound them, when they shall see that you have travailed beyond the middle of that course, from which they have been so unhappily retracted, or brought back again. Farewel my most dear Brethren, the faithful servants of* Jesus Christ; *and be you still under the governancce and protection of the Lord your God.*

[a] Quæ sibi velint nescio quos fæcis Papisticæ tanto pere delectant.

18. This Letter bearing date on the fifteenth of the Calends of *February*, and superscribed in general to the English which remained at *Frankfort*, carried so great a stroke with the *Knoxian* party, that there was no more talk of the English Liturgie; the Order of *Geneva* being immediately entertained in the place thereof. And when the matter was so handled by Dr. *Cox*, first Tutor, and then Almoner to King *Edward* the Sixth, brought thither by the noise of so great a Schism, that the Liturgie of *England* was again restored; *Knox* was so far from yeilding to the Gravity and Authority of that Learned man, that he inveighed against him in the Pulpit without fear or wit. But *Cox* not able to endure a baffle from so mean a fellow, informs against him to the Senate, touching some passages in one of his Seditious Pamphlets; in which it is affirmed, that Queen *Mary* (whom elsewhere he calls by the odious name of *Jesabel*, and a *Traytoress* to *England*) ought not to joyn her self in Marriage with the Emperours Son, because the Emperour himself *maintained Idolatry*, and *was a greater Enemy to Christ* then ever was *Nero*. *Knox* hereupon departs by Moon-light, but however quits.

quits the Town, and retires to *Geneva*; leaving the Liturgie for the present in a better condition then he had found it at his first coming thither. But *Cox* considering with himself how necessary *Calvins* favour might be to him, salutes him with a civil Letter, subscribed by himself and fourteen others; all of them being men of Note in their several places: In which they excused themselves for having set that Church in order without his advice; not without some rejoycing that they had brought the greatest part of those who withstood their doings to be of the same Opinion with them. Which how agreeable it was to *Calvin*, may be seen by his return to *Cox* and his adherents, (*Coxo & Gregalibus suis*, as the Latine hath it) bearing date *June* 1[illegible]. 1555.

19. In which Letter, having first craved pardon for not writing sooner, he lets them know that he had freely signified to Dr. *Sampson*, (a very fit man to be acquainted with his secrets) what he conceived of the Disputes which were raised at *Frankfort*; as also that he had been certified by some Friends of his who complained much of it, that they did stand so strictly on the English Ceremonies, as shewed them to be too much wedded to the Rites of their Country. And further certified, that he had heard somewhat of those Reasons which they stood on most, for not receding any thing from the Form established; but they were such as might receive an easie Answer: that he had writ to those of the opposite party, to carry themselves with moderation in the present business, though nothing was therein remitted by *Cox* and his, and howsoever was now glad to hear that the difference was at last composed. He speaks next touching their [a] retaining of *Crosses*, *Tapers*, and such other trifles of that nature, proceeding at the first from superstition; and thereupon infers, that they who so earnestly contended for them, when it was in their choice not to do it, did draw too neer upon the dregs. He adds, that he could see no Reason why they should charge the Church with frivolous and impertinent Ceremonies, which he should no way wrong if he called them dangerous; when they were left at liberty to compose an Order for themselves, more pure and simple: that in his judgement it was done with little Piety, and less brotherly Love; on any clancular informations to call *Knox* in question; (for so I understood him by his letter *N*) and that they had done better to have stay'd at home, then to have kindled the coals by such a piece of unjust cruelty in a Forreign Country, by which others also were inflamed: and finally, that he had written howsoever unto some of the adverse party, of whose intent to leave that place he had been advertised, that they should continue where they were, and not violate the League of their Friendship by their separations; with other things to that effect. But notwithstanding this advice, many of the Schismatical party removed from *Frankfort*, and put themselves into *Geneva*; the principal of which

[a] *Certe luminaria, cruces, & ejus facinæ nugas ex superstitione manasse, nemo sani judicii negabit; unde Constituo, qui eas in liberâ optione retineant, nimis cupide & fæces haurire.*

were *Whittingham*, *Knox*, *Goodman*, and he which afterwards was able to do more then all the reſt, Mr. *Francis Knollis*, alyed by Marriage to the *Carys*, deſcended from a younger Siſter of Queen *Anne Bullen*, and conſequently neer of Kin to Queen *Elizabeth*. Theſe men grew very great with *Calvin*, with whoſe good leave they put themſelves into the form of a Congregation, choſe *Knox* and *Goodman* for their Brethren, and in all points conformed themſelves to the Rules of that Church; which afterwards they laboured to promore in *England*, and actually did effect in *Scotland*, to the no ſmall diſturbance of either Kingdom. By the perſwaſion of theſe men, he is reſolved to try his Fortune once again on the Church of *England*, before the reſetling of the Liturgie under Queen *Elizabeth* might render the deſign impoſſible, or at leaſt unproſperous. To which end he addreſſeth his deſires to the Queen her ſelf, at her firſt coming to the Crown. The like he doth to Mr. Secretary *Cecil*, by his Letters bearing date the 17 of *January* 1558, in which he makes mention of the other; in both he ſpurs them on to a Reformation, complaining that they had not ſhewed ſuch a forwardneſs in it, as all good men expected, and that cauſe required. But above all things he deſires, that a pure[a] and perfect Worſhip of God may be fully ſetled, that the Church may be throughly purged of its former filth, and that the Children of God in *England* might be left at liberty to uſe ſuch purity in all Acts of publick Worſhip as to them ſeemed beſt. And what elſe could he aim at by theſe expreſſions (comparing them with the Contents of his two laſt Letters), but that the former Liturgie ſhould be aboliſhed, or brought unto a neerer conformity to the Rules of *Geneva*; or at the leaſt, that liberty might be left to the godly party, to uſe any other Form of Worſhip which they though more *pure*? But finding no ſuch good return to either Letter, as he had promiſed to himſelf, he leaves the cauſe to be purſued by ſuch Engliſh Zealots, as he had trained up at *Geneva*, or otherwiſe had ſetled their abode amongſt the *Switzers*, where all ſet Forms of Worſhip were as much decryed, as they were with him. And that they might not ſlacken in the midſt of their courſe, he recommends the general Superintendents of the Church of *England* to the care of *Beza*, who after his deceaſe ſucceeded both in his place and power; of whoſe pragmaticalneſs in purſuing this deſign againſt the Liturgie, condemning all eſtabliſhed Orders of this Church, his interpoſing in behalf of ſuch of his Followers as had been ſilenced, ſuſpended, or deprived for their inconformity, we ſhall ſpeak more large at when we come to *England*.

[a] *Vt vigeat purus & integer Dei cultus — Eccleſia à ſordibus repurgetur, — deinde ut filius Dei apud vos liberum ſit nomen ejus purè invocare.*

20. There happened another quarrel in the Church of *England*, and he muſt needs make himſelf a party in it. Mr. *John Hooper* having well deſerved by his pains in preaching and publiſhing ſome Books, which very much conduced to the peace of the Church, is nominated by the King to the See of *Gloceſter*.

Willing

Willing enough he was to accept the charge; but he had lived ſo long at *Zurick*, in the Reign of King *Henry*, where there was no diſtinction of Apparel, either Sacred or Civil, that he refuſed to wear ſuch Robes at his Conſecration, as by the Rules of the Church were required of him. And by the Rules of the Church it was required, that for his ordinary Habit he ſhould wear the *Rochet* and *Chimere*, with a ſquare Cap upon his head, and not officiate at the Altar without his Coap, or perform any Ordination without his Croſier. Incouraged by his refuſal, many of the inferiour Clergie take the like exceptions againſt Caps and Surplices, as alſo againſt Gowns and Tippets, the diſtinct Habits of their Order. Upon this ground Archbiſhop *Cranmer* makes a ſtop of his Conſecration, and would not be perſwaded to diſpute with him in that particular, though he much deſired it. He had faſtned ſome dependance upon *Dudley*, then Earl of *Warwick*, and afterwards created Duke of *Northumberland*; who did not onely write his own Letters, but obtained the Kings, that without preſſing him any further to conform himſelf to thoſe Robes and Habits, the Biſhop ſhould proceed immediately to his Conſecration. But *Cranmer* weighing the importance of that ill Example, held off his hand, till he had ſatisfied the King, and ſo cooled the Earl, that *Hooper* was left unto himſelf; and, ſtill continuing in his contumacy, was committed Priſoner. The news being brought to *Calvin*, he muſt needs play the Biſhop in another mans Dioceſs, or rather the Archbiſhop in another mans Province. But having little hope of prevailing with *Cranmer*, who had before rejected his aſſiſtance in the Reformation, he totally applies himſelf to the Duke of *Sommerſet*: And he writes to him to this purpoſe, That the Papiſts would grow every day more inſolent then other, unleſs the differences about the Ceremonies were firſt compoſed. But then they were to be compoſed in ſuch a manner, as rather might encourage the diſſenters in their oppoſition, then end in the reduction of them to a due conformity. And to this end, he is unſeaſonably inſtant with him, to lend a helping hand to *Hooper*, as the head of that Faction. By which encouragement, if not alſo by his ſetting on, the like was done by *Peter Martyr*, and by *John Alaſco*; the firſt of which was made Divinity-Reader in *Oxon*, and the other Preacher to the *Dutch* in *London*; both ingaged in ſtickling for the unconformable party againſt the Veſtments of the Church. But they both gained as little by it as *Calvin* did; who ſeeing how little he effected in the Church of *England*, more then the getting of the name of a *Polypragmon*, a medler in ſuch matters as concerned him not, gave over the affairs thereof to the charge of *Beza*; who being younger then himſelf, and of leſs diſcretion, might live to ſee ſome good ſucceſs of his Travails in it. And he accordingly beſtirred himſelf in this very quarrel, as if the ſafety of the Church and the preſervation of Religion had been brought in danger;

writing his Letters unto *Grindal*, when Bishop of *London*, not to insist so far on those matters of Ceremony, as to deprive any of his Ministery upon that account. He also signifies unto the Brethren his dislike of those Vestments, and thereby strengthned and confirmed them in their former obstinacy: And finally, left no stone unmoved, no kinde of practice unattempted, by which this Church might be at last necessitated to a Reformation upon *Calvins* Principles, whose counsels he pursued to the very last.

21. But as for *Calvin*, he had some other game to fly at, and of greater nature, then to dispute the lawfulness of Caps and Surplices, and other Vestments of the Clergie; or to content himself with altering the old Forms of Government and publick Worship: The Doctrine was to be refined, and all Idolatry removed, whether it were Civil or Spiritual. In point of Doctrine he came nearest unto that of *Zuinglius*, as well in reference to the Sacrament, as Predestination; but pitched upon the last for the main concernment, which was to difference his own Followers from all other Christians. The straining of which string to so great a height, hath made more discord in the harmony of the Church of Christ, then any other whatsoever. For not content to go the way of the Ancient Fathers, or to rely upon the judgement of St. *Augustine*, *Fulgentius*, *Prosper*, or any others which have moderated his excesses in it, he must needs add so much unto those extravagancies which he found in *Zuinglius*, as brought him under a suspition with some sober men, for making God to be the Author of sin: For by his Doctrine God is made to lay on our Father *Adam* an absolute and an unavoidable necessity of falling into sin and misery; that so he might have opportunity to manifest his Mercy in Electing some few of his Posterity, and his Justice in the remediless rejecting of all the rest. In which as he could finde no countenance from the Ancient Fathers, so he pretendeth not to any ground for it in the Holy Scripture. For whereas some objected in Gods behalf, *De certis verbis non extare*, that the Decree of *Adams* Fall, and consequently the involving of his whole Posterity in sin and misery, was no where extant in the Word; he makes no other answer to it, then a *quasi vero*, As if (saith he) God had made and created Man the most exact Piece of his Heavenly Workmanship, without determining of his End, either Heaven or Hell. And on this point he was so resolutely bent, that nothing but an absolute Decree for *Adams* Fall, seconded by the like for the involving of all his Race in the same perdition, would either serve his turn, or preserve his credit. If any man shall dare to opine the contrary, as *Castillo* did, he must be sure to be disgraced and censured by him, as *Castillo* was; and as all others since have been, which presumed to question that determination, for which himself can give us no better name than that of an *Horrible Decree*, as indeed it is; a cruel and

Horrible

Horrible Decree, to pre-ordain ſo many millions to deſtruction, and conſequently unto ſin, that he might deſtroy them.

22. I had not ſtood ſo long upon this particular, but in regard of thoſe confuſions and diſtractions which by his Followers have been occaſioned in the Church, by their adhering to this Doctrine, and labouring to obtrude it upon all mens conſciences. The *Zuinglian* Goſpellers, as Biſhop *Hooper* rightly calls them, began to ſcatter their predeſtinary Doctrines in the Reign of King *Edward*. But they effected little in it, till ſuch of our Divines as had retired themſelves to *Baſil*, *Zurick*, and amongſt the *Switzers*, or otherwiſe had been brought up at the Feet of *Calvin*, encouraged by his Authority, and countenanced by his name, commended them to all the people of this Realm, for ſound Catholick verities. The like diligence was alſo uſed by his Diſciples in all places elſe. By means whereof it came to be generally received, as a truth undoubted, and one of the moſt neceſſary Doctrines of mans Salvation, in all the Churches of his Platform: In which as his Doctrine in ſome other points had firſt prepared the way to bring in his Diſcipline; ſo was it no hard matter for the Diſcipline to ſupport theſe Doctrines, and cruſh all them that durſt oppoſe them. Onely it was permitted unto *Beza* and his Diſciples to be ſomewhat milder then the reſt, in placing the Decree of Predeſtination before the Fall: which *Calvin* himſelf, though in ſome paſſages of his Writings he may ſeem to look the ſame way alſo, hath placed more judiciouſly in *Maſſa corrupta*, in the corrupted maſs of mankinde, and the more moderate *Calvinians* as rightly preſuppoſe for a matter neceſſary, before there could be any place for *Election* or *Reprobation* of *particular Perſons*. But being they concurred with the reſt, as to the perſonal Election or Reprobation of particular men; the reſtoring of the benefit of our Saviours ſufferings to thoſe few particulars, (whom onely they had honoured with the glorious Name of *Gods Elect*) the working on them by the irreſiſtable power of Grace in the act of Converſion, and bringing them infallibly by the continual aſſiſtance of the ſaid Grace unto life everlaſting; there was hardly any notice taken of their Deviation; inſomuch that they were ſcarce beheld in the condition of erring brethren, though they differed from them in the main Foundation which they built upon; but generally paſſed under the name of *Calviniſts*, as the other did. Which Doctrines, though I charge not wholly on the ſcore of Presbytery, in regard that many of our Engliſh Divines, who abhorred that Government, appeared in favour of the ſame; yet I may truely father them on the two grand Patrons of the *Presbyterians*, by whom they have been ſince expoſed as their deareſt darling; and no leſs eagerly contended for, then the holy Diſcipline.

23. Another of *Calvins* great deſigns was to cry down that Civil Idolatry, which he conceived had been committed unto Kings

Kings and Princes, in making them Supreme and uncontrollable in their ſeveral Countries. For pulling down of whoſe Authority, even in Civil Matters, he attributes ſuch power to ſuch popular Officers as are by them appointed for the eaſe of their Subjects, that by his Doctrine they may call the Supreme Magiſtrate to a ſtrict account, whenſoever they ſhall chance to exceed thoſe bounds which they had preſcribed unto themſelves, onely by which they may be circumſcribed by others: For having in the laſt Chapter of his *Inſtitutions*, firſt publiſhed in the year 1536, exceeding handſomely laid down the Doctrine of Obedience, and the unlawfulneſs of reſiſtance in what caſe ſoever; he gives in the cloſe ſuch a qualification, as utterly overthrows his former Doctrine, and proved the ſole ground of ſuch Rebellions, Treaſons and Aſſaſſinates as have diſfigured the otherwiſe undefiled beauty of the Church of Chriſt. Which paſſages I ſhall here lay down in the Authors words, with a tranſlation by their ſide, that the Reader may perceive there is no wrong done him; and afterwards proceed to the diſcovery of thoſe ſad effects which have enſued upon them in too many places, wherein his Diſcipline hath either been received or contended for. His Doctrine in which point is this that followeth:

Inſtitut. lib 4. c. 10. 8, 31.

24. *Neque enim ſi ultio Domini eſt effrænatæ, dominationis correctio ideo protinus demandatum nobis arbitremur, quibus nullum aliud quam* parendi *&* patiendi *datum eſt mandatum. De privatis hominibus ſemper loquar. Nam ſi qui nunc ſint* Populares Magiſtratus *ad moderandum Regum libidinem conſtituti (quales olim erant qui* Lacedemoniis Regibus *oppoſiti erant* Ephori, *aut* Romanis *Conſulibus* Tribuni Plebis, *aut* Athenienſium *Senatui* Demarchi, *& qua etiam forte poteſtate,* ut nunc res habent, *funguntur in ſingulis Regnis*, tres Ordines, *cum primarios conventus peragunt*;) *adeo illos ferocienti* Regum *licentiæ pro officio intercedere non veto, ut ſi* Regibus *impotenter graſſantibus, &* humili *plebeculæ inſultantibus conniverunt, eorum diſſimulationem nefaria*

24. Nor may we think becauſe the puniſhment of Licentious Princes belongs to God, that preſently this power is devolved on us, to whom no other warrant hath been given by God, but onely to *obey and ſuffer*. But ſtill I muſt be underſtood of private perſons: For if there be now any *Popular Officers* ordained to moderate the licentiouſneſs of Kings (ſuch as were the *Ephori* ſet up of old againſt the Kings of *Sparta*, the *Tribunes* of the people againſt the *Roman* Conſuls, and the *Demarchy* againſt the *Athenian* Senate, and with which power perhaps, as the world goes, the *three States* are ſeiz'd in each ſeveral Kingdom, when they are ſolemnly aſſembled;) ſo far am I from hindring them to put reſtraints upon the exorbitant power of

Kings

nefaria perfidia non carere affirmem, quia populi libertatem (cujus ſe, Dei ordinatione, tutores poſitos norunt) fraudulenter produnt.

Kings, as their Office binds them; that I conceive them rather to be guilty of a perfidious diſſimulation, if they connive at Kings when they play the Tyrants, or wantonly inſult on the Common people, in that they treacherouſly betray the Subjects liberties, of which they knew they were made Guardians by Gods own Ordinance.

25. Which dangerous Doctrine being thus breathed and broached by *Calvin*, hath ſince been both profeſſed and practiſed by all his Followers, as either they had opportunity to declare themſelves, or ſtrength enough to put the ſame in execution. Some of whoſe words I ſhall here add as a taſt to the reſt, and then refer the reſt to their proper places. And firſt we will begin with *Beza*, who in his twenty fourth Epiſtle, inſcribed to the Outlandiſh Churches in *England*, doth reſolve it thus: *If any man*, ſaith he, *contrary to the Laws and Liberties of his native Country, ſhall make himſelf a Lord or Supreme Magiſtrate over all the reſt; or being lawfully inveſted with the Supreme Magiſtracie, ſhould either unjuſtly ſpoil or deprive his Subjects of thoſe Rights and Priviledges which he hath ſworn to them to obſerve, or otherwiſe oppreſs them by open Tyranny; that then the ordinary and inferiour Officers are to oppoſe themſelves againſt them, who both by reaſon of their ſeveral Offices, and by Gods appointment, are bound in all ſuch caſes to protect the Subjects, not onely againſt Forreign, but Domeſtick Tyrants.* Which is as much as could be poſſibly contained in ſo narrow a compaſs: And if he were the Author (as ſome ſay he was) of the Book called *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, publiſhed under the name of *Stephanus Brutus*; there hath been no Rebellion raiſed ſince that Book was written, or likely to be raiſed in the times enſuing, which may not honeſtly be charged upon his account. But becauſe the Author of this Book is commonly reported to be meerly *French*, and none of the *Genevian* Doctors; we may poſſibly hear more of him in that part of our Hiſtory which relateth to the Actings of the Presbyterians in the Realm of *France*. What was taught afterwards in purſuance of *Calvins* Doctrines by *Hottoman*, and him that calls himſelf *Euſebius Philadelphos* amongſt the French; by *Urſine* and *Pareus*, in the *Palatine* Churches; by *Buchanan* and *Knox* amongſt the *Scots*, and by ſome principal Diſciplinarians amongſt the Engliſh, we ſhall hereafter ſee in their proper places: And we ſhall then ſee alſo what was done in point of practice, firſt by the Princes of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and afterwards by ſome great Lords of

a Siquiſquis repugnandis legibus, & patriæ privilegiis, ſeſe Dominum aut Magiſtratum conſtituit, &c. Epiſt 24.

of the *Hugonot* party againſt *Francis* the Second, *Charles* the Ninth, *Henry* the Third, and *Lewis* the Thirteenth, Kings of *France*; by *William* Prince of *Orange*, and other of the *Belgick* Lords, in the final abdication of King *Philip* the Second; by the *Hungarians* and *Bohemians*, in their revolting from the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; by the Rebellious *Scots*, in depoſing, impriſoning, and expelling of their rightful Queen, and finally, by the *Genevian* Faction in the Realm of *England*, in their imbroylments of the Nation under Queen *Elizabeth*, and that calamitous War (but more calamitous in the iſſue and concluſion of it) againſt *Charles* the Firſt. All which are built upon no other ground then this Doctrine of *Calvin*, accommodated and applyed to their ſeveral purpoſes, as appears plainly by the Anſwer of the *Scots* to Queen *Elizabeth*, who juſtified the depoſing of their natural and lawful Queen, on thoſe words of *Calvin*, which they relyed on for the ſole ground of that horrible Treaſon, and their Indemnity therein; of which more hereafter.

26. In the mean time I ſhall content my ſelf with the following paſſage, faithfully gathered out of the *Common Places* of *William Bucan*, Divinity-Reader in the ſmall Univerſity of *Lawſanna*, ſcituate on the Lake *Lemane*, in the Canton of *Berne*, and conſequently a neer Neighbour to the Town of *Geneva*; who treating in his forty one Chapter of the Duty of Magiſtrates, propounds this queſtion toward the cloſe, *viz. What a good Chriſtian ought to do, if by a cruel Prince he be diſtreſſed by ſome grievous and open injury?* To which he thus returns his Anſwer: *That though Princes and Subjects have relation unto one another; yet Subjects in the courſe of nature were before their Princes; and therefore that ſuch Princes (if they uſurp not a plain Tyranny in their ſeveral Kingdoms) are not Superiour to the reſt by nature, in the right of Father-hood, but are ſetled by the ſuffrages and conſent of the people, on ſuch conditions as originally were agreed between them; and that it follows thereupon, (according unto* Buchanans *Doctrine) that Subjects are not born for the good of their Kings, but that all Kings were made to ſerve for the good of the people: that it is lawful to defend Religion by force of Arms, not onely againſt the aſſaults of ſuch Forreign Nations as have no juriſdiction over us, but alſo againſt any part of the ſame Common-wealth (the common conſent of the Eſtates being firſt obtained) which doth indeavour to ſubvert it: that no violence is to be offered to the perſon of the Supreme Magiſtrate, though he play the Tyrant, by any private man whatſoever, except he be warranted thereunto by ſome extraordinary and expreſs command from the Lord himſelf; but the oppreſſion rather to be born with patience, then that God ſhould be offended by ſuch raſh attempts: that the Protection of the Supreme Magiſtrate was to be required againſt the unjuſt oppreſſions of inferiour Officers: and that in a free Common-wealth the Supreme Magiſtrate is rather to*

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be queſtioned in a courſe of Law, then by open Force; that Subjects may lawfully take up Arms in defence of their Wives and Children, if the Chief Magiſtrate make any violent aſſault upon them, as Lyons and other brute Creatures fight to defend their young ones; this laſt exemplified by that of *Trajan*, giving the Sword to the Captain of his Guard, with theſe following words: *Hoc enſe pro me, juſta faciente, injuſta faciente contra me uteris*; that is to ſay, That he ſhould uſe the Sword againſt him in defence of himſelf, and for the protection of all thoſe who in regard of his Office were ſubject to him: *that therefore it was well done by the* Switzers *to free themſelves of their ſubjection to the Houſe of* Auſtria, *when the Princes of the Houſe had exerciſed more then ordinary cruelty in moſt parts of the Country*; *that* David *might lawfully have killed* Saul, *becauſe he gave his Wife to another man, expelled him from his native Country, murdered the Prieſts for doing ſome good Offices to him, and purſued him from one place to another with his flying Army*; *but that he did forbear to do it, leſt he ſhould give an Example to the people of* Iſrael *of killing their Kings, which other men prompted by ambition might be like enough to imitate.*

27. Such is the Commentary of *Buchanus* upon *Calvins* Text, by which all Chriſtian Kings are made accountable even in Civil Matters to the three Eſtates, or any other ordinary Officers of their own appointing. Which Doctrines being once by him delivered, and inforced by others, what elſe could follow thereupon, but firſt an undervaluing of their tranſcendent Authority, afterwards a contempt of their perſons; and finally, a reviling of them with reproachful Language? From hence it was that *Calvin* calls [a] *Mary* Queen of *England* by the name of *Proſerpine*, aſſuring us that all the Devils in Hell were not half ſo miſchievous; and that *Knox* could not finde for her any better titles then that of *Jezabel*, miſchievous *Mary* of the *Spaniards* blood, the profeſſed enemy of God. From hence it was, that *Beza* calls *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, by the names of *Medea* and *Athaliah*; of which the one was no leſs infamous in the Sacred, then the other was in the Heathen ſtory; that the Engliſh *Puritans* compared Queen *Elizabeth* to an idle ſlut, who ſwept the middle of the room, but left all the duſt and filth thereof behind the doors; that *Didoclavius* calls King *James* [b] the greateſt and moſt deadly enemy of the holy Goſpel; and poſitively affirms [c] of all Kings in general, that they are naturally enemies to the Kingdom of Chriſt. And finally, from hence it was that the ſeditious Author of the baſe and unworthy Dialogue, entituled *Euſebius Philadelphus*, hath ſo beſpattered the great Princes of the Houſe of *France*, that he hath made them the moſt ugly Monſters in their luſts and cruelty, which ere Nature produced; and could deviſe no fitter names for Queen *Mary* of *Scotland*, then thoſe of *Medea*, *Clytemneſtra*, *Proſerpine*, with that of *monſtrum Exitiale* in the cloſe of all: And that the late

[a] *Cancellarium Proſerpinæ illius, quæ nunc in Angliâ omnes ſuperat Diabolos.* Calv. in Amos, cap 7.

[b] *Infenſiſſimus Evangelii hoſtis.* Ad Altar. Damaſc. Epiſt.

[c] *Naturâ inſitum eſt in omnibus Regibus Chriſti odium.* Ibid.

most mighty Monarch of Great *Britain*, was handled by his Subjects of this Faction with no leſs ſcurrility, then if he had been raiſed on high for no other purpoſe then to be made the mark, againſt which they were to ſhoot their Arrows, even moſt bitter words, the object of all falſe tongues, and calumnious Pens. Thus do they deal with Kings and Princes, as *Pilate* in the Goſpel did with Chriſt our Saviour, adorned them in their Royal Robes, with their Crowns and Scepters, and then expoſed them to the ſcorn of the common Souldiers, the inſolencies and reproaches of the raskal Rabble.

28. Nor do they deal much better with them, in reference to their power in Spiritual Matters; which they make either none at all, or ſuch as is ſubſervient onely to the uſe of the Church. *Calvin* firſt leads the way in this, as he did in the other, and ſeems exceedingly diſpleaſed with King *Henry* the Eighth, for taking to him the title of Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of *England*. Of this he makes complaint in his Commentary on the 7 of *Amos*; not onely telling us [a] what inconſiderate men they were who had conferred upon him any ſuch Supremacie, but that himſelf was very much diſquieted and offended at it. And though he be content to yeild him ſo much Authority, as may enable him to make uſe of the Civil Sword to the protecting of the Church and the true Religion; yet he condemns all thoſe of the like inconſiderateneſs, who make them more ſpirituall (that is to ſay, of greater power, in Sacred Matters) then indeed they are. The Supreme power according to the Rules of *Calvins* Platform, belongs unto the Conſiſtory, Claſſes, or Synodical Meetings, to which he hath aſcribed the deſignation of all ſuch as bear publick Office in the Church, the appointing and proclaiming of all ſolemn Faſts, the calling of all Councils or Synodical Meetings, the cenſuring of all miſdemeanors in the Miniſters of holy Church; in which laſt they have made the Supreme Magiſtrate an incompetent Judge, and therefore his Authority and final Judgement in ſuch caſes of no force at all. *Beza* treads cloſe upon the heels of his Maſter *Calvin*, and will allow no other power to the Civil Magiſtrate, then to protect the Church and the Miniſtry of it, in propagating and promoting the True Worſhip of God. It is, ſaith [b] he, the Office of the Civil Magiſtrate, to uſe the Sword in maintenance and defence of Gods holy Church; as it is the duty of the Miniſters and Preachers of it, to implore their aid as well againſt all ſuch as refuſe obedience to the Decrees and Conſtitutions of the Church, as againſt Hereticks and Tyrants, which endeavoured to ſubvert the ſame. In which particulars if the Magiſtrate neglects to do his duty, and ſhall not diligently labour in ſuppreſſing Hereſie, and executing the Decrees of the Church againſt all opponents; what can the people do, but follow the Example of the Mother-City, in taking that power upon themſelves, though to the total alteration and ſubverſion of the publick Govern-

[a] *Fuerunt serìè homines inconſiderati, &c. & hoc me ſemper graviter vexavit. In Amos, cap. 7. v. 13.*

[b] *Officium magiſtratus eſt Eccleſiam Dei gladio tueri ac conſervare, &c. Bez. Epiſt. 24.*

Government. For from the Principles and practice of these great Reformers, it hath ever since been taken up as a *Ruled case* amongst all their Followers, that if Kings and Princes should refuse to reform Religion, that then the inferiour Magistrates, or the Common people, by the direction of their Ministers, both may and ought to proceed to a Reformation, and that by force of Arms also, if need so require.

29. That by this Rule the *Scots* did generally walk in their Reformation, under the Regencie of *Mary* of *Lorreign*, Queen-Dowager to *James* the Fifth; and after her decease, in the Reign of her Daughter; we shall show hereafter. And we shall show hereafter also, that it was published for good *Genevian* Doctrine by our English *Puritans*, *That if Princes hinder them that travail in the search of this* holy Discipline, *they are Tyrants to the Church and the Ministers of it; and being so, may be deposed by their subjects.* Which though it be somewhat more then *Calvin* taught as to that particular, yet the conclusion follows well enough on such faulty *Premises*; which makes it seem the greater wonder in our English *Puritans*, that following him so closely in pursuit of the Discipline, their disaffection unto Kings and all Soveraign Princes, their manifest contempt of all publick Liturgies, and pertinaciously adhering to his Doctrine of Predestination; they should so visibly dissent him in the point of the Sabbath. For whereas some began to teach about these times [a] that the keeping holy of one day in seven, was to be reckoned for the Moral part of the fourth Commandment; he could not let it pass without some reproof: for what, saith he, can be intended by those men, but in defiance of the Jews to change the day, and then to add a greater Sanctity unto it then the Jews ever did? First therefore, he declares for his own Opinion, that he made no such reckoning of a seventh-day-Sabbath, [b] as to inthral the Church to a necessity of conforming to it: And secondly, that he esteemed no otherwise of the Lords-day-Sabbath, then of an Ecclesiastical Constitution, [c] appointed by our Ancestors in the place of the Jewish Sabbath, and therefore alterable from one day to another at the Churches pleasure: Followed therein by all the Churches of his party, who thereupon permit all lawful Recreations, and many works of necessary labour on the day it self, provided that the people be not thereby hindred from giving their attendance in the Church at the times appointed. Insomuch, that in *Geneva* it self all manlike exercises, as running, vaulting, leaping, shooting, and many others of that nature, are as indifferently indulged on the Lords day, as on any other. How far the English *Puritans* departed from their Mother-Church, both in Doctrine and Practice (with reference to this particular) we shall see hereafter, when they could finde no other way to advance *Presbytery*, and to decry the Reputation of the ancient Festivals, then by erecting their new Sabbath in the hearts of the people.

a *Moralem esse unius diei observationem in hebdomada.* Instit. lib. 2. c. 8. Sect. 34.

b *Numerum Septenarium, non ejus servitute Ecclesias astrinxit.* Lib. 4. Ibid.

c *Quem veteres in eorum sabbatum subrogarunt.*

30. It is reportred by *John Barkley* in his Book called *Parenesis ad Scotos*, that *Calvin* once held a Consultation at *Geneva*, for transferring the Lords day from Sunday to Thursday. Which though perhaps it may be true (considering the inclination of the man to new devices;) yet I conceive, that he had greater projects in his Head, and could finde other ways to advance his Discipline, then by falling upon any such ridiculous and odious Counsel. He had many Irons in the fire, but took more care in hammering his Discipline then all the rest; First by entitling it to some express Warrant from the holy Scripture, and afterwards by commending it to all the Churches of the Reformation. In reference to the first, he lets us know in his Epistle to *Farellus*, *Septemb.* 16. 1543. [a] that the Church could not otherwise subsist, then under such a Form of Government, *as is prescribed in the Word*, and observed in old times by the Church. And in relation to the other, he was resolved to make his best use of that Authority, which by his Commentaries on the Scriptures, his Book of *Institutions*, and some occasional Discourses against the Papists, he had acquired in all the Protestant and reformed Churches. Insomuch, that *Gasper Ligerus*, a Divine of *Witteborge*, by his Letters bearing date *Feb.* 27. 1554, acknowledgeth the great benefit which he had received by his Writings, acquaints him with the peaceable estate of the Church of *Saxonie*; but signifies withal, [b] that *Excommunication* was not used amongst them: whereunto *Calvin* makes this Answer, That he was glad to hear that the Church of *Saxony* continued in that condition, but sorry [c] that it was not so strengthned by the Nerves of Discipline, as might preserve the same inviolated to the times to come. He adds, that there could be no better way of correcting vice, then by the joynt consent of all the Pastors of one City; [d] and that he never thought it meet, that the power of Excommunicating should reside in the Pastors onely, (that is to say, not in conjunction with their *Elders*;) which last he builds on these three Reasons: First, in regard it is an odious and ungrateful Office; next, because such a sole and absolute power might easily degenerate into tyranny; and finally, because the Apostles had taught otherwise in it. By which we see, that as he builds his Discipline on the Word of God, or at the least on Apostolical tradition, which comes close unto it; so he adventureth to commend it to the *Lutheran* Churches, in which his Reputation was not half so great, as amongst those which had embraced the *Zuinglian* Doctrines.

31. But in the *Zuinglian* Churches he was grown more absolute; his Writings being so highly valued, and his person so esteemed of in regard of his Writings, that most of the Divines thereof depended wholly upon his judgement, and were willing to submit to any thing of his Prescription. The Church of *Strasbourgh*, where he had remained in the time of his exile, received his Discipline with the first, as soon as it was finally established

De transferenda solennitate dominica in feriam quintum, lib. 1. cap. ult.

[a] *Nin posse consistere Ecclesiam, nisi certum Regimen constitueretur, quale ex verbo Dei nobis prescriptum est, & in veteri Ecclesia fuit observatum.* Epist. ad Farell.

[b] *Excommunicationem apud nos, adhuc nullam esse.*

[c] *Sed non simul conjunctos esse Disciplinæ nervos, docendum est,* &c.

[d] *Nunquam utile putavi jus Excommunicandi permitti singulis pastoribus: nam & res odiosa est,* &c. *Alium usum Apostoli tradiderunt.*

stablished in *Geneva* it self. For it appeareth by the Letter which *Gasper Oberianus* sent to *Calvin*, bearing date *April* 12. 1560. [a] that the Eldership was then well setled in that Church, and the Elders of it in a full possession of their power, the exercise whereof they are desired to suspend in one particular, which is there offered to his view. This *Gasper* was chief Minister of the Church of *Tryers*, so passionately affected to the name of *Calvin*, that he accounted it for one of his greatest honours to be [b] called a *Calvinian*-Preacher. Acquainting him with the condition of the Church of *Tryers*, he tells him amongst other things, that he found the people very willing to submit to Discipline; and thereupon intreats him for a Copy of those Laws and Orders [c] which were observed in the Consistory of *Geneva*, to the end he might communicate them to such of the Senators as he knew to be zealously affected. *Calvin*, who was apt enough to hearken to his own desires, sends him a large draught of the whole Platform, as well relating to the choice of the Members, either Lay or Ministers, as to the power and jurisdiction which they were to exercise, with all the penalties and particularities (with reference unto crimes and persons) which depended on it. And having given him that account, he thus closeth with him: *This summary* (saith he) *I had thought sufficient, by which, or out of which* [d], *you may easily frame to your self such a form of Government, as I have no reason to prescribe. To you it appertains modestly to suggest those counsels, which you conceive to be most profitable for the use of the Church, that godly and discreet men, who seldom take it ill to be well advised, may thereupon consider what is best be to done.* Which words of his, though very cautelously couched, were so well understood by *Oberianus*, that the Discipline was first admitted in that Church, and afterwards propagated into those of the Neighbouring Provinces.

[a] *De hac re cuperem abs te commonefieri, Ecclesiam Argentinens. &c. cujus Ecclesiæ consideraturos spero & Seniores, &c.*

[b] *De me Concionatore Calvinianæ, &c.* Ibid.

[c] *Leges Consistorii vestri optavi tuto ad me transmitti, &c.*

[d] *Ex quo formam aliquam conciperes, quam prescribere non debui.*

32. He hath another way of screwing himself into the good opinion of such Kings and Princes as he conceived to be inclinable to the Reformation; sometimes congratulating with them for their good success; sometimes encouraging them to proceed in so good a work; of which sort were his Letters to King *Edward* the Sixth, to Queen *Elizabeth*, and Mr. Secretary *Cecil*; to the Prince Elector *Palatine*, Duke of *Wirtinburgh*, Lantgrave of *Hesse*. But he bestirred himself in no place more, then he did in *Poland*; which though he never visited in person, yet he was frequent in it by his Lines and Agents. The *Augustane* Confession had been brought thither some years before; of which he took but little notice. But he had heard no sooner that the Doctrines of *Zuinglius* began to get some ground upon them, under the Reign of *Sigismund*, sirnamed *Augustus*, when presently he posts his Letters to the King, and most of the great Officers which were thought to encline that way. Amongst which, he directs his Letters to Prince *Radzeville*, one

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of the Chief *Palatines*, and Earl Marshal; *Spirtetus Castelan* of *Sunderzee*, and Lord high-Treasurer; to *John* Count of *Tarnaco*, *Castelan* of *Craco*, and Lord General of his Majesties Armies: besides many other *Castelans*, and persons of great power in the Affairs of that Kingdom. In his first Letters to that King, dated the fourth of *December* 1554, he seems to congratulate with him for imbracing the Reformed Religion, (though in that point he was somewhat out in his intelligence;) and thereupon exhorts him to be earnest in the propagating of the Faith and Gospel, which in himself he had impresst; and that he would proceed to reform the Church from the dregs of Popery, without regard to any of those dangers and inconveniences which might follow on it. But in his next address (1555) he comes up more close, speaks [a] of *erecting a tribunal or throne to Christ*; setting up such a perfect Form of the true Religion, as came neerest to the Ordinance of Christ. And we know well, that in the meaning of his party, the settling of *Presbytery* was affirmed to be nothing else then setting Christ upon his Throne, holding the Scepter of the Holy Discipline in his own right-hand. And somewhat to this purpose he had also written to the Count of *Tarnaco*, whom in his first Letter he applauds for his great readiness to receive the Gospel: But in his second, bearing date the nineteenth of *November* 1558, he seems no less grieved that the *Count* demurred on something which he had recommended to him, under pretence that [b] it was not safe to alter any thing in the State of the Kingdom, and that all innovations seemed to threaten some great danger to it; which cautelousness in that great person, could not relate to any alteration in the State of Religion, in which an alteration had been made for some years before; and therefore must refer to some Form of Discipline which *Calvin* had commended to him for the use of those Churches. And no man can conceive that he would recommend unto them any other Form then that which he devised for the Church of *Geneva*.

[a] *Quanti nobis esse debeat singere a Religio, per quam Christo inter nos Tribunal erigitur.*

[b] *In statu Regni nil movendum, quod omnis novitas graves motus & extiales minaretur.*

32. But *Calvin* did not deal by Letters onely in the present business, but had his Agents in that *Kingdom*, who busily imployed themselves to advance his projects. Amongst whom, none more practical, or pragmatical rather, then *John Alasco*, of a Noble Family in that Country, but a professed *Calvinian*, both for Doctrine and Discipline; for the promoting whereof, when he had setled himself and his Church in *London*, *Anno* 1550, he publisheth a Pamphlet in defence of sitting at the Holy Sacrament, incouraged those who had refused conformity to the Cap and Surplice, and eagerly sollicited *M. Bucer* (a man of greater parts, but of more moderation) to shew himself on their behalf. Driven out of *England*, he betakes himself to the Dukedom of *Saxony*, where he behaved himself with such indiscretion, that he was fain to quit those parts and retire to *Poland*, in which the greatness of his kindred was his best prote-

protection. There he sets up again for *Calvin*. By the Activity of this man, the diligence of *Utenhorius*, and the compliance of some great persons upon Politick ends; the Eldership is advanced in many places of that Kingdom, as appears by the Letters of the said *Utenhorius*, bearing date *Jan.*27.1559. In which he signifies unto him, that the most illustrious Prince, the *Palatine* of *Vilna* in *Lithuania*, being come to the Assembly of the States which was held at *Petrico*, resolved not to depart from thence before some Convention of the Brethren should be held there also; to which [a] as well the Elders which his Highness brought thither with him, as those he found there at his coming, should consult together for the establishing of a greater purity in Rites and Ceremonies to be used amongst them. For which admission of the Discipline into *Lithuania*, *Calvin* expresseth no small joy in his Letters to a nameless Friend in that Country, bearing date *Octob.*9.1561. In which he lets him know how much he did congratulate the happiness of the Realm of *Poland*, and more particularly of the Province of *Lithuania*, that the Reformed Religion made so great a progress in those Countries, by which addition Christs Kingdom had been much enlarged; that his joy was very much increased, [b] by hearing that together with the same Religion they received the Discipline; that it was not without very good cause, that he used to call the Discipline the *Nerves of the Church*, in regard of the great strength which it added to it. By which last words we may perceive what kinde of Church-Government it was which he commended to *Ligerus* before remembred, under this very title of the *Nerves of Discipline*, by which Religion was to be preserved inviolable for the times to come.

[a] *Ad quem nostri hu Seniores, ac etiam sui quidem quos secum adduxit, &c.*

[b] *Cum audio Disciplinam Evangelii professione conjungit*

33. In the Assembly at *Petrico*, before remembred, the *Palatines*, and other great men of the Kingdom, obtained a Priviledge, [c] whereby it was made lawful for them to reform all the Churches under their command, & to reform them in such manner as to them seemed best. It was then also moved by the Count of *Tarnaco*, that the Bishops should no longer hold their place or suffrage in the Assembly of Estates, but keep themselves only to such matters as concerned the Church: which though it did not take effect, yet the attempt appeared so dreadful in the eye of those Prelates then present, that they became more tractable and obsequious to the great State-Officers, then they had been formerly. And what could follow hereupon, but that the great men being left to please themselves in their own Religion, and the Bishops not daring to oppose; not onely *Zuinglianism* and the *Discipline*, but many other Sects and Innovations should get ground upon them? In reference to the Discipline, as it was fitted and accommodated to whole Realms and Nations, they had not onely their *Presbyteries*, as in *Geneva*, *Strasbourg*, and some other Cities; but their *Classical* and *Synodical* Meetings, as in *France* and *Scotland*; wherein they took upon them

[c] *Ut totius nobilitati libera esset formandare suarum Ecclesiam laicalis permitti deberet, Utenh. Calv. Jan.*27.1559.

them to make Laws and Ordinances for the directing of their Churches after *Calvins* Model. For in the Synod held at *Izenger*, in the year 1564, it was Decreed that they should use no other Musick in their Churches, then the singing of Psalms (after the manner of *Geneva*, understand it so) condemning that which was then used in the Church of *Rome*, partly because the Psalms and Hymns were sung in the Latine Tongue; and partly because the Priests did bellow in them (as they pleased to phrase it) like the Priests of *Baal*. Concerning which we are to know, that the device of turning *Davids* Psalms into Rhyme and Meter, was first taken up by *Clement Marrot*, one of the Grooms of the Bed-chamber to King *Francis* the First; who being much addicted to Poetry, and having some acquaintance with those which were thought to wish well to the Reformation, was perswaded by the learned *Vatablus* (Professor of the Hebrew Tongue in the University of *Paris*) to exercise his Poetical Fancies in translating some of *Davids* Psalms. For whose satisfaction and his own, he translated the first fifty of them into *Gallick* Meters; and after fleeing to *Geneva*, grew acquainted with *Beza*, who in some tract of time translated the other hundred also, and caused them to be fitted unto several Tunes: Which thereupon began to be sung in private Houses, and by degrees to be taken up in all the Churches of the French and other Nations which followed the *Genevian* Platform. For first, in imitation of this Work of *Marrot's*, *Sternhold*, a Groom of the Privy-Chamber to King *Edward* the Sixth, translated thirty seven of them into English Meeter, *Anno* 1552, the rest made up by *John Hopkins* and some others, in the time of Queen *Mary*; but most especially by such as had retired unto *Geneva* in those very times. Followed therein by some *Dutch* Zealots, who having modelled their Reformation by the Rules of *Calvin*, were willing to imbrace this Novelty amongst the rest. So as in little tract of time, the singing of these Psalms in Meter became a most especial part of their publick Worship; and was esteemed as necessary to the Service of God, as were the acts of Prayer and Preaching, and whatsoever else was esteemed most Sacred. In the next place, to take away all difference in Apparel, whether Sacred or Civil, and all distinction in the choice of Meats and Drinks; he accounted it [b] a ridiculous and ungodly thing for those which are the Heirs of all things, (with dominion over all the Creatures) to suffer themselves to be restrained by any superstitious use of Meats, Drinks, or Vestments. The Temples built unto their hands, they were contented to make use of for their publick Meetings, being first purged of Idols, Altars, the Bellowings beforementioned, and other the like dregs of Popery; though formerly they had been abused (who sees not a *Calvinian* spirit walking in all these lines?) by the Priests of *Baal*. They seem content also to allow their Ministers

[b] *Stolum & ridiculum est haeredes Domini & omnium creaturarum, &c. Cap. de vestitu.*

ſters Meat, Drink and wages; condemning thoſe which grutch them ſuch a ſorry Pittance. But as for Tithes, and Glebes, and Parſonage-Houſes, they kept them wholly to themſelves, that being the Fiſh they angled for in thoſe troubled waters, and the chief bait that tempted them to ſwallow down thoſe alterations in Religion, which afterwards made them a reproach and a by-word to the reſt of Chriſtendom.

34. I have ſome reaſon to believe, that ſitting at the Lords Table came firſt in with *Calviniſm*, as being moſt agreeable to the Rules of the Diſcipline and the Doctrine of the *Zuinglian* Church. But afterwards, upon conſideration of the ſcandal which was given thereby, as well to the *Lutherans* as the Papiſts; [a] it was thought fit to change that poſture into ſtanding or kneeling; and then to charge the introduction of that ſawcy cuſtom on the *Arrain* Hereticks, who looking on Chriſt no otherwiſe then their elder Brother, thought it no robbery at all to be equal with him, [b] and ſit down with him at his Table. And it was well for them, though it happened very ill for the peace of Chriſtendom, that they could finde ſo fair a Plaſter for ſo foul a ſoar. For ſo it was, that both the Hereſies of *Arrius*, the impieties of *Servetus*, the extravagancies of the *Anabaptiſts*, and the exploded errors of the *Samoſatenians*, who from the laſt reviver of them are now called *Socinians*, grew up together in this Kingdom with the Doctrine of *Calvin*, and might receive ſome good encouragement from the Rules of his Diſcipline, by which that ſlovenly geſture or poſture of ſitting was impoſed as neceſſary. Nor was the Diſcipline of force ſufficient to repreſs thoſe Hereſies; though *Calvin* thought it ſuch a great preſervative of the true Religion, and that it was confirmed at the Synod of *Sendomier* 1570, [c] as grounded on the Word of God, and warranted both by Chriſts command, and the example of his Apoſtles; which gives the *Presbyterian* Diſcipline more Divine Inſtitution, then *Calvin* durſt aſcribe unto it, or any of our Sabbatarians could ever finde for their Lords-day-Sabbath. Some difference there was in the choice of their Elders, between theſe Poliſh Churches, and the reſt of that Platform; the Government of the reſt, being meerly popular; but theſe retaining ſomewhat in them of an Ariſtocracy. For beſides the ſeveral *Presbyteries* of particular Churches, they have a more general ſuperintendencie in every Dioceſs, or any other large Diſtrict, of what name ſoever. For managing whereof, ſome of the principal Miniſters are choſen by conſent of their Synods, whom they call by the name of *Spiritual Superintendents*, each of them being aſſociated with two or three Elders of the Lay-Nobility; and for the moſt part, of the rank or degree of Knights. By means whereof, they keep the ordinary Presbyteries and Parochial Seſſions within the bounds appointed for them, not ſuffering them to intrench upon the priviledges of Prince or People, as they have done in other places, where they want this curb.

[a] *Ut ſtantes & genua flectentes, corpus & ſanguinem Chriſti ſumant.* Syn. Petricov. num. 4

[b] *Ceremonia tantum Ariani cum Domino pariſolio ſeſe collocantibus, propria.* Synod. Wladiſl. Num. 6.

[c] *Secundum verbum Dei, & mandatum Jeſu Chriſti, & exemplum Apoſtolorum.* Num. 11.

36. Leaving the Polish Churches under this establishment, we must follow *Calvin* into *Scotland*, where he imployed *John Knox* as his Vicar-General. He knew the spirit of the man by his Factious Writings, his actings in the Schism at *Frankfort*, and the long conversation which he had with him in *Geneva* it self; and having given him a Commission to return to *Scotland*, instructed and incouraged him in his following courses. And *Knox* applyed himself so well to his Instructions, that presently on his return he inflamed the people to the defacing of Images, the destroying of Altars, demolishing of Monasteries and Religious Houses, and making havock of all things which formerly were accounted Sacred. This *Calvin* calls [a] the propagation of the Gospel, and by his Letters doth congratulate with him for his good success: So that if *Tully*'s Rule be true, and that there be little or no difference between the advising of mischief, and the rejoycing at it when the deed is done [b]; *Calvin* must be as guilty of those spoils and Sacrileges, as even *Knox* himself. And that he might proceed as he had begun, he lays this Rule before him for his future carriage; that is to say, that the Church was to be cleared from all that filth which had issued out of errour and superstition; [c] and that the Mysteries of God were not to be defiled with idle and impertinent mixtures. Under which general Rule, and such a general Rule as hath no exceptions, there was no Ceremony used in the Church of *Rome*, though Primitive and Apostolical in it self, which was not presently to be discharged as *impure* or *idle*, or otherwise abominated, as some part of the filths of Popery. And because all things must be done to the honour of *Calvin*, he is consulted with in all such doubts and emergent difficulties, as could not be sufficiently determined by a less Authority. It is reported in the History writ by Venerable *Bede*, that when *Augustine* the Monk was sent into *England* by Pope *Gregory* to convert the *Saxons*, he met with many difficult and intricate cases, which he was not able to resolve. In which respect he sent them all in writing to the Pope himself, requiring his judgement in the same, that he might have the better ground to proceed upon; either in ordering of such matters which concerned the Church, or determining finally such cases as were brought before him. *Knox* looks on *Calvin* with as great a Reverence, as *Augustine* did upon the Pope; accounts him for the Supreme Pastor of the Reformation, and therefore sends his doubts unto him concerning the Baptizing of Bastards, as also of the Children of Idolaters, and Excommunicate persons. He makes another Querie also, but such as seemed to be rather a matter of Concupiscence, then a case of Conscience; Whether the Monks and Parish-Priests which remained in *Scotland*, were to receive their Tythes and Rents as in former times, considering that they did no service in the Church of Christ. To which last Query, he returned such answer (for in the other he was

[a] *Evangelium apud vos tam felices, latos progressus facere vehementer ut par est lætor.*

[b] *Nihil interest otium velim fieri, an gaudeam factum.* Cicer. in Phil 2.

[c] *Ut Ecclesia sordibus purgetur, quæ ex errore & superstitione manarunt, & ne fœdentur Dei Mysteria ludicris & insipidis miscturis*, Calv. Knoxo, April 3. 1561.

was Orthodox and ſound enough) as ſerved to ſtrip the Monks and Prieſts of all their livelyhood; it being clearly his opinion, *a* that they ought not to be fed and cloathed at the publick charge, in regard they lived in idleneſs, and did nothing for it; but that they rather were to get their livings by the ſweat of their brows, and by the labour of their hands. According to which reſolution, no man is ſure of his Eſtate, but may be ſtript of it as an idle boy, or an unprofitable ſervant, when the Brethren pleaſe.

a Monachis & Sacrificulis in vitium ex publico non debere cerram eſſe, ut in otio inutiles degant, &c. — ſed potius ut juſto labore ſibi victum quærant. Calv. Knoxo. Nov. 8 1559.

36. But *Calvins* thoughts were not confined to *Poland* or to *Scotland* onely: He now pretends to a more general or Apoſtolical care over all the Churches, ſending abroad his Miſſives like the *Decretals* of ſome former Popes; which being made in reference to thoſe emergent difficulties which were brought before them, ſerved afterwards for a ſtanding Rule to regulate the like caſes for the times to come. It would be thought a matter of impertinency, or curioſity at the beſt, to touch upon all particulars of this nature, in which he ſignified his good pleaſure to the reſt of the Churches. The Reader may ſatisfie himſelf out of his Epiſtles, if he hath any liſt or leiſure to conſult the ſame; or otherwiſe may make a judgement of them by this ſmall ſcantling, as the wiſe Mathematician took the juſt meaſure of the body of *Hercules*, by the impreſſion which he made in the ſand by one of his Feet. And therefore I ſhall look no further then upon ſuch ſpecialities as have relation to the Doctrine, Diſcipline, or Forms of Worſhip, which are moſt proper to the reſt. Some of the Brethren not fully ſetled in a Church, had laid aſide the ſinging of Pſalms, either for fear of being diſcovered, or otherwiſe terrified and diſcouraged by the threats of the adverſary. For this he reprehends them in a tedious Letter, dated *July* 19. 1559. *b* imputes it to their fearfulneſs or puſillanimity, accuſeth them of plain tergiverſation, and ſhutting up all paſſages againſt the entrance of the Graces of Almighty God. The Brethren of *Montbelyard* (for I think the former lived in *Mettz*, the chief City of *Lorrein*) were required by the Guardians of their Prince (that is to ſay, the *Palatine* of *Znibrook*, and the Duke of *Wirtenberge*) to hold conformity in ſome Ceremonies with the *Lutheran* Church, as namely in the Form of their Catechiſing, the manner of Adminiſtring the Holy Sacrament, the Form of publick Prayers, and Solemnizing of Marriages. They were required alſo to imploy themſelves in Preaching down the errours and corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, in ſome ſmall Signiories which were lately fallen unto their Prince, and had not formerly been inſtructed in the Doctrine of the Proteſtant Churches. But abſolutely they refuſed the one, and would do nothing in the other without *Calvins* leave; to whoſe infallible judgement and determination they refer the points: whereunto he returns ſuch anſwer by his Letters, bearing date

b Veſtra timiditas, atque puſillanimitas vos ita conſtringit, &c. — ut potius retro ſe-ramini, & gratiæ Dei januam claudatis.

September 25. 1562, as confirmed them in their first refusal; excepting more particularly against suffering Midwives to Baptize, and against praying for the joyful Resurrection of a man deceased, at the time of his Burial. But in the other he adviseth them to accept the charge, as visibly conducing to the propagation of the true Religion, and the inlarging of Christs Kingdom.

37. So for the Discipline which seemed to be devised at first upon humane prudence, accommodated to the present condition of *Geneva* onely; the use of Excommunication had been discontinued in the Protestant Churches, and no such creatures as Lay-Elders heard of in the Primitive times, or glanced at in the holy Scriptures. So that to trust them with the power of the Churches censures, could not pretend to any ground in the Word of God, supposing that the use of Excommunication was to be every where received. *Calvin* himself confesses in his Letter unto those of *Zurick*, [a] that in the judgement of most Learned and Religious men, there was no need of Excommunication under Christian Princes. *Beza* acknowledgeth the like in the Life of *Calvin*; and what *Ligerus* saith for the Church of *Saxonie*, hath been shewed already. But by degrees it came to be intituled to Divine Authority; at first commended as convenient, and at last as necessary. With the opinion of the Sacred and Divine Authority of the holy Discipline, he had so far possessed *Saligniar*, a man of Eminent power in the City of *Paris*, and one that for thirty years before, had declared himself in favour of the Reformation, that he acknowledgeth it in the end to be *Apostolical*: For in his Letter written unto *Calvin* on the Ides of *December*, he lets him know how vehemently he did desire, that [b] they might have such a Form of Ecclesiastical *Polity*, as *Calvin* seemed to breath, and could not be denyed to be Apostolical. From hence it was that he declared so positively in his Epistle to *Poppius*, *February* 25. 1559, that the [c] Magistrates were to be sollicited for the Exercise of Excommunication by publick Authority; which if it could not be obtained, the Ministers were to make this protestation, that they durst not give the Sacrament to unworthy receivers, for fear of coming under the censure of casting that which was holy before Dogs and Swine. More fully in his answer to some questions about the Discipline; in which we finde (and that goes very high indeed) [d] that the safety of the Church cannot otherwise be provided for, then by the free use of Excommunication, for the purifying of the same from filth, the restraint of licentiousness, abolishing enormous crimes, and the correcting of ill manners; the moderate exercise whereof he that will not suffer, doth plainly shew himself to be no sheep of our Saviours Pasture.

38. And so far *Calvin* had proceeded, but he went no further; neither condemning the Estate of Bishops as Antichristian and unlawful, nor thinking his Lay-elders so extreamly

a *Nec me latet doctos & pios esse homines, quibus principibus Christianis non videtur esse necessaria Excommunicatio.*

b *Eam nos habere Reipub. Christianæ formam, ut ita spiret & Apostolicam fuisse legimus.*

c *Ut publica Authoritate, Excommunicatio in Ecclesia vigeat.*

d *Quam si ad eam pergendam, &c. — vigeat Excommunicatio, &c.*

treamly neceſſary, that no Decree of Excommunication could be paſt without them. But *Beza*, [a] who ſucceeded in the Chair of *Calvin*, is reſolved on both: For *Calvin* having ſate eight and twenty years in the Chair of *Geneva*, ended his life in the year 1564. During which time he had attained to ſuch an height of Reputation, that even the Churches of the *Switzers* loſt the name of *Zuinglians*, and thought it no ſmall honour to them, as well as thoſe of *Germany*, *France*, *Pole*, or *Scotland*, to be called *Calvinian*. Onely the Engliſh held it out, and neither had imbraced his Doctrines, nor received his Diſcipline. And though the *Puritan* party in it took the name of *Calviniſts* (*our Divines commonly called Calviniſts*, ſay the two *Informers*) yet both *Saravia* ſtomached it to be ſo accounted, *Mountague* in anſwer to the two *Informers* doth proteſt againſt it, and all the true ſons of the Church of *England* do as much diſclaim it. *Beza* endeavoured what he could to introduce his Diſcipline and Forms of Worſhip into all the Churches which did pretend to any Reformation of their ancient Errours. In the purſuit whereof he drives on ſo furiouſly, like *Jehu* in the holy Scriptures, as if no Kings or Princes were to ſtand before him. Scarce was he ſetled in his Chair, when one of his profeſſed Champions for Presbytery puts himſelf into *Heidelberg*, which had not long before admitted the *Calvinian* Doctrines, but not ſubmitted to the Diſcipline, as extrinſecal to them. This Champion therefore challenges the Divines thereof to a diſputation, publickly holds forth this propoſition, which he then defended; that is to ſay, *That to a Miniſter with his Elders, there is power given by expreſs warrant from Gods Word, to Excommunicate all offenders, even the greateſt Prince.* From hence proceeded that diſpute which afterwards *Eraſtus* (of whom more hereafter) maintained with *Beza*; the point being put upon this iſſue: *Whether all Churches ought to have their Elderſhip inveſted with a power of Excommunication; and that Lay-elders were ſo neceſſary in every Elderſhip, that nothing could be done without them.* In which diſpute (as it is very well obſerved by judicious *Hooker*) they ſeemed to divide the whole truth between them; *Beza* moſt truely holding the neceſſity of Excommunication in a Church well conſtituted; *Eraſtus* no leſs truely ſhewing that there was no neceſſity of Lay-elders to be Miniſters of it.

[a] *Principia ſub D. Jo. Calvini Miniſterio, in cujus laborem ſucceſſimus.* Bez. Epiſt.

40. But his main buſineſs was to ſettle the *Calvinian* Forms in the Realms of *Britain*; in which he aimed at the acquiring of as great a name, as *Calvin* had obtained in *France* or *Poland*. *Knox* had already ſo prevailed amongſt the *Scots*, that though they once ſubſcribed to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, yet he had brought them to admit ſuch a Form of Worſhip, as came more neer to the Example of *Geneva*. And he had brought the Diſcipline to ſo good a forwardneſs, that *Beza* was rather wanting to confirm then to introduce it, as ſhall

appear

appear at large when we come to *Scotland*. But *Knox* had many opportunities to effect his business, during the absence of their Queen, the Regencie of Queen *Mary* of *Lorreign*, and the unsettledness of affairs in the State of that Kingdom, which the Brethren could not finde in *England*, where the Fabrick of the State was joyned together with such Ligaments of Power and Wisdom, that they were able to act little, and effect much less. Some opposition they had made after their coming back from *Frankfort* and *Geneva*, their two chief Retreats, against the Vestments of the Church, and the distinction of Apparel betwixt Priests and Lay-men: In which some of them did proceed with so vain an obstinacie, that some of them were for a time suspended, and others totally deprived of their Cures and Benefices; some of them also had begun to take exception against some parts and Offices of the publick Liturgie, refusing thereupon to conform unto it; and thereupon likely to incur the very same penalties which were inflicted on the other. In both these cases they consult the Oracle, resolving to adhere to his determination in them, whatsoever it was. First therefore he applyes himself to *Grindal*, then Bishop of *London*, and very zealously affected to the name of *Calvin*: to whom he signifies by his Letter of the 26 of *June* 1566, how much he was afflicted with the sad reports out of *France* and *Germany*, by which he was advertised that many Ministers in *England*, [a] being otherwise unblamable both for Life and Doctrine, had been exauctorated or deprived by the Queens Authority, (the Bishops giving their consent and approbation) onely for not subscribing to some Rites and Ceremonies; but more particularly, that divers of them were deprived, not onely for refusing to wear [b] those Vestments which were peculiar to *Baali* Priests in the times of Popery, but for not conforming to some Rites which had degenerated into most shameful superstitions, such as the Cross in Baptism, kneeling at the Communion, and the like to these: That Baptism was admitted sometimes by Midwives: [c] That power was left unto the Queen to Ordain other Rites and Ceremonies, as she saw occasion: and finally, that the Bishops were invested with the sole Authority for ordering matters in the Church; [d] the other Ministers not advised with, or consulted in them.

41. Such is the substance of his charge; against each particular point whereof he bends his forces, as if he had a minde to batter down the Bulwarks of the Church of *England*, and lay it open to *Geneva*. I shall not note how much he blames the Ancient Fathers for bringing in so many Ceremonies into use and practice, which either had been borrowed from the *Jews*, or derived from the *Gentiles*; or how he magnifieth the nakedness and simplicity of those Forreign Churches which abominate nothing more then such outward trappings. But the result of all is this [e], that whatsoever Rite or Ceremony was either brought into the Church from the

[a] *Multos illic Ministros verbi, inculpatâ alioquin totâ vitâ tum Doctrinâ homines, idcirco fuisse Regiâ Majestate exauctoratos, &c.*

[b] *Quod vestes illæ Baali sacerdotum insignia, &c. —non admittunt.*

[c] *Quod aliorum superinducendorum Rituum potestas Regiâ Majestati fieret.*

[d] *Quod solis Episcopis de constituendis rebus Ecclesiasticis, omnis potentia tribuatur, &c. Epist. 8.*

[e] *Quicquid à Judæis, quicquid à Paganis in Ritus Christianos est translatum, præter Christi Institutionem & certum Apostolorum exemplum, &c. præsul gari oportet. Ibid.*

the *Jews* or *Gentiles*, not warranted by the institution of Christ, or by any Examples of the Apostles; as also all significant Ceremonies, which by no right were at first brought into the Church, ought all at once to be prohibited and suppressed, there being no hope that the Church would otherwise be restored to her native Beauty. I onely note, that he compares the Cross in Baptism to the Brazen Serpent, abused as much to Superstition and Idolatry; and therefore to be abrogated with as great a Zeal in a Church well ordered, as that Image was destroyed by King *Hezekiah*. He falls foul also on that manner of singing which was retained in the Queens Chappels, all the Cathedrals, and some Parish-Churches of this Kingdom, because perhaps it was set forth with Organs, and such Musical Instruments [a] as made it fitter (in his judgement) to be used in Dancing, then in Sacred actions; and tended more to please the ears, then to raise the affections. Nor seems he better pleased with that Authority which was enjoyed and exercised by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in granting Licenses for Pluralities, non-Residence, contracting Marriages in the Church, and eating Flesh on days prohibited; with many other things of that nature, which he accounts not onely for so many stains and blemishes in the Face of Christendom, [b] but for a manifest defection even from Christ himself; in which respect they rather were to be commended then condemned and censured, that openly opposed themselves against such corruptions.

[a] *Chorea ple-rumq; potius quam Sacrâ actioni, & de-mulcendis auribus potius quam com-movendis animis accommodatus.* Ibid.

[b] *Quæ non tantum corruptela Christianismi, sed manifesta à Christo defectio.* Ibid.

42. Yet notwithstanding these complaints, he grants the matters in dispute, and the Rites prescribed, to be things indifferent, not any way impious in themselves, nor such as should necessitate any man to forsake his Flock, rather then yeild obedience and conformity to them. But then he adds, that if they do offend, who rather chuse to leave their Churches, then to conform themselves to those Rites and Vestments against their Consciences, [c] a greater guilt must be contracted by those men before God and his Angels, who rather chuse to spoil these Flocks of able Pastors, then suffer those Pastors to make choice of their own Apparel; or rather, chuse to rob the people of the Food of their souls, then suffer them to receive it otherwise then upon their knees. But in his Letter of the next year he adventureth further, and makes it his request unto all the Bishops, that some fit Medicine be forthwith applyed to the present mischief, which did not onely give great scandal to the weak and ignorant, but even to many Learned and Religious Persons. And this he seems to charge upon them, as they will answer for the contrary at the Judgement-Seat of Almighty God, to whom an account is to be given of the poorest Sheep which should be forced to wander upon this occasion from the rest of the Flock. Between the writing of which Letters, some of their brethren had propounded their doubts unto him, touching the calling of the Ministers, as it was then, and still is used

[c] *Multo majore reatu coram Deo & ipsius Angelis teneri, qui greges à pastoribus privari, &c. potius sustinebant, quam Ministros hoc quam illo habitu vestitos cernent.* Ibid.

uſed in the Church of *England*; the wearing of the Cap and Surplice, and other Veſtments of the Clergy which was then required; the Muſick and melodious ſinging in Cathedral Churches; the interrogatories propoſed to Infants at the time of their Baptiſm; the ſigning of them with the ſign of the Croſs; kneeling at the Communion, adminiſtring the ſame in unleavened Bread; though the laſt were left at liberty by the Rules of the Church, and uſed in ſome few places onely. Of all which he not onely ſignified a plain diſlike, but endeavoured to ſhew the errours and abſurdities contained in them; for ſuch they muſt contain, if he pleaſed to think ſo. And what could follow hereupon, but an open Schiſm *a*, a ſeparation from the Church, a reſort to Conventicles; which he takes notice of in his laſt to *Grindal*, but imputes it unto that ſeverity which was uſed by the Biſhops, in preſſing ſuch a yoak of Ceremonies upon tender Conſciences. The breach not leſſened, but made wider by another Letter directed to the *French* and *Dutch* Churches at *London b*; in which he ſets before them the whole Form of Worſhip which was eſtabliſhed at *Geneva*; inſiſteth upon many points, neither agreeable to the Diſcipline or Doctrine of the Church of *England*; and finally, ſo reſtrains the power of the Supreme Magiſtrate, that he is left to the correction and control of his under Officers. Of which two Letters, that which was writ for ſatisfaction of the Engliſh brethren, bears date *Octob.* 24. 1567, the other *June* 21, in the year next following.

a Rem tandem in iniquum & pertinax ſchiſma evaſiſſe. —— Nonnulli tam ſeorſim ſuos Cœtus habeant, &c. Bez. Epiſt 23.

b Ad peregrinarum in Anglia Eccleſiarum fratres. Epiſt 24.

43. With great Zeal he drives on in purſuit of the Diſcipline, the Form and Power whereof we will firſt lay down out of his Epiſtles, and then obſerve to what a height he doth endeavour to advance the ſame; excluding the Epiſcopal Government, as Antichriſtian, if not Diabolical. Firſt then he tells us, that to each Miniſter which officiates in the Country-Villages within the Signiory of *Geneva*, *c* two Over-ſeers are elected as Aſſiſtants to him; and that to them it appertains to keep a watchful eye over all men in their ſeveral Pariſhes, to convent ſuch before them as they finde blame-worthy, to *admoniſh* them of their miſdeeds; and finally, if he cannot otherwiſe prevail upon them, to turn them over to the cenſure of the Elderſhip which reſides in the City. This Elderſhip he compounds of the ſix ordinary Paſtors, and twelve Lay-elders; the laſt continually choſen from amongſt the Senators. To whoſe charge and office it belongs, to take notice of all ſcandals and offences of what ſort ſoever within the bounds aſſigned unto them, and every Thurſday to report to the Court or Conſiſtory what they have diſcovered. The parties thereupon are to be convented, fairly admoniſhed of their faults, ſometimes ſuſpended from the Sacrament, if the caſe require it, and excommunicated at the laſt, if they prove impenitent. To this Elderſhip alſo it belongs, to judge in all caſes and concernments of Matrimony, according to the Word of God, and the Laws of the City; to repel

c In ſingulis pagis adjuncti ſunt duos inſpectores, qui una cum paſtore omnes ἀτάκτους, obſervant. Epiſt. 20.

repel such from the Communion as do not satisfie the Ministers by a full confession of their Faith and Knowledge. And in the company of an Officer of each several Ward, to make a diligent inquiry (over them) in every Family, [a] concerning their proficiencie in the Word of God, and the ways of Godliness.

[a] *Singulas domos & familias ad unies*, &c. Ibid.

44. We must next see to what a height he doth endeavour to advance this Discipline, which (if we take it on his word) is not to be received onely as a matter necessary, but to be had in equall Reverence with the Word of God. *Sarnixius* had acquainted him with some news from *Poland*, concerning the Divisions and subdivisions in the Churches there; whereunto *Beza* makes his answer by his Letters of the first of *November*, 1566, [b] *That unless some Form of Ecclesiastical Discipline, according to the Word of God, were received among them, he could not see by what means they were able to remedy their discords, or to prevent the like for the time to come; that he had many times admired, that being warned by the confusion of their Neighbours in* Germany, *they had not considered before this time, as well of the necessity to receive such Discipline, as for the strict observing of it when it was received; that* there was onely one and the self-same Author, [c] *both of Doctrine and Discipline*; and therefore that *it must seem* strange (which I would have the Reader mark with his best attention) *to entertain one part of the Word of God*, [d] *and reject the other*; that it was most ridiculous to expect or think, that either the Laws could be observed, or the Peace maintained, without Rules and Orders, in which the very life of the Law did so much consist, that for the avoiding of some new Tyranny [e] which seemed to lye disguised under the Mask and Vizard of the present Discipline, they should not run themselves into such Anarchy and discords as were not otherwise to be prevented; and finally, that no severity could be feared in the use of that Discipline, as long as it was circumscribed within the bounds and limits assigned unto it by the Word of God, and moderated by the Rules of Christian charity. So that we are not to admire, if the Discipline be from henceforth made a Note of the Church, every way as essential to the nature of it, as the Word and Sacraments; which as it is the common Doctrine of the Presbyterians, so we must look on *Beza* as the Author of it; such Doctrine being never preached in the Church before.

[b] *Nisi quædam firma inter vos statuatur Disciplina Ecclesiastica*, &c. Epist 14.

[c] *Scis unum & eandem esse tum Doctrinæ tum Disciplini Authorem*. Ibid.

[d] *Quorsum enim unam verbi partem, altera repudiata, recipere*. Ibid.

[e] *Timetur alia tyrannis*, &c. Ibid.

45. But because *Beza* seems to speak in that Epistle concerning the necessity of admitting some certain Form of Ecclesiastical Discipline, without pointing punctually and precisely unto that of *Geneva*; we must next see what Form of Discipline he means, and whether a Church-Government by Bishops were intended in it. And first he tells us in a Postscript of a Letter to *Knox*, dated the third of *July* 1569, wherein he much congratulates his good Fortune, [f] for joyning the Discipline in his

[f] *Quam recte illud quod Doctrina simul Disciplina conjungetis*, &c. Ep. 674.

Reformation with the truth of Doctrine, beseeching him to go forward with it as he had begun, lest it might happen to him as it did to others, either to slacken in their speed, or not be able to advance were they never so willing. And we know well what Discipline, what Form of Government and Worship had been by *Knox* established in the Kirk of *Scotland*. But secondly, many of the *Scots* being still unsatisfied in the point of Episcopacy, and not well pleased with any other Government of a late invention; it was thought fit to send to *Beza* for his judgement in it, who was now looked upon as the Supreme Pastor, Successor unto *Calvin*, both in place and power. *Beza* considers of the Business, and by his Letters of the 12 of *April*, 1572, returns this Answer, *viz.* That he beheld it as an extraordinary blessing on the Church of *Scotland* [a], That together with the true Religion, they also had received the Discipline for the bond thereof. Both which he earnestly conjures them so to hold together, as to be sure that there is no hope to keep the one, if they lose the other [b]: which being said in reference to the Holy Discipline, he next proceeds to spend his judgement in the point of Episcopacy. In reference to which, he first tells them this; that as the Bishops were the first means to advance the Pope, so the pretended Bishops would maintain the Relicks of Popery. And then he adds, that it concerns all those to *avoid that plague* [c] (by which he means undoubtedly the Episcopal Order) who pretend to any care of the Churches safety. And therefore since they had so happily discharged that calling in the Church of *Scotland*, [d] they never should again admit it, though it might flatter them with some assurance of peace and unity.

46. What followed thereupon in *Scotland*, we shall see hereafter. But his desires of propagating the *Genevian* Forms, was not to be restrained to that part of the Island. In his first Letter unto *Grindal*, he doth not onely justifie the *Genevian* Discipline, and the whole Order of that Church in Sacred Offices, as grounded on the Word of God; but findes great fault with the Episcopal Government in the Church of *England*, and the great power which was ascribed unto the Queen in Spiritual Matters. How so? Because (said he) he found no warrant for it in the Word of God, or any of the ancient Canons, by which it might be lawful for the Civil Magistrate (of his own Authority) either to abrogate old Ceremonies, or establish new; or for the Bishops onely to ordain and determine any thing, [e] without the judgement and consent of their Presbyteries being first obtained. And in his answer to the Queries of the English brethren, he findes no less fault with the manner of proceedings in the Bishops Courts; in regard that Excommunications were not therein passed by the common consent of a Presbytery [f], but decreed onely by some Civil Lawyers, or other Officers who sate as Judges in the same. But first, the man was ignorant of those

[a] *Magnum hoc Dei munus, quo una & Religionem puram & εὐταξίαν, Doctrinæ, retinendæ vinculum in Scotiam intulisti.* Epist. 79.

[b] *Hæc duo simul retinete, ut uno amisso, alterum diu permanere non posse, meminerit is.* Ibid.

[c] *Hanc pestem caveant qui salvere Ecclesiam cupiant.* Ibid.

[d] *Ne quæso illam unquam admittas, quamvis utilitatis retinendæ specie blandiatur.* Ibid.

[e] *Vel solis Episcopis, absque sui Presbyterii judicio & voluntate, aliquid novi ordinare, &c.* Epist 8

[f] *Non ex Presbyteri sententia, sed ex quorundam jurisconsultorum & aliorum ejusmodi Authoritate.* Ibid.

the courſe of thoſe Courts, in which the ſentence of Excommunication is never publiſhed or pronounced, but by the mouth of a Miniſter ordained according to the Rules of the Church of *England*. And ſecondly, it is to be conceived in Reaſon, that any Batchelor or Doctor of the Civil Law is far more fit to be imployed and truſted in the exerciſe of that part of Diſcipline, then any Trades-man of *Geneva*, though poſſibly of the number of the five and twenty. For the redreſs of which great miſchief, and of many other, he applies himſelf unto the Queen, to whom he dedicates his *Annotations* on the *New Teſtament*, publiſhed in the year 1572. In the Epiſtle whereunto, though he acknowledgeth that ſhe had reſtored unto this Kingdom the true Worſhip of God, yet he inſinuates that there was wanting a full Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; that our Temples were not fully purged; that ſome high places ſtill remained, not yet aboliſhed: and therefore wiſheth that thoſe blemiſhes might be removed, and thoſe wants ſupplyed. Finally, underſtanding that a Parliament was then ſhortly to be held in *England*, and that *Cartwright* had prepared an *Admonition* to preſent unto it; he muſt needs interpoſe his credit with a Peer of the Realm to advance the ſervice, as appears plainly by his Letter of the ſame year, and the *Nones* of *July*. In which, though he approves the Doctrine, yet he condemns the Government of the Church as moſt imperfect, not onely deſtitute of many things which were good and profitable, but alſo of ſome others which were plainly neceſſary.

47. But here it is to be obſerved, that in his Letter to this great perſon, whoſoever he was, he ſeems more cautelous and reſerved, then in that to *Grindal*; but far more modeſt then in thoſe to *Knox*, and the Engliſh Brethren. The Government of *England* was ſo well ſetled, as not to be ventured on too raſhly: And therefore he muſt firſt ſee what effect his counſels had produced in *Scotland*, before he openly aſſaults the *Engliſh Hierarchy*: But finding all things there agreeable to his hopes and wiſhes, he publiſhed his Tract *De Triplici Epiſcopatu*, calculated for the Meridian onely of the Kirk of *Scotland* (as being writ at the deſire of the Lord Chancellor *Glammis*) but ſo, that it might generally ſerve for all Great *Britain*: In which Book he informs his Reader of three ſorts of Biſhops; that is to ſay, the Biſhop by *Divine Inſtitution*, being no other then the Miniſter of a particular Church or Congregation; the Biſhop by *humane appointment*, being the ſame onely with the Preſident of a Convocation, or the *Moderator* (as they phraſe it) in ſome Church-aſſembly; and finally, the *Devils Biſhops*, ſuch as preſume to take upon them the whole charge of a Dioceſs; together with a ſuperiority and juriſdiction over other Miniſters. Which Book was afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh by *Feild* of *Wandſworth*, for the inſtruction and content of ſuch of the Brethren as did not underſtand the Latine. To ſerve as a Pre-

face to which Work, the Presbyterian Brethren publish their Seditious Pamphlets in defence of the Discipline, some in the English Tongue, some in the Latine; but all of them Printed at *Geneva:* For in the year 1570, comes out *The plain and full Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline, according to the Word of God*, without the name of any Author, to gain credit to it. And *Traverse*, a furious Zealot amongst the English; had published at *Geneva* also in the Latine Tongue, a discourse of *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, according to the Word of God (as it was pretended) with the declining of the Church of *England* from the same, *Anno* 1574; which for the same reason must be turned into English also, and Printed at *Geneva* with *Beza*'s Book, *Anno* 1580. What pains was took by some of the *Divines* of *England*, but more particularly by Dr. *John Bridges*. Dean of *Sarum*, and Dr. *Adrian Saravia*, preferred upon the merit of this service in the Church of *Westminster*, shall be remembred in a place more proper for it, when we shall come to a review of those disturbances which were occasioned in this Church by the *Puritan* Faction. Most of which did proceed from no other Fountain then the pragmaticalness of *Beza*, the Doctrines of *Calvin*, and the Example of *Geneva*; which if they were so influential on the Realms of *Britain*, though lying in a colder climate, and so far remote; it is to be presumed that they were far more powerful in *France* and *Germany*, which lay nearer to them; and in the last of which the people were of a more active and *Mercurial* Spirit.

48. What influence *Calvin* had upon some of the Princes, Cities, and Divines of *Germany*, hath been partly touched upon before; and how his Doctrines did prevail in the *Palatine* Churches, and his Discipline in many parts and Provinces of the *Germane* Empire, may be shown hereafter. In *France* he held intelligence with the King of *Navar*, the Brethren of *Rouen*, *Aix*, *Mont-Pelier*, and many leading men of the *Hugonot* party; none of which can be thought to have asked his counsel about purchasing Lands, the Marriages of their Children, or the payment of Debts: And when the Fortune of the Wars, and the Kings just anger necessitated many of them to forsake their Country, they found no place so open to them as the Town of *Geneva*, and none more ready to befriend them then *Calvin* was, whose Letters must be sent to all the Churches of the *Switzers*, and the Neighbouring *Germany*, for raising Contributions and Collections toward their relief: which so exasperated the French King, that he threatned to make War upon the Town, as the fomenter of those discords which embroyled his Kingdom *a*, the Receptacle of his Rebels, the *Delphos* as it were of that *Sacred Oracle* which Soveraignly directed all affairs of moment. But of these things, and how *Beza* did co-operate to the common troubles which did so miserably distract the peace of *France*, shall be delivered more particularly in the following Book.

49. As

a *Nobis vero & huic urbi praecipue minitantur, ubi existimant confugere quicquid est turbarum.* Calv. to Bullinger. 5 Cal. June, 1560.

49. As for the Town and Territory of *Geneva* it ſelf, it had ſo far ſubmitted unto their Authority, that *Calvin* wanted nothing of a Biſhop in it, but the name and title. The City of *Geneva* had been anciently an Epiſcopal See, conſiſting of many Pariſhes and Country-Villages; all ſubject by the Rules of the Diſcipline unto one Presbytery, of which *Calvin* for the term of his life had the conſtant Precedency (under the ſtyle of *Moderator*) without whom nothing could done which concerned the Church. And ſitting as chief Preſident in the Court or Conſiſtory, he had ſo great an influence on the Common-council, as if he had been made perpetual Dictator alſo, for ordering the affairs of the Common-wealth. The like Authority was exerciſed and enjoyed by *Beza* alſo, for the ſpace of ten years, or thereabouts, after his deceaſe. At what time *Lambertus Danæus*, one of the Miniſters of that City, thinking himſelf inferiour to him in no part of Scholarſhip, procured the Preſidency in that Church to go by turns, that he and others might be capable of their courſes in it: By which means the *Genevians* being freed from thoſe powerful Riders, would never ſuffer themſelves to be bridled as they had been formerly. For thereupon it was concluded by a Decree of the Senate, that the Presbytery ſhould have no power to convent any man before them, till the Warrant was firſt ſigned by one of the *Syndicks*. Beſides which curb, as the *Elders* are named by the leſſer Council, and confirmed by the greater, the Miniſters advice being firſt had in the nomination; ſo do they take an Oath at their admiſſion, *to keep the Eccleſiaſtical Ordinances of the Civil Magiſtrate*. In which reſpect their Conſiſtory doth not challenge an exorbitant and unlimited power, as the *Commiſſioners of Chriſt* (as they did afterwards in *Scotland*) but as Commiſſioners of the State or Signiory; by which they are reſtrained in the exerciſe of that Juriſdiction, which otherwiſe they might and would have challenged by their firſt inſtitution, and ſeemed at firſt a yoke too inſupportable for the necks of the people. In reference to their Neighbouring Princes, their City was ſo advantageouſly ſeated, that even their Popiſh Neighbours were more ready to ſupport and aid them, then ſuffer the Town to fall into the power of the Duke of *Savoy*. And then it is not to be doubted but ſuch States and Kingdoms as were Zealous in the Reformation, did liberally contribute their aſſiſtance to them. The confluence of ſo many of the *French* as had retired thither in the heat of the Civil Wars, had brought a miſerable Plague upon them; by which their numbers were ſo leſſened, and their ſtrength ſo weakned, that the Duke of *Savoy* took the opportunity to lay Siege unto it: In which diſtreſs they ſupplicate by Letters to all their Friends, or ſuch as they conceived might wiſh well unto them in the cauſe of Religion; and amongſt others, to ſome Biſhops and Noble-men of the Church of *England*, *Anno* 1582. But *Beza* having writ to *Traverſe*, a moſt Zealous *Puritan*

ritan to negotiate in it, the buſineſs ſped the worſe for the Agents ſake; no great ſupply being ſent unto them at that time. But afterwards when they were diſtreſſed by the *Savoyard*, *Anno* 1589, they were relieved with thirteen thouſand Crowns from *England*, twenty four thouſand Crowns from the State of *Venice*; from *France* and *Florence*, with intelligence of the enemies purpoſes: onely the *Scots*, though otherwiſe moſt zealous in advancing the Diſcipline, approved themſelves to be true *Scots*, or falſe Brethren to them. For having raiſed great ſums of mony, under pretence of ſending ſeaſonable relief to their friends in *Geneva*; the moſt part of it was aſſigned over to the Earl of *Bothwel*, then being in Rebellion againſt their King, and having many ways endeavoured to ſurpriſe his perſon, and in fine, to take away his life. But this prank was not play'd until ſome years after, and therefore falls beyond the time of my deſign; which was, and is, to draw down the ſucceſſes of the *Presbyterians* in their ſeveral Countries, till the year 1585, and then to take them all together, as they related unto *England*, or were co-incident with the Actions and Affairs thereof. But we muſt make our way by *France*, as lying neareſt to the practices of the Mother-City; though *Scotland* at a greater diſtance firſt took fire upon it, and *England* was as ſoon attempted as the *French* themſelves.

The end of the firſt Book.

AERIUS REDIVIVUS:

OR,

The Hiſtory

Of the

PRESBYTERIANS.

LIB. II.

Containing

The manifold Seditions, Conſpiracies, and Inſurrections in the Realm of France, *their Libelling againſt the State, and the Wars there raiſed by their procurement, from the year* 1559 *to* 1585.

1. THE Realm of *France*, having long ſuffered under the corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, was one of the firſt Weſtern Kingdoms which openly declared againſt thoſe abuſes. *Beringarius* in the Neighbouring *Italy*, had formerly oppoſed the Groſs and Carnal Doctrines of the Papiſts in the point of the Sacrament: Whoſe opinions paſſing into *France* from one hand to another, were at laſt publickly maintained by *Peter Waldo*, one of the Citizens of *Lyons*, who added thereunto many bitter invectives againſt the Supremacy of the Pope, the Adoration of Images, the Invocation of Saints, and the Doctrine of Purgatory. His Followers, from the place of his Habitation, were at firſt called in contempt, *The poor men of Lyons*; as afterwards, from the name of their Leader, they were by the Latines called *Waldenſes*, by the French *Les Vaudoiſe*. But *Lyons* proving no ſafe place for them, they retired into the more deſert parts of *Languedock*, and ſpreading on the banks of the River *Alby*, obtained

obtained the name of *Albigenſes* in the Latine Writers, and of *Les Albigeoiſe* in the French: ſupported by *Raymond* the Fourth, Earl of *Tholouſe*, they became ſo inſolent, that they murthered *Trincanel* their Viſcount in the City *Beziers*, and daſht out the teeth of their Biſhop, having taken Sanctuary in St. *Magdalens* Church, one of the Churches of that City. For which high outrages, and many others of like nature which enſued upon them, they were warred upon by *Lewis* the Ninth of *France*, Sirnamed the *Saint*, and many Noble adventurers, who ſacrificed many of them in the ſelf-ſame Church wherein they had ſpilt the blood of others. After a long and bloody War, which ended in the year 1250, they were almoſt rooted out of the Country alſo; the reſidue or remainders of them having betook themſelves into the mountainous parts of *Daulphine*, *Provence*, *Piemont*, and *Savoy*, for their greater ſafety. By means whereof becoming neer Neighbours to the *Switzers*, and poſſibly managing ſome traffick with the Town of *Geneva*, their Doctrines could neither be unknown to *Zuinglius* amongſt the one, nor to many Inhabitants of the other of beſt note and quality.

2. The reſt of *France* had all this while continued in the Popes obedience, and held an outward uniformity in all points with the Church of *Rome*; from which it was not much diverted by the Writings of *Zuinglius*, or the more moderate proceedings of the *Lutheran* Doctors, who after the year 1517, had filled many Provinces of *Germany* with their opinions. But in the year 1533, the *Lutherans* found an opportunity to attempt upon it. For *Francis* the Firſt favouring Learned men and Learning (as commonly they do, whoſe Actions are worthy a learned Pen) reſolved to erect a Univerſity at *Paris*, making great offers to the moſt Learned Scholars of *Italy* and *Germany* for their entertainment. *Luther* takes hold of that advantange, and ſends *Bucer*, and ſome others of his ableſt Followers; who by diſputing in ſuch a confluence of Learned men, might give a ſtrong eſſay to bring in his Doctrines. Nor wanted there ſome which were taken with the Novelty of them, eſpecially becauſe ſuch as were queſtioned for Religion had recourſe into *Aquitaine*, to *Margaret* of *Valois*, the Kings Siſter, married to *Henry* of *Albert* King of *Navar*, who perhaps out of hatred to the Biſhop of *Rome*, by whom her Husbands Father was deprived of that Kingdom, might be the more favourable to the *Lutherans*; or rather moved (as ſhe confeſſed before her death) with commiſeration to thoſe condemned perſons that fled to her protection, ſhe became earneſt with her brother in defence of their perſons; ſo that for ten years together ſhe was the chief means of maintaining the Doctrines of *Luther* in the Realm of *France*. Nor was the King ſo bent in their Extermination, as otherwiſe he would have been, in regard of thoſe many *Switz* and *Germans* that ſerved him in his Wars againſt *Charles* the Fifth

Fifth; till at last, being grievously offended with the contumacie of the men, and their continual opposition to the Church of *Rome*, he published many Edicts and Proclamations against them, not onely threatning, but executing his penal Laws, until he had at last almost extinguished the name of *Luther* in his Kingdom.

3. But *Calvins* stratagem succeeded somewhat better, who im- 1546.
mediately upon the Death of *Francis* the First (whilst King *Henry* was ingag'd in the Wars with *Charles*) attempted *France* by sending his Pamphlets from *Geneva*, writ for the most part in the *French* Tongue, for the better captivating and informing of the common people. And as he found many possessed with *Luthers* opinions, so he himself inflamed them with a Zeal to his own; the Vulgar being very proud to be made Judges in Religion, and pass their Votes upon the abstrusest Controversies of the Christian Faith. So that in short time *Zuinglius* was no more remembred, nor the Doctrine of *Luther* so much followed as it had been formerly. The name of *Calvin* carrying it amongst the *French*. The sudden propagating of whose Opinions, both by preaching and writing, gave great offence unto the Papists; but chiefly to *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and his Brother *Francis* Duke of *Guise*, then being in great power and favour with King *Henry* the Second. By whose continual sollicitation, the King endeavoured by many terrible and severe executions to suppress them utterly; and did reduce his Followers at the last to such a condition, that they durst neither meet in publick, or by open day, but secretly in Woods or Private-houses; and for the most part in the night, to avoid discovery. And at this time it was, and on this occasion, that the name of *Hugonots* was first given them; so called from St. *Hugoes* Gate in the City of *Towrs*, out of which they were observed to pass to their secret Meetings; or from a night-spirit, or Hobgobling, which they called St. *Hugo*; to which they were resembled, for their constant night-walks. But neither the disgrace which that name imported, nor the severity of the Kings Edicts so prevailed upon them, but that they multiplyed more and more in most parts of the Realm; especially in the Provinces which either were neareſt to *Geneva*, or lay more open towards the Sea, to the trade of the English. And though the fear of the danger, and the Kings displeasure, deterred such as lived within the air of the Court from adhering openly unto them; yet had they many secret favourers in the Royal Palace, and not a few of the Nobility, which gave them as much countenance as the times could suffer. The certainty whereof appeared immediately on the death of King *Henry*, who left this life at *Paris* on the tenth of *July*, *Anno* 1559, leaving the 1559.
Crown to *Francis* his Eldest Son, then being but fifteen years of age, neither in strength of body, nor in vigour of Spirit, enabled for the managing of so great an Empire.

4. This young King in his Fathers life time had married *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, Daughter and Heir of *James* the Fifth, by *Mary* of *Lorrain*, a Daughter of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and Siſter to the two great Favourites before remembred. This gave a great improvement to the power and favour which the two brothers had before, made greater by uniting themſelves to *Katherine de Medices*, the young Kings Mother; a Woman of a peſtilent Wit, and one that ſtudied nothing more then to maintain her own greatneſs againſt all oppoſers. By this confederacie, the Princes of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, Heirs in Reverſion to the Crown, if the King and his three brothers ſhould depart without Iſſue-Male (as in fine they did) were quite excluded from all office and imployment in the Court or State. The principal of which, was *Anthony* Duke of *Vendoſme*, and his brother *Lewis* Prince of *Condè*; men not ſo near in birth, as of different humours; the Duke being of an open nature, flexible in himſelf, and eaſily wrought upon by others: but on the other ſide, the Prince was obſerved to be of a more enterpriſing diſpoſition, violent (but of a violence mixed with cunning in the carrying on of his deſigns) and one that would not patiently diſſemble the ſmalleſt injuries. Theſe two had drawn unto their ſide the two *Chaſtilions*; that is to ſay, *Gaſper de Collignie* Admiral of the Realm of *France*, and Monſieur *D' Andilot* his brother Commander of the Infantry of that Kingdom; to which Offices they had been advanced by the Duke of *Montmorency*, into whoſe Family they had married, during the time of his Authority with the King deceaſed; for whoſe removal from the Court, by the confederacy of the Queen-Mother with the Houſe of *Guiſe*, they were as much diſquieted, and as apt for action, as the Princes of the Houſe of *Bourbon* for the former Reaſons. Many deſigns were offered to conſideration in their private Meetings; but none was more likely to effect their buſineſs, then to make themſelves the Heads of the *Hugonot* Faction, which the two *Chaſtilions* had long favoured as far as they durſt. By whoſe aſſiſtance they might draw all affairs to their own diſpoſing, get the Kings perſon into their power, ſhut the Queen mother into a Cloyſter, and force the *Guiſes* into *Lorrain* out of which they came.

5. This counſel was the rather followed, becauſe it ſeemed moſt agreeable to the inclinations of the Queen of *Navar* Daughter of *Henry* of *Albret* and the Lady *Margaret* before mentioned, and Wife of *Anthony* Duke of *Vendoſme*, who in her Right acquired the title to that Kingdom. Which Princeſs being naturally averſe from the Popes of *Rome*, and no leſs powerfully tranſported by ſome flattering hopes for the recovery of her Kingdoms, conceived no expedient ſo effectual to revenge her ſelf upon the one, and Inthrone her ſelf in the other, as the proſecuting this deſign to the very utmoſt. Upon which ground ſhe inculcated nothing more into the ears of her Husband

Husband, then that he must not suffer such an opportunity to slip out of his hands, for the recovery of the Crown which belonged unto her; that he might make himself the Head of a mighty Faction, containing almost half the strength of *France*; that by so doing, he might expect assistance from the *German* Princes of the same Religion, from Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, and many discontented Lords in the *Belgick* Provinces, besides such of the Catholick party, even in *France* it self, as were displeased at the *Omni*-Regency of the House of *Guise*; that by a strong Conjunction of all these interesses, he might not onely get his ends upon the *Guises*, but carry his Army cross the Mountains, make himself Master of *Navar*, with all the Rights and Royalties appertaining to it. But all this could not so prevail on the Duke her Husband, (whom we will henceforth call the King of *Navar*) as either openly or under-hand to promote the enterprise, which he conceived more like to hinder his affairs, then to advance his hopes. For the Queen-Mother having some intelligence of these secret practices, sends for him to the Court, commends unto his care her Daughter the Princess *Isabella*, affianced to *Philip* the Second King of *Spain*, and puts him chief into Commission for delivering her upon the Borders to such *Spanish* Ministers as were appointed to receive her. All which she did (as she assured him) for no other ends, but out of the great esteem which she had of his person, to put him into a fair way for ingratiating himself with the Catholick King, and to give him such a hopeful opportunity for solliciting his own affairs with the Grandees of *Spain*, as might much tend to his advantage upon this imployment. Which device had so wrought upon him, and he had been so finely fitted by the Ministers of the Catholick King, that he thought himself in a better way to regain his Kingdom, then all the *Hugonots* in *France*, together with their Friends in *Germany* and *England*, could chalk out unto him.

6. But notwithstanding this great coldness in the King of *Navar*, the business was so hotly followed by the Prince of *Conde*, the Admiral *Colligny*, and his brother *D' Andelot*, that the *Hugonots* were drawn to unite together, under the Princes of that House. To which they were spurred on the faster, by the practices of *Godfrey de la Bar*, commonly called *Renaudie*, from the name of his Signiory; a man of a most mischievous Wit, and a dangerous Eloquence; who being forced to abandon his own Country for some misdemeanors, betook himself unto *Geneva*, where he grew great with *Calvin*, *Beza*, and the rest of the Consistory; and coming back again in the change of times, was thought the fittest instrument to promote this service, and draw the party to a body. Which being industriously pursued, was in fine effected; many great men, who had before concealed themselves in their affections, declaring openly in favour of the Reformation, when they perceived it countenanced by such

Potent Princes. To each of these, according as they found them qualified for parts and power, they assigned their Provinces and Precincts, within the limits whereof they were directed to raise Men, Arms, Money, and all other necessaries, for carrying on of the design; but all things to be done in so close a manner, that no discovery should be made till the deed was done. By this it was agreed upon, that a certain number of them should repair to the King at *Bloise*, and tender a Petition to him in all humble manner for the Free exercise of the Religion which they then professed, and for professing which they had been persecuted in the days of his Father. But these Petitioners were to be backed with multitudes of armed men, gathered together from all parts on the day appointed; who on the Kings denyal of so just a suit, should violently break into the Court, seize on the person of the King, surprise the Queen, and put the *Guises* to the Sword: And that being done, *Liberty* was to be Proclaimed, Free exercise of Religion granted by publick Edict, the managery of affairs committed to the Prince of *Gonde*, and all the rest of the Confederates gratified with rewards and honours. Impossible it was, that in a business which required so many hands, none should be found to give intelligence to the adverse party: which coming to the knowledge of the Queen-Mother, and the Duke of *Guise*, they removed the Court from *Bloise* a weak open Town, to the strong Castle of *Amboise*, pretending nothing but the giving of the King some recreation in the Woods adjoyning. But being once setled in the Castle, the King is made acquainted with the threatned danger, the Duke of *Guise* appointed Lieutenant-General of the Realm of *France*. And by his care the matter was so wisely handled, that without making any noise to affright the Confederates, the Petitioners were admitted into the Town; whilst in the mean time, several Troopes of Horse were sent out by him to fall on such of their accomplices as were well armed, and ready to have done the mischief, if not thus prevented.

1560. 7. The issue of the business was, that *Renaudie* the chief Actor in it was killed in the fight, many of the rest slain, and some taken Prisoners, the whole body of them being routed and compelled to flee: yet such was the clemencie of the King, and the discreet temper of the *Guises*, in the course of this business, that a general pardon was proclaimed on the 18 of *March*, (being the third day after the Execution) to all that being moved onely with the Zeal to Religion, had entred themselves into the Conspiracie, if within twenty four hours they laid down their Arms, and retired to their own Houses. But this did little edifie with those hot spirits which had the conduct of the Cause, and had befooled themselves and others with the flattering hopes of gaining the Free exercise of their Religion. It cannot be denyed but that they were resolved so to act their parts, that Religion might not seem to have any hand in it, or at the least

least might not suffer by it, if the plot miscarried. To which end they procured the chief Lawyers of *France* and *Germany*, and many of the reformed Divines of the greatest eminence, to publish some Writings to this purpose; that is to say, that without violating the Majesty of the King, and the dignity of the lawful Magistrate, they might oppose with Arms the violent Domination of the House of *Guise*, who were given out for Enemies to the true Religion, hinderers of the course of Justice, and in effect no better then the Kings Jaylors, as the case then stood. But this Mask was quickly taken off, and the design appeared bare-faced without any vizard. For presently upon the routing of the Forces in the Woods of *Amboise*, they caused great tumults to be raised in *Poictou*, *Languedock* and *Provence*. To which the Preachers of *Geneva* were forthwith called, and they came as willingly; their Followers being much increased both in courage and numbers, as well by their vehemency in the Pulpit, as their private practices. In *Daulpheny*, and some parts of *Provence*, *a* they proceeded further, seized upon divers of the Churches for the Exercise of their Religion, as if all matters had succeeded answerable to their expectation, [illegible] the first coming of some Forces from the Duke of *Guise*, [illegible]k in again, and left the Country in the same condition wherein first they found it. Of this particular, *Calvin* gives notice unto *Bullenger*, by his Letters of the 27 of *May*, *Anno* 1560, complaining much of the extreme rashness, and foolhardiness of some of that party *b*, whom no sober counsels could restrain from those ingagements which might have proved so dangerous and destructive to the cause of Religion. Which words of his relate not onely to the Action of *Daulphine* and *Provence*, but to some of the attempts preceding, whatsoever they were, by him discouraged and disswaded, if we may believe him.

a *In quibusdam Provinciæ & Delphinatus & urbibus nostri homines templa occupârent, ac si victorum jam essent compotes, &c.*

b *Ab initio vaticinatus sum quo accidit, sed nescio quo fascini genere sic captæ erant multorum mentes, ut frustra impetum illum jactare conatum sim.*

8. But though we may believe him, as I think we may, the Pope and Court of *France* were otherwise perswaded of it. *Reinadoes* going from *Geneva* to unite the party, was as unlikely to be done without his allowance, as without his privity. But certainly the Ministers of *Geneva* durst not leave their Flocks to Preach Sedition to the *French* of *Provence* and *Languedock*, if he had neither connived at it, or advised them to it; *c* and such connivings differ but little from commands, as we find in *Salvian*. Once it is sure that the Pope suggested to the French King by the Bishop of *Viterbo*, whom he sent in the nature of a Legate, that all the mischief which troubled *France*, and the Poyson which infected that Kingdom and the Neighbouring Countries, (for so I finde in my Author) came from no other Fountain then the Lake of *Geneva*; that by digging at the very Root, he might divert a great part of that nourishment by which those mischiefs were fomented; and that by prosecuting such a Forraign War, he might evacuate those bad humours which distempered

c *Quam longe quæso est à jubente permittente.* Salv. De Gubern. Dei, lib. 8.

diſtempered his Kingdom: and therefore if the King be pleaſed to engage herein, his Holineſs would not onely ſend him ſome convenient Aids, but move the *Scotch* King, and the Duke of *Savoy*, to aſſiſt him alſo. But neither the Queen-Mother, nor the *Guiſe* (for the King acted little in his own affairs) could approve the motion, partly for fear of giving offence unto the *Switzers*, with whom *Geneva* had confederated thirty years before; and partly becauſe none being like to engage in that War, but the Catholicks onely, the Kingdom would thereby lye open to the adverſe party. But nothing more diverted the three Princes from concurring in it, then the impoſſibility of complying with their ſeveral intereſſes in the diſpoſing of the Town when it ſhould be taken. The Duke of *Savoy* would not enter into the War before he was aſſured by the other Princes that he ſhould reap the profit of it, that belonging anciently to his juriſdiction. But it agreed neither with the intereſt of *France* nor *Spain*, to make the Duke greater then he was, by ſo fair an addition as would be made to his Eſtate, were it yeilded to him. The *Spaniard* knew that the French King would never bring him into *France*, or put into his hands ſuch a fortified paſs, by which he might enter when he pleaſed. As on the other ſide, the *Spaniards* would not ſuffer it to fall into the power of the *French*, by reaſon of its neer Neighbour-hood unto the County of *Burgundy*, which both then was, and ever ſince hath been appendant on the Crown of *Spain*. By reaſon of which mutual diſtruſts and jealouſies, the Pope received no other anſwer to his motion in the Court of *France*, but that it was impoſſible to apply themſelves to matters abroad, when they were exerciſed at home with ſo many concernments.

9. This anſwer pinched upon the Pope, who found as much confuſion in the State of *Avignion*, belonging for ſome hundreds of years to the See of *Rome*, as the *French* could reaſonably complain in the Bowels of *France*. For lying as it did within the limits of *Provence*, and being viſited with ſuch of the French Preachers as had been ſtudied at *Geneva*, the people generally became inclined unto *Calvins* Doctrines, and made profeſſion of the ſame both in private and publick; nay, they reſolved upon the lawfulneſs of taking up of Arms againſt the Pope, though their natural Lord; partly upon pretence that the Country was unjuſtly taken from the Earls of *Tholouſe* by the Predeceſſors of the Pope; partly becauſe the preſent Pope could prove no true Lineal Succeſſion from the firſt Uſurper; but chiefly, in regard that perſons *Eccleſiaſtical* were diſabled by Chriſts Commandments from exerciſing any Temporal Juriſdiction over other men. Being thus reſolved to rebel, they put themſelves, by the perſwaſion of *Alexander Guilatine*, a profeſſed Civilian, into the protection of *Charles Count de Mont-brun*, who had then taken Arms againſt the King, in the Country of *Daulphine*. *Mont-brun* accepts of the imployment, enters the Territory of *Avignion*

vignion with three thousand Foot, reduceth the whole Country under his command; the Popes Vice-Legate in the City being hardly able for the present to make good the Castle. But so it happened, that the Cardinal of *Tournon*, whose Niece the Count had married, being neer the place, prevailed with him after some discourse to withdraw his Forces, and to retire unto *Geneva*; assuring him not onely of his Majesties pardon, and the restitution of his Goods which had been confiscated, but that he should have liberty of Conscience also, which he prized far more then both the other. By which Action the people were necessitated to return to their old obedience; but with so many fears and jealousies on either side, that many years were spent before the Pope could be assured of the love of his Subjects, or they relye upon the Clemency and good will of their Prince. Such issue had the first attempts of the *Calvinians* in the Realm of *France*.

10. In the mean time it was determined by the Cabinet Council in the Court, to smother the indignity of these insurrections, that the hot spirits of the *French* might have time to cool, and afterwards to call them to a sober reckoning; when they least looked for it. In order whereunto, an Edict is published in the Kings name, and sent to all the Parliamentary Courts of *France* (being at that time eight in all) concerning the holding of an Assembly at *Fountain-bleau* on the 21 of *August* then next following, for composing the distractions of the Kingdom. And in that Edict he declares, that without any evident occasion, a great number of persons had risen and taken Arms against him; that he could not but impute the cause thereof to the *Hugonots* onely, who having laid aside all belief to God, and all affection to their Country, endeavoured to disturb the peace of the Kingdom; that he was willing, notwithstanding, to pardon all such, as having made acknowledgement of their errours, should return to their Houses, and live conformable to the Rites of the Catholick Church, and in obedience to the Laws; that therefore none of his Courts of Parliament should proceed in matters of Religion, upon any manner of information for offences past, but to provide by all severity for the future against their committing of the like; and finally, that for reforming all abuses in Government, he resolved upon the calling of an Assembly, in which the Princes and most Eminent Persons of the Kingdom should consult together; the said Assembly to be held at his Majesties Palace of *Fountain-bleau* on the 21 of *August* then next following, and free leave to be therein granted to all manner of persons, not onely to propound their grievances, but to advise on some expedient for redress thereof. According unto which appointment the Assembly holds, but neither the King of *Navar* nor the Prince of *Conde* could be perswaded to be present; being both bent, as it appeared not long after, on some further projects.

jects. But it was ordered, that the Admiral *Collignie*, and his brother *D' Andelot* should attend the service, to the end that nothing should be there concluded without their privity, or to the prejudice of their Cause. And that they might the better strike a terrour into the Heart of the King, whom they conceived to have been frighted to the calling of the present Assembly, the Admiral tenders a Petition in behalf of those of the reformed Religion in the Dukedom of *Normandy*, which they were ready to subscribe with one hundred and fifty thousand hands, if it were required. To which the Cardinal of *Lorrain* as bravely answered, that if 150000 seditious could be found in *France* to subscribe that paper, he doubted not but that there were a million of Loyal Subjects, who would be ready to encounter them, and oppose their insolencies.

11. In this Assembly it was ordered by the common consent, that for rectifying of abuses amongst the Clergy, a meeting should be held of Divines and Prelates, in which those discords might be remedied, without innovating or disputing in matters of Faith; and that for setling the affairs of the Kingdom, an Assembly of the three Estates should be held at *Orleance*, in the beginning of *October*; to which all persons interested were required to come. All which the *Hugonots* imputed to the consternation which they had brought upon the Court by their former risings, and the great fear which was conceived of some new insurrections, if all things were not regulated and reformed according unto their desires. Which misconceit so wrought upon the principal Leaders, that they resolved to make use of the present fears, by seizing on such Towns and places of consequence, as might enable them to defend both themselves and their parties, against all opponents. And to that end it was concluded, that the King of *Navar* should seize upon all places in his way betwixt *Bearn* and *Orleance*; that the City of *Paris* should be seized on by the help of the Marshal of *Montmorency* the Dukes Eldest Son, who was Governour of it; that they should assure themselves of *Picardy* by the Lords of *Tenepont* and *Bouchavanne*, and of *Britain* by the Duke of *Estampes*, who was powerful in it; that being thus fortified, well armed, and better accompanied by the *Hugonots*, whom they might presume of, they should force the Assembly of the Estates to depose the Queen, remove the *Guises* from the Government, declare the King to be in his minority till he came to twenty two years of age, appoint the King of *Navar*, the Constable, and the Prince of *Conde*, for his Tutors and Governours: which practice as it was confessed by *Jaques de la Sague*, one of the Servants of the King of *Navar*, who had been intercepted in his journey to him; so the confession was confirmed by some Letters from the Visdame of *Chartres* which he had about him. But this discovery being kept secret, the *Hugonots* having taken courage from the first conspiracie at *Amboise*, and the open profession of the Ad-

Admiral, began to raiſe ſome new commotions in all parts of the Kingdom; and laying aſide all obedience and reſpect of duty, not onely made open reſiſtance againſt the Magiſtrates, but had directly taken arms in many places, and practiſed to get into their hands ſome principal Towns, to which they might retire in all times of danger: Amongſt which none was more aimed at then the City of *Lyons*, a City of great Wealth and Trading, and where great numbers of the people were inclined to *Calvins* Doctrine, by reaſon of their neer Neighbourhood to *Geneva*, and the Proteſtant Cantons. Upon this Town the Prince of *Conde* had a plot, and was like to have carried it, though in the end it fell out contrary to his expectation; which forced him to withdraw himſelf to *Bearn*, there to provide for the ſecurity of himſelf and his Brother.

12. But the King of *Navar*, not being ſo deeply intereſted in theſe late deſigns, in which his name had been made uſe of half againſt his will, could not ſo much diſtruſt himſelf and his perſonal ſafety, as not to put himſelf into a readineſs for his journey to *Orleance*. To which he could by no means perſwade the Prince, and was by him much laboured not to go in perſon, till they were certified that the King was ſending Forces to fetch them thence; which could not be without the waſting of the Country, and the betraying of themſelves unto thoſe ſuſpicions which otherwiſe they might hope to clear. No ſooner were they come to *Orleance*, but the Prince was arreſted of high Treaſon, committed cloſe Priſoner with a Guard upon him, the cognizance of his Cauſe appointed unto certain Delegates, his Proceſs formed, and Sentence of death pronounced againſt him; which queſtionleſs had been executed both on him and the King of *Navar*, who was then alſo under a Guard, if the death of the young King had not intervened on the fifth of *December*, which put the Court into new Counſels, and preſerved their lives. For the Queen wiſely took into conſideration, that if theſe two Princes were deſtroyed, there could be no fit counterpoiſe for the Houſe of *Guiſe*; which poſſibly might thereby be temped to revive the old pretenſions of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, as the direct Heirs of *Charles* the *Great*. For which they could not have a better opportunity, then they had at the preſent; the Eldeſt of her three Sons not exceeding ten years of age, none of them of a vigorous conſtitution, and therefore the more likely to want Friends in their greateſt need. Upon theſe apprehenſions ſhe ſends ſecretly for the King of *Navar*, and came at laſt to this agreement, *viz.* that during the Minority of her ſon King *Charles* the Ninth, the Queen-mother ſhould be declared Regent, and the King of *Navar* Lord-Lieutenant of *France*; all ſupplications from the Provinces to be made to the Lord-Lieutenant; but all Ambaſſadors and Letters of Negotiation from Forreign Princes to be preſented to the Queen; that the Prince of *Conde*, the Viſdame of *Chartres*, with

all other Prisoners of their party to be set at liberty, and the sentences of their condemnations to be so declared null and void; that the Queen-Regent should make use of her power and interest with the Catholick King, for restoring to the King of *Navar* the entire possession of that Kingdom, or at the least the Kingdom of *Sardinia* as a recompence for it. And at last it was also yeilded, though long first, and published by the Edict of the 28 of *January*, *That the Magistrates should be ordered to release all Prisoners committed for matters of Religion, and to stop any manner of Inquisition appointed for that purpose against any person whatsoever.*; *that they should not suffer any disputation in matters of Faith, nor permit particular persons to revile one another with the names of* Heretick *and* Papist; *but that all should live together in peace, abstaining from unlawful Assemblies, or to raise scandals or Sedition.*

1561. 13. By this Edict the Doctrines of *Calvin* were first countenanced in the Realm of *France*, under the pretence of hindring the effusion of more Christian blood: which carryed an appearance of much Christianity, though in plain truth it was to be ascribed to the Queens ambition, who could devise no other way to preserve her greatness, and counterbalance the Authority of the House of *Guise*. But the *Hugonots* not being content with a bare connivance, resolved to drive it on to a Toleration; and to drive it on in such a manner, and by such means onely by which they had extorted (as they thought) these first concessions. For thinking the Queen-Regent not to be in a condition to deny them any thing, much less to call them into question for their future Actings, they presently fell upon the open exercise of their own Religion, and every where exceedingly increased both in power and numbers. In confidence whereof, by publick Assemblies, insolent Speeches, and other acts the like unpleasing, they incurred the hatred and disdain of the Catholick party; which put all places into tumult, and filled all the Provinces of the Kingdom with seditious rumours: so that contrary to the intention of those that governed, and contrary to the common opinion, the remedy applyed to maintain the State, and preserve peace and concord in the Kings minority, fell out to be dangerous and destructive, and upon the matter occasioned all those dissentions which they hoped by so much care to have prevented. For as the Cardinal informed the Council, the *Hugonots* were grown by this connivance to so great a height, that the Priests were not suffered to celebrate their daily Sacrifices, or to make use of their own Pulpits; that the Magistrates were no longer obeyed in their jurisdictions; and that all places raged with discords, burnings and slaughters, through the peevishness and presumption of those, who assumed to themselves a liberty of teaching and believing whatsoever they listed. Upon which points he so enlarged himself with his wonted eloquence, that neither the King of *Navar*, nor any other of that party

party could make any Reply. And the Queen-Mother also being silent in it, it was unanimously voted by the Lords of the Council; that all the Officers of the Crown should assemble at the Parliament of *Paris* on the thirteenth of *July*, there to debate in the Kings presence of all these particulars, and to resolve upon such remedies as were necessary for the future. At which time it was by general consent expresly ordered, upon complaint made of the insurrection of the *Hugonots* in so many places, that all the Ministers should forthwith be expelled the Kingdom; that no manner of person should from thenceforth use any other Rites or Ceremonies in Religion, that were not held and taught by the Church of *Rome*; and that all Assemblies of men armed or unarmed should be interdicted, except it were of Catholicks in Catholick Churches, for Divine performances according to the usual Custom.

14. The Admiral and the Prince of *Conde* finding themselves unable to cross this Edict, resolved upon another course to advance their partie, and to that end encouraged the *Calvinian* Ministers to petition for a Disputation in the Kings presence, to be held between them and the Adversaries of their Religion. Which Disputation being propounded, was opposed by the Cardinal of *Tournon*, upon a just consideration of those inconveniencies which might follow on it; the rather, in regard of the General Council then convened at *Trent*, where they might safely both propose and dispute their opinions. But on the other side, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, being willing to imbrace the occasion for making a general Muster of his own Abilities, his subtilty in Divinity, and his art of speaking, prevailed so far upon the rest, that the suit was granted, and a Conference thereupon appointed to be held at *Poyssie*, on the tenth day of *August*, 1561. At which time there assembled for the Catholick party, the Cardinals of *Tournon*, *Lorrain*, *Bourbon*, *Armagnac* and *Guise*, with many Bishops and Prelates of greatest eminencie, some Doctors of the *Sorbon*, and many great Divines from the Universities. The Disputants authorized for the other side were of like esteem, amongst those of their own party and perswasions; as namely, *Theodore Beza*, *Peter Martyr*, *Francis de* St. *Paul*, *John Raimond*, and *John Vizelle*, with many other Ministers from *Geneva*, *Germany*, and others of the Neighbouring Countries. But the result of all was this, as commonly it happeneth on the like occasions, that both parties challenged to themselves the Victory in it, and both indeed were victors in some respects. For the King of *Navar* appeared much unsatisfied by noting the differences of the Ministers amongst themselves, some of them adhering to the *Augustane*, and others to the *Helvetian* Confession, in some points of Doctrine; which made him afterwards more cordial to the interest of the Church of *Rome*, notwithstanding all the arguments and insinuations used by his Wife, a most zealous *Hugonot*, to withdaaw him

from it. But the *Hugonots* gave out on the other ſide, that they had made good their Doctrines, convinced the Catholick Doctors, confounded the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and gotten Licenſe from the King to Preach. Which gave ſuch courage to the reſt of that Faction, that they began of their own Authority to aſſemble themſelves in ſuch places as they thought moſt convenient, and their Miniſters to preach in publick, and their Preachings followed and frequented by ſuch infinite multitudes, as well of the Nobility as the common People, that it was thought impoſſible to ſuppreſs, and dangerous to diſturb their Meetings. For ſo it was, that if either the Magiſtrates moleſted them in their Congregations, or the Catholicks attemped to drive them out of their Temples, without reſpect to any Authority they put themſelves into Arms; and in the middle of a full Peace, was made a ſhew of a moſt terrible and deſtructive War.

15. This being obſerved by thoſe which ſate at the Helme, and finding that theſe tempeſts were occaſioned by the Edict of *July*, it was reſolved to ſtere their courſe by another winde. For the Queen being ſetled in this Maxime of State, That ſhe was not to ſuffer one Faction to deſtroy the other, for fear ſhe ſhould remain a prey to the Victor, not onely gave order for conventing all the Parliaments to a Common-Council, but earneſtly ſollicited for a Pacification; which gave beginning to the famous Edict of *January*, whereby it was granted, that the *Hugonots* ſhould have the Free exerciſe of their Religion; that they might aſſemble to hearing of Sermons in any open place without their Cities, but on condition that they went unarmed, and that the Officers of the place were there alſo preſent. Which Edict ſo offended the chief Heads of the Catholick party, that a ſtrict combination and confederacy was concluded on between the King of *Navar*, the Conſtable, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, for maintenance of the Religion of the Church of *Rome*. And this reduced the Queen-Regent to the like neceſſity of making a ſtrict union with the Admiral and the Prince of *Conde*, whereby ſhe was aſſured of the power of the *Hugonots*, and they became as confident of her Protection. In which condition they were able to form their Churches, to caſt them into Provinces, Claſſes, and other ſubdiviſions of a leſs capacity; to ſettle in them their Presbyteries and Synodical Meetings, grounded according to their Rules of *Calvins* Platform, in Doctrine, Diſcipline and Worſhip. The Forms whereof being diſcribed at large in the former Book, may there be found without the trouble of a repetition. In ſo much, that it was certified to the Fathers in the Council of *Trent*, that the *French Hugonots* were at that time diſtributed into two thouſand one hundred and fifty Churches, each of them furniſhed with their proper and peculiar Preachers, according to a juſt computation which was taken of them: which computation was then

then made, to satisfie the Queen-Regent in the strength of that party, for which she could not otherwise declare her self, unless she were first made acquainted with their power and numbers. But being satisfied in those points, she began to shew her self much inclined to *Calvinism*, gave ear unto the Discourses of the Ministers in her private Chamber, conferred familiarly with the Prince, the Admiral, and many others in matters which concerned their Churches; and finally, so disguised her self, that the Pope was not able to discover at what port she aimed. For sometimes she would write unto him for such a Council as by the *Calvinians* was desired, at other times for a national one to be held in *France*; sometimes desiring that the Communion might be administred under both kindes, otherwhile requiring a Dispensation for Priests to Marry; now solliciting that Divine Service might be said in the vulgar tongue, then proposing such other like things as were wished and preached for by the *Hugonots*. By which dissimulations she amused the World, but gave withal so many notable advantages to the Reformation, that next to God she was the principal promoter and advancer of it; though this prosperity proved the cause of those many miseries which afterwards ensued upon it.

16. For by this means the Preachers having free access into the Court, became exceedingly respected in the City of *Paris*, where in short time their followers did increase to so great a multitude, as put the Prince of *Conde* into such a confidence, that he assumed unto himself the managery of all great affairs: Which course so visibly tended to the diminution of the King of *Navar*, that he resolved by strong hand to remove him from *Paris*. And to that end, directed both his Messages and his Letters to the Duke of *Guise*, to come in to help him. The Duke was then at *Jainville* in the Province of *Champaigne*, and happened in his way upon a Village called *Vassey*, where the *Hugonots* were assembled in great numbers to hear a Sermon. A scuffle unhappily is begun between some of the Dukes Footmen, and not a few of the more unadvised and adventurous *Hugonots*: which the Duke coming to part, was hit with a blow of a stone upon one of his Cheeks, which forced him with the loss of some blood to retire again. Provoked with which indignity, his Followers, being two Companies of Lances, charge in upon them with their Fire-locks, kill sixty of them in the place, and force the rest for preservation of their lives into several houses. This accident is by the *Hugonots* given out to be a matter of design; the execution done upon those sixty persons, must be called a Massacre; and in revenge thereof, the Kingdom shall be filled with Blood and Rapine, Altars and Images defaced, Monasteries ruined and pulled down, and Churches bruitishly polluted. The Queen had so long juggled between both parties, that now it was not safe for her to de- 1562.

clare for either. Upon which ground she removed the Court to *Fountain-bleau*, and left them to play their own Games, as the Dice should run: The presence of the King was looked upon as a matter of great importance, and either party laboured to get him into their power. The City of *Orleance* more especially was aimed at by the Prince of *Conde*, as lying in the heart of the Kingdom, rich, large and populous, sufficiently inclined to novelty and innovations; and therefore thought the fittest Stage for his future Actings. Being thus resolved, he first sends *D' Andelot* with some Forces to possess the Town, and posts himself towards *Fountain-Bleau* with three thousand Horse. But the Catholick Confederates had been there before him, and brought the King off safely to his City of *Paris*: which being signified to the Prince as he was on his way, he diverts toward *Orleance*, and came thither in a luckie hour to relieve his Friends: which having seized upon one of the Gates, and thereby got possession of that part of the City, was in apparent danger to be utterly broken by the Catholick party, if the Prince had not come so opportunely to renew the fight: but by his coming they prevailed, made themselves Masters of the City, and handselled their new Government with the spoil of all the Churches and Religious Houses, which either they defaced, or laid waste and desolate. Amongst which, none was used more coursely then the Church of St. *Crosse*, being the Cathedral of that City; not so much out of a dislike to all Cathedrals (though that had been sufficient to expose it unto Spoil and Rapine) as out of hatred to the name. Upon which furious piece of Zeal, they afterwards destroyed all the little Crosses which they found in the way between *Mont-Martyr* and St. *Denis*, first raised in memory of *Denis* the first Bishop of *Paris*, and one that passeth in account for the chief Apostle of the *Gallick* Nations.

17. But to proceed: to put some fair colour upon this foul action, a *Manifest* is writ and published; in which the Prince and his adherents signifie to all whom it might concern, that they had taken arms for no other reason, but to restore the King and Queen to their personal liberty, kept Prisoners by the power and practice of the Catholick Lords; that obedience might be rendred in all places to his Majesties Edicts, which by the violence of some men had been infringed; and therefore that they were willing to lay down Arms, if the Constable, the Duke of *Guise*, and the Marshal of St. *Andrews* should retire from *Paris*, leaving the King and Queen to their own disposing; and that liberty of Religion might be equally tolerated and maintained unto all alike. These false Colours were wiped off by a like Remonstrance made by the Parliament of *Paris*: In which it was declared amongst other things, that the *Hugonots* had first broke those Edicts by going armed to their Assemblies, and without an Officer; That they had no pretence to excuse them-

themſelves from the crime of Rebellion, conſidering they had openly ſeized on many Towns, raiſed Souldiers, aſſumed the Munition of the Kingdom, caſt many pieces of Ordnance and Artillery, aſſumed unto themſelves the Coyning of Money; and in a word, that they have waſted a great part of the publick Revenues, robbed all the rich Churches within their power, and deſtroyed the reſt, to the diſhonour of God, the ſcandal of Religion, and the impoveriſhing of the Realm. The like anſwer was made alſo by the Conſtable and the Duke of *Guiſe* in their own behalf, declaring in the ſame, that they were willing to retire, and put themſelves into voluntary exile, upon condition that the Arms taken up againſt the King might be quite laid down, the places kept againſt him delivered up, the Churches which were ruined reſtored again, the Catholick Religion honourably preſerved, and an intire obedience rendred to the lawful King, under the Government of the King of *Navar*, and the Regencie of the Queen his Mother. Nor were the King and Queen wanting to make up the breach, by publiſhing that they were free from all reſtraint, and that the Catholick Lords had but done their duty in waiting on them into *Paris*; that ſince the Catholick Lords were willing to retire from Court, the Prince of *Conde* had no reaſon to remain at that diſtance; that therefore he and his adherents ought to put themſelves, together with the places which they had poſſeſſed, into the obedience of the King; which if they did, they ſhould not onely have their ſeveral and reſpective Pardons for all matters paſt, but be from thenceforth looked upon as his Loyal Subjects, without the leaſt diminution of State or honour.

18. Theſe Paper-pellets being thus ſpent, both ſides prepare more furiouſly to charge each other. But firſt the Prince of *Conde*, by the aid of the *Hugonots*, makes himſelf Maſter of the great Towns and Cities of chief impostance; ſuch as were *Rouen*, the Parliamentary City of the Dukedom of *Normandy*; the Ports of *Diepe* and *New-haven*; the Cities of *Angiers*, *Towres*, *Bloiſe*, *Vendoſme*, *Bourges* and *Poictiers*; which laſt were reckoned for the greateſt of all the Kingdom, except *Rouen* and *Paris*; after which followed the rich City of *Lyons*, with that of *Valence* in the Province of *Daulphiny*, together with almoſt all the ſtrong places in *Gaſcoigne* and *Languedock*, Provinces in a manner wholly *Hugonot*, except *Tholouſe*, *Bourdeaux*, and perhaps ſome others. But becauſe neither the Contributions which came in from the *Hugonots*, though they were very large, nor the ſpoil and pillage of thoſe Cities which they took by force, were of themſelves ſufficient to maintain the War; the Prince of *Conde* cauſed all the Gold and Silver in the Churches to be brought unto him, which he coyned into Money. They made proviſion of all manner of Artillery and Ammunition which they took from moſt of the Towns, and laid up in *Orleance*;

turning

turning the Covent of the *Franciſcans* into a Magazine, and there diſpoſing all their ſtores with great art and induſtry. The Catholicks on the other ſide drew their Forces together, conſiſting of 4000 Horſe and ſix thouſand Foot, moſt of them old experienced Souldiers, and trained up in the War againſt *Charles* the Fifth. The Prince had raiſed an Army of an equal number, that is to ſay, three thouſand Horſe, and ſeven thouſand Foot; but, for the moſt part, raw and young Souldiers, and ſuch as ſcarcely knew how to ſtand to their Arms: And yet with theſe weak Forces he was grown ſo high, that nothing would content him but the baniſhment of the Conſtable, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*; free liberty for the *Hugonots* to meet together for the Exerciſe of their Religion in walled Towns; Cities and Churches to be publickly appointed for them; the holding of the Towns which he was preſently poſſeſſed of as their abſolute Lord, till the King were out of his Minority, which was to laſt till he came to the age of two and twenty. He required alſo that the Popes Legate ſhould be preſently commanded to leave the Kingdom; that the *Hugonots* ſhould be capable of all Honours and Offices; and finally, that ſecurity ſhould be given by the Emperour, the Catholick King, the Queen of *England*, the State of *Venice*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Republick of the *Switzers*, by which they were to ſtand obliged, that neither the Conſtable nor the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould return into *France*, till the King was come unto the age before remembred.

19. Theſe violent demands ſo incenſed all thoſe which had the Government of the State, that the Prince and his Adherents were proclaimed Traytors, and as ſuch to be proſecuted in a courſe of Law, if they laid not down their Arms by a day appointed. Which did as little benefit them, as the propoſals of the Prince had pleaſed the others. For thereupon the *Hugonots* united themſelves more ſtrictly into a Confederacie to deliver the King, the Queen, the Kingdom, from the violence of their oppoſites; to ſtand to one another in the defence of the Edicts, and altogether to ſubmit to the Authority of the Prince of *Conde*, as the head of their Union: publiſhing a tedious Declaration with their wonted confidence, touching the motives which induced them to this Combination. This more eſtranged the Queen from them then ſhe was at firſt; and now ſhe is reſolved to break them by ſome means or other, but rather to attempt it by Wit then by Force of Arms: And to this end ſhe deals ſo dexterouſly with the Conſtable and the Duke of *Guiſe*, that ſhe prevailed with them to leave the Court, and to prefer the common ſafety of their Country before their own particular and perſonal greatneſs: which being ſignified by Letters to the Prince of *Conde*, he frankly offered under his hand, that whenſoever theſe great Adverſaries of his were retired from the Court (which he conceived a matter of impoſſibility to perſwade

perſwade them to) he would not onely lay down Arms; but quit the Kingdom. But underſtanding that the Conſtable and the Duke had really withdrawn themſelves to their Country-houſes, deveſted of all power both in Court and Council, he ſtood confounded at the unadviſedneſs and precipitation of ſo raſh a promiſe as he had made unto the Queen. For it appeared diſhonourable to him not to keep his word, more dangerous to relinquiſh his command in the Army, but moſt deſtructive to himſelf and his party to diſſolve their Forces, and put himſelf into a voluntary exile, not knowing whither to retreat. At which dead lift he is refreſhed by ſome of his *Calvinian* Preachers with a Cordial comfort. By which learned Caſuiſts it was reſolved for good Divinity, that the Prince having undertaken the maintenance of thoſe who had imbraced the purity of Religion, and made himſelf by Oath Protector of the Word of God, no following obligation could be of force to make him violate the firſt. In which determining of the Caſe, they ſeemed to have been guided by that Note in the Engliſh Bibles, tranſlated and printed at *Geneva*, where in the Margine to the ſecond Chapter of St. *Matthews* Goſpel, it is thus advertiſed: *viz. That promiſe ought not to be kept, when Gods honour and the preaching of the Truth is hindred; or elſe it ought not to be broken.* They added, to make ſure work of it (at the leaſt they thought ſo) that the Queen had broken a former promiſe to the Prince, in not bringing the King over to his party, as ſhe once aſſured him; and therefore that he was not bound to keep faith with her, who had broke her own.

20. But this Divinity did not ſeem ſufficient to preſerve his honour; another temperament was found by ſome wiſer heads; by which he might both keep his promiſe, and not leave his Army. By whoſe advice it was reſolved, that he ſhould put himſelf into the power of the Queen, who was come within ſix Miles of him with a ſmall retinue, onely of purpoſe to receive him; that having done his duty to her, he ſhould expreſs his readineſs to forſake the Kingdom, as ſoon as ſome Accord was ſettled; and that the Admiral, D' *Andelot*, and ſome other of the principal Leaders, ſhould on the ſudden ſhew themſelves, forcibly mount him on his Horſe, and bring him back into the Army. Which Lay-device, whether it had more cunning or leſs honeſty then that of the Cabal of Divines, it is hard to ſay: But ſure it is, that it was put in execution accordingly; the Queen thereby deluded, and all the hopes of Peace and Accommodation made void and fruſtrate. But then a greater difficulty ſeized upon them. The King had re-inforced his Army by the acceſſion of ten Cornets of *German* Horſe, and ſix thouſand *Switz*. The Princes Army rather diminiſhed then increaſed, and, which was worſe, he wanted Money to maintain thoſe Forces which he had about him; ſo that being neither able to keep the Field for want of men, nor keep his men together for

want of Money, it was reſolved that he muſt keep his men upon free-quarter in ſuch Towns and Cities as followed the Fortune of his ſide, till he was ſeconded by ſome ſtrength from *England*, or their Friends in *Germany*. The Queen of *England* had been dealt with; but ſhe reſolved not to engage on their behalf, except the Port of *Havre-de-grace*, together with the Town of *Diepe* were put into her hands, and that ſhe might have leave to put a Garriſon of Engliſh into *Rouen* it ſelf. Which Propoſition ſeemed no other to moſt knowing men, then in effect to put into her power the whole Dukedom of *Normandy*, by giving her poſſeſſion of the principal City, and hanging at her Girdle the two Keys of the Province, by which ſhe might enter when ſhe pleaſed with all the reſt of her Forces. But then the Miniſters being adviſed with, who in all publick Conſultations were of great Authority, eſpecially when they related unto Caſes of Conſcience; it was by them declared for ſound Doctrine, That no conſideration was to be had of worldly things, when the maintenance of Cœleſtial Truths, and the propagation of the Goſpel was brought in queſtion; and therefore that all other things were to be contemned, in reference to the eſtabliſhment of true Religion, and the freedom of Conſcience. According to which notable determination, the Seneſchal of *Rouen*, and the young Viſdame of *Chartres* are diſpatched to *England*; with whom it was accorded by the Queens Commiſſioners, that the Queen ſhould preſently ſupply the Prince and his Confederates with Monies, Arms and Ammunition; that ſhe ſhould aid him with an Army of eight thouſand Foot, to be maintained at her own pay, for defence of *Normandy*; and that for her ſecurity, in the way of caution, the Town of *New-haven*, (which the French call *Havre-de-grace*, as is before ſaid) ſhould be forthwith put into her hands, under a Governour or Commander of the *Engliſh* Nation; that ſhe ſhould place a Garriſon of two thouſand *Engliſh* in the City of *Rouen*, and a proportionable number in the Town of *Diepe*; but the Chief Governours of each to be natural French. Which Covenants were accordingly performed on both ſides, to the diſhonour of the *French*, and the great damage and reproach of the Realm of *England*, as it after proved. For ſo it was, that the Prince of *Conde* being forced to diſperſe his Souldiers, and to diſpoſe of them in ſuch manner as before was noted; the King being Maſter of the Field, carryed the War from Town to Town, and from place to place; and in that courſe he ſpeeds ſo well, as to take in the Cities of *Angiers*, *Tours*, *Bloiſe*, *Poictiers*, and *Bourges*, with divers others of leſs note; ſome of which were ſurrended upon compoſition, ſome taken by aſſault, and expoſed to ſpoil. And now all paſſages being cleared, and all rubs removed, they were upon the point of laying Siege to the City of *Orleance*, when at the Queens earneſt ſollicitation, they changed that purpoſe for the more profitable expedition

dition to the King and Kingdom. *Normandy* was in no ſmall danger of being wilfully betrayed into the hands of the *Engliſh*, who therefore were to be removed, or at the leaſt to be expulſed out of *Rouen* before the Kings Army was conſumed in Actions of inferiour conſequence. The iſſue of which War was this, That though the *Engliſh* did brave ſervice for defence of the City, and made many galiant attempts for relief thereof by their men and ſhipping from *New-haven*; yet in the end the Town was taken by aſſault, and for two days together made a prey to the Souldiers. The joy of the Royaliſts for the reduction of this great City to the Kings obedience, was much abated by the death of the King of *Navar*, who had unfortunately received his deaths wound in the heat of the Seige, and dyed in the forty fourth year of his age, leaving behind him a young Son called *Henry*, who afterward ſucceeded in the Crown of *France*. And on the contrary, the ſorrow for this double loſs was much diminiſhed in the Prince of *Conde* and the reſt of his party, by the ſeaſonable coming of four thouſand Horſe and five thouſand Foot, which *Monſieur d' Andelot* with great induſtry had raiſed in *Germany*, and with as great courage and good fortune had conducted ſafely to the Prince.

22. By the acceſſion of theſe Forces, the *Hugonots* are incouraged to attempt the ſurprizing of *Paris*; from which they were diſſwaded by the Admiral, but eagerly inflamed to that undertaking by the continual importunity of ſuch Preachers as they had about them. Repulſed from which with loſs both of time and honour, they were encountred in a ſet battel near the City of *Dreux*, in the neighbouring Province of *Le Beauſſe*. In which battel their whole Army was overthrown, and the Prince of *Conde* taken priſoner; but his captivity ſweetned by the like misfortune which befel the Conſtable, took priſoner in the ſame battel by the hands of the Admiral; who having drawn together the remainder of his broken Army, retires towards *Orleance*, and leaving there his Brother *D' Andelot* with the Foot to make good that City, takes with him all the *German* Horſe, and ſo goes for *Normandy*, there to receive ſuch Monies as were ſent from *England*. But the Monies not coming at the time, by reaſon of croſs windes and tempeſtuous weather, the *Germans* are permitted to ſpoil and plunder in all the parts of the Country, not ſparing places either Profane or Sacred, and reckoning no diſtinction either betwixt Friends or Enemies. But in ſhort time the Seas grew paſſable, and the Monies came (an hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns according to the French account) together with fourteen pieces of Cannon, and a proportionable ſtock of Ammunition; by which ſupply the *Germans* were not onely well paid for ſpoiling the Country, but the Admiral was thereby inabled to do ſome good ſervice, from which he had been hindred for want of Cannon. In the mean time the Duke of *Guiſe* had laid Siege to *Orleance*, and had reduced it

in a manner to terms of yeilding, where he was villanously murdred by one *Poltrot*, a Gentleman of a good Family and a ready Wit; who having lived many years in *Spain*, and afterward imbracing the *Calvinian* Doctrines, grew into great esteem with *Beza* and the rest of the Consistorians, by whom it was thought fit to execute any great Attempt. By whom commended to the Admiral, and by the Admiral excited to a work of so much merit, he puts himself without much scruple on the undertaking; entreth on the Kings service, and by degrees became well known unto the Duke. Into whose favour he so far insinuated, that he could have access to him whensoever he pleased; and having gained a fit opportunity to effect his purpose, dispatched him by the shot of a Musket laden with no fewer then three bullets, in the way to his lodging.

23. This murder was committed on *Feb.* 24. *an.* 1562. and being put to the Rack, he on the Rack confessed upon what incentives he had done the fact. But more particularly he averred, that by the Admirall he was promised great rewards, and that he was assured by *Beza*, that by taking out of the world such a great persecutor of the Gospel, he could not but exceedingly merit at the hands of Almighty God. And though both *Beza* and the Admiral endeavoured by their Manifests and Declarations to wipe off this stain; yet the confession of the murtherer, who could have no other ends in it then to speak his conscience, left most men better satisfied in it, then by both their writings. But as it is an ill wind which blows no body good, so the Assassinate of this great person, though very grievous to his friends, served for an Introduction to the peace ensuing. For he being taken out of the way, the Admirall engaged in *Normandy*, the Constable Prisoner in the City, and the Prince of *Conde* in the Camp; it was no hard matter for the Queen to conclude a peace upon such terms, as might be equall to all parties. By which accord it was concluded, that all that were free Barons in the Lands and Castles which they were possessed of, or held them of no other Lord then the King himself, might freely exercise the Reformed Religion in their own jurisdictions; and that the other which had not such Dominions might doe the same in their own Houses and Families only, provided that they did not the same in Towns and Cities: that in every Province certain Cities should be assigned, in the Suburbs whereof the *Hugonots* might have the free exercise of their Religion: that in the City of *Paris*, and in all other Towns and places whatsoever, where the Court resided, no other Religion should be exercised but the Roman Catholick; though in those Cities every man might privately enjoy his conscience without molestation: that those of the Reformed Religion should observe the Holy Days appointed in the Roman Kalendar, and in their Marriages the Rites and Constitutions of the Civil Law; and finally, that a general

neral pardon ſhould be granted to all manner of perſons, with a full reſtitution to their Lands and Liberties, their Honors, Offices and Eſtates. Which moderation or reſtriction of the Edict of *January*, did much diſpleaſe ſome zealous *Hugonots*, but their Preachers moſt; who as they loved to exerciſe their gifts in the greateſt Auditories, ſo they abominated nothing more then thoſe obſervances.

24. After this followed the reduction of *New-haven* to the Crown of *France*, and the expulſion of the *Engliſh* out of *Normandy*; the Prince of *Conde*, and ſome other leading men of the *Hugonot* faction, contributing both their preſence and aſſiſtance to it; which had not been ſo eaſily done, had not God fought more againſt the *Engliſh*, then the whole *French* Armies: for by croſs winds it did not only hinder all ſupplyes from coming to them, till the ſurrendry of the Town; but haſtened the ſurrender by a grievous Peſtilence, which had extreamly waſted them in reſpect of number, and miſerably dejected them in point of courage. And yet the anger of God did not ſtay here neither, that Plague being carried into *England* at the return of the Soldiers, which raged extreamly both in *London* and moſt parts of the Realme, beyond the precedent and example of former ages. It was on the 17 of *July*, *an.* 1563, that *New-haven* was yielded to the *French*, that being the laſt day of the firſt war which was raiſed by the *Hugonots*, and raiſed by them on no other ground, but for extorting the free exerciſe of their Religion by force of Arms, according to the doctrine and example of the Mother-City. In the purſuit whereof, they did not only with their own hands ruinate and deface the beauty of their native Country, but gave it over for a prey to the luſt of Strangers. The calling in of the *Engliſh* to ſupport their faction, whom they knew well to be the antient enemies of the Crown of *France*, and putting into their hands the chief ſtrength of *Normandy*, of whoſe pretenſions to that Dukedome they could not be ignorant; were two ſuch actions of a diſloyal impolitick nature, as no pretence of zeal to that which they called the Goſpel, could either qualifie or excuſe. Nor was the bringing in of ſo many thouſand *German* Souldiers of much better condition, who though they could pretend no title to the Crown of *France*, nor to any particular Province in it, were otherwiſe more deſtructive to the peace of that Country, and created far more miſchief to the people of it, then all the forces of the *Engliſh*; for being to be maintained on the pay of the *Hugonots*, and the *Hugonots* not being able to ſatisfie their exorbitant Arrears, they were ſuffered to waſte the Country in all parts where they came, and to expoſe the whole Kingdom, from the very borders of it toward *Germany*, to the *Engliſh* Chanell, unto ſpoyle and rapine; ſo that between the *Hugonots* themſelves on the one ſide, and theſe *German* Souldiers on the other, there was nothing to be ſeen in moſt parts of the Kingdom, but the deſtruction of 1563.

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Churches, the profanation of Altars, the defacing of Images, the demolishing of Monasteries, the burning of Religious Houses, and even the digging up of the bones of the dead, despitefully thrown about the fields and unhallowed places.

1566. 25. But this first fire was only raked up in the Embers, not so extinguished by the Articles of the late agreement, but that it broke out shortly into open flames; for the *Hugonots* pressing hard for the performance of the Edict of *January*, and the *Romanists* as earnestly insisting on some clauses of the pacification; the whole Realm was filled in a manner with such fears and jealousies, as carryed some resemblance of a War in the midst of Peace. The *Hugonots* had some thoughts of surprising *Lyons*, but the Plot miscarryed: they practised also upon *Narbonne*, a chief City of *Languedock*, and openly attempted the Popes Town of *Avignion*; but were prevented in the one, and suppressed in the other. A greater diffidence was raised against them by the unseasonable Zeal of the Queen of *Navar*, who not content with setling the reformed Religion in the Country of *Berne*, when she was absolute and supreme, suffered the Catholicks to be infested in her own Provinces which she held immediately of the Crown; insomuch that at *Pamiers* the chief City of the Earldom of *Foix*, the *Hugonots* taking offence at a solemn Procession held upon *Corpus Christi* day, betook themselves presently to Arms; and falling upon those whom they found unarmed, not onely made a great slaughter amongst the Churchmen, but in the heat of the same fury burnt down their Houses. Which outrage being suffered to pass unpunished, gave both encouragement and example to some furious Zealots to commit the like in other places, as namely at *Montaban*, *Gælion*, *Rodez*, *Preieux*, *Valence*, *&c.* being all scituate in those Provinces in which the *Hugonots* were predominant for power and number. But that which most alarmed the Court, was a seditious Pamphlet, published by a Native of *Orleance*; in which it was maintained (according to the *Calvinian* Doctrines) that the people of *France* were absolved from their Allegiance to the King then Reigning, because he was turned an Idolater. In which reason it is lawful also to kill him, as opportunity should be offered. Which Doctrine being very agreeable unto some designs which were then every where in agitation amongst the *Hugonots*, was afterward made use of for the justifying of the following Wars, when the opinion grew more general, and more openly maintained both from Press and Pulpit.

1567. 26. The Catholicks on the other side began to put themselves into a posture of Arms, without so much as taking notice of those misdemeanors; which they seemed willing to connive at, not so much out of any inclinations which they had in themselves, but because they found it not agreeable to the will of the Court, where such dissimulations were esteemed the best arts of Government. The Catholick King had sent the Duke

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of *Alva* with a puiſſant Army, to reduce the Low Countries to obedience, where the *Calvinians* had committed as great ſpoils and Rapines as any where in *France* or *Scotland*. This Army being to paſs in a long march near the Borders of *France*, gave a juſt colour to the King to arm himſelf; for fear leſt otherwiſe the *Spaniards* might forget their errand, and fall with all their Forces into his Dominions. To this end he gives order for a Levy of ſix thouſand *Switz*, which he cauſed to be conducted through the heart off the Kingdom, and quartered them in the Iſle of *France*, as if they were to ſerve to a Guard for *Paris*, far enough off from any of thoſe parts and Provinces by which the *Spaniards* were to paſs. But this gave ſuch a jealouſie to the heads of the *Hugonots*, that they reſorted to *Chaſtillion* to conſult with the Admiral. By whoſe advice it was reſolved, that they muſt get the King and Queen into their power, and make ſuch uſe of both their names, as the Catholicks had made of them in the former War. This to be done upon the ſudden, before the opening of a War, by the raiſing of Forces, ſhould render the ſurprize impoſſible, and defeat their purpoſes. The King and Queen lay then at *Monceux*, an Houſe of pleaſure within the Territory of *Brye* in *Champaigne*, not fearing any the leaſt danger in a time of peace, and having the *Switz* near enough to ſecure their perſons againſt any ſecret Machinations. And thereupon it was contrived, that as many Horſe as they could raiſe in ſeveral places, ſhould draw together at *Roſay*, not far from *Monceux*, on the 27 of *September*; that they ſhould firſt ſurprize the King, the Queen, and her younger Sons, and then fall in upon the *Switz*, who being quartered in ſeveral places, and ſuſpecting nothing leſs then the preſent danger, might very eaſily be routed; and that being done, they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of *Paris*, and from thence iſſue out all Mandates which concerned the Government both of Church and State. Some *Hugonots* which afterwards were took in *Gaſcoyne*, and by the Marſhal of *Monluck* were expoſed to torture, are ſaid to have confeſſed upon the Rack, that it was really intended to kill the King, together with the Queen and the two young Princes; and having ſo cut off the whole Royal Line, to ſet the Crown upon the head of the Prince of *Conde*. But Charity and Chriſtianity bids me think the contrary, and to eſteem of this report as a Popiſh Calumny, deviſed of purpoſe to create the greater hatred againſt the Authors of thoſe Wars.

27. But whether it were true or not, certain it is, that the deſign was carryed with ſuch care and cloſeneſs, that the Queen had hardly time enough to retire to *Meux*, a little Town twelve Leagues from *Paris*, before the whole Body of the *Hugonots* appeared in ſight; from whence they were with no leſs difficulty conducted by the *Switz* (whom they had ſuddenly drawn together) to the Walls of *Paris*; the *Switz* being charged upon the way by no fewer then eleven hundred Horſe, and *D' Andelot*

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in the head of one of the parties; but gallantly making good their March, and ſerving to the King and the Royal Family for a Tower or Fortreſs; no ſooner were they come to *Paris*, but the *Hugonots* take a reſolution to beſiege the City before the Kings Forces could aſſemble to relieve the ſame. To which end they poſſeſſed themſelves of all the paſſes upon the River by which proviſions came into it, and burned down all the Windmills about the Town, which otherwiſe might ſerve for the grinding of ſuch Corn as was then within it. No better way could be deviſed to break this blow, then to entertain them with a Parley for an accommodation, not without giving them ſome hope of yeilding unto any conditions which could be reaſonably required. But the *Hugonots* were ſo exorbitant in their demands, that nothing would content them, but the removing of the Queen from publick Government; the preſent disbanding of the Kings Forces; the ſending of all ſtrangers out of the Kingdom; a punctual execution of the Kings Edict of *January*; liberty for their Miniſters to Preach in all places, even in *Paris* it ſelf; and finally, that *Calice*, *Metz* and *Havre-de-grace* might be conſigned unto them for Towns of caution; but in plain truth, to ſerve them for the bringing in of the *Engliſh* and *Germans* when their occaſion ſo required. The Treaty notwithſtanding was continued by the Queen with great dexterity, till the King had drawn together ſixteen thouſand men, with whom the Conſtable gives battel to the Enemy on the 10 of *November*, compels them to diſlodge, makes himſelf maſter of the Field, but dyed the next day after, in the eightieth year of his age, having received his deaths wound from the hands of a *Switz*, who moſt unmanfully ſhot him when he was not in condition to make any reſiſtance.

1568. 28. In the mean time the City of *Orleance* was ſurpriſed by the *Hugonots*, with many places of great importance in moſt patts of the Realm; which ſerving rather to diſtract then increaſe their Forces, they were neceſſitated to ſeek out for ſome Forraign aid. Not having confidence enough to apply themſelves to the Queen of *England*, whom in the buſineſs of *Newhaven* they had ſo betrayed, they ſend their Agents to ſollicite the Elector *Palatine*, and prevailed with him for an Army of ſeven thouſand Horſe, and four thouſand Foot, to which the miſerable Country is again expoſed. Encouraged with which great ſupplies, they laid Siege to *Chartres*, the principal City of *La Beaue*, the loſs whereof muſt of neceſſity have ſubjected the *Pariſians* to the laſt extremities. The chief Commanders in the Kings Army were exceeding earneſt to have given them battel, thereby to force them from the Siege. But the Queen not willing to venture the whole State of the Kingdom upon one caſt of the Dice, eſpecially againſt ſuch deſperate Gameſters who had nothing to loſe but that which they carryed in their hands, ſo plyed them with new Offers for accom-

accommodation, that her conditions were accepted, and the *Germans* once again disbanded, and sent back to their Country. During which broyls, the Town of *Rochel* strongly scituated on a bay of the Ocean, had declared for the *Hugonots*, and as it seems had gone so far, that they had left themselves no way to retreat. And therefore when most other places had submitted to the late Accord, the *Rochellers* were resolved to stand it out, and neither to admit a Garrison, nor to submit to any Governour of the Kings appointment; in which rebellious obstinacy they continued about sixty years, the Town being worthily esteemed for the safest sanctuary, to which the *Hugonots* retired in all times of danger, and most commodious for the letting in of a forraign army, when they found any ready to befriend them in that cause and quarrel. The standing out of which Town in such obstinate manner, not only encouraged many others to doe the like, but by the fame thereof drew thither both the Admiral and the Prince of *Conde*, with many other Gentlemen of the *Hugonot* Faction, there to consult about renewing of the war which they were resolved on. To whom repaired the Queen of *Navarre* with the Prince her Son, then being but fifteen years of age, whom she desired to train up in that holy war, upon an hope that he might one day come to be the head of that party, as he after was. And here being met, they publish from hence two several *Manifests*; one in the name of all the *Hugonots* in general, the other in the name of that Queen alone; both tending to the same effect, that is to say, the putting of some specious colour upon their defection, and to excuse the breaking of the peace established, by the necessity of a warre.

29. This rapture so incensed the King and his Council, that they resolved no longer to make use of such gentle medicines as had been formerly applyed in the like distempers; which resolution was the parent of that terrible Edict by which the King doth first revoke all the former Edicts which had been made during his minority in favour of the Reformed Religion; nullifying more particularly the last capitulations, made only in the way of *Provision* to redress those mischiefs for which no other course could be then resolved on. And that being done, it was ordained and commanded, 'That the exercise of any other Religion then the 'Roman Catholick (ever observed by him and the King his Pre- 'decessors) should be prohibited, and expresly forbidden, and 'interdicted in all places of the Kingdom; banished all the *Cal- 'vinist* Ministers and Preachers out of all the Towns and places 'under his Dominion, and within fifteen days upon pain of death 'to avoid the Realm; pardoned through special grace all things 'past in matters of Religion, but requiring for the future under 'pain of death a general Conformity to the Rites of the Catho- 'lick Church; and finally ordained that no person should be ad- 'mitted to any office, charge, dignity, or magistracy whatever, 'if he did not profess and live conformable in all points to the

'Roman Religion. And for a Preamble hereunto, the King was pleaſed to make a long and diſtinct Narration of the indulgence he had uſed to reduce the *Hugonots* to a right underſtanding, and of the ill requital they had made unto him, by the ſeditions and conſpiracies which they raiſed againſt him; their bringing in of forraign forces, and amongſt others the moſt mortal enemies of the French Nation, putting into their hands the ſtrongeſt places and moſt flouriſhing parts of the Kingdom, to the contempt of his authority, the deſpiſing of his grace and goodneſs, and the continual diſquieting of his Dominions, and the deſtruction of his ſubjects. To counter-poiſe which terrible Edict, the Princes and other Leaders of the *Hugonots* which were then at *Rochel*, entred into a ſolemn Covenant or Aſſociation, by which they bound themſelves by Oath to perſevere till death in defence of their Religion, never to lay down arms, or condeſcend to any agreement without the general conſent of all the Commanders; and not then neither, but upon ſufficient ſecurity for the preſervation of their lives, and the enjoying of that Liberty of Conſcience for which they firſt began the war.

30. But the Admiral well knowing that the buſineſs was not to be carried by Oaths and Manifeſts, and that they wanted mony to proceed by arms, adviſed the *Rochellers* to ſend their Navy to the ſea, which in a time when no ſuch danger was expected, might ſpoyle and pillage all they met with, and by that means provide themſelves of mony, and all other neceſſaries to maintain the war. Which Counſel took ſuch good effect, that by this kind of Piracy they were enabled to give a fair beginning to this new Rebellion; for the continuance whereof, it was thought neceſſary to ſollicite their Friends in *Germany*, to furniſh them with freſh recruits of able men, and Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* for ſuch ſums of money as might maintain them in the ſervice. And in the firſt of theſe deſigns there appears no difficulty; the inclination of the Prince Elector, together with the reſt of the *Calvinian* Princes, and Imperial Cities, were eaſily intreated to aſſiſt their Brethren of the ſame Religion. And the ſame ſpirit governed many of the people alſo, but on different grounds; they undertaking the imployment upon hope of ſpoil, as Mercenaries, ſerving for their Pay, but more for Plunder. In *England* their deſires were entertained with leſs alacrity, though eagerly ſollicited by *Odet* Biſhop of *Beauvais*, a younger Brother of the *Admiral*; who having formerly been raiſed to the degree of a Cardinal, therefore called moſt commonly the Cardinal of *Chaſtillon*, had ſome years ſince renounced his Habit and Religion, but ſtill kept his Titles. By the continual ſollicitation of ſo great an Advocate, and the effectual interpoſing of the Queen of *Navar*, *Elizabeth* was perſwaded to forget their former ingratitude, and to remember how conducible it was to her perſonal intereſt to keep the French King exerciſed in perpetual troubles; upon which Reaſon of State ſhe is not onely drawn

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to accommodate the *Hugonots* with Ships, Corn, Arms and Ammunition, but to supply them with a hundred thousand Crowns of ready money for the maintaining of their Army, consisting of fourteen thousand *Germans*, and almost as many more of the natural *French*. And yet it was to be believed, that in all this she had done nothing contrary to the League with *France*, which she had sworn not long before; because, forsooth, the Forces of the *Hugonots* were raised to no other end but the Kings mere service, and the assistance of the Crown against the Enemies of both, and the professed Adversaries of the true Religion. But neither this great lone of money, nor that which they had got by robbing upon the Seas, was able to maintain a War of so long continuance. For maintainance whereof, they were resolved to sell the Treasures of the Churches in all such Provinces as they kept under their Command; the Queen of *Navar* ingaging her Estate for their security, who should adventure on the purchase.

31. I shall not touch on the particulars of this War, which ended with the death of the Prince of *Conde* in the battel of *Jarnac*; the rigorous proceedings against the Admiral, whom the King caused to be condemned for a Rebel, his Lands to be confiscated, his Houses plundred and pulled down, and himself executed in *Effigie*; the loss of the famous battel of *Mont-Contour* by the *Hugonots* party *Anno* 1569, which forced them to abandon all their strong holds, except *Rochel*, *Angoulesme*, and St. *Jean d' Angeli*, and finally to shut themselves up within *Rochel* onely; after which followed such a dissembled reconciliation between the parties, as proved more bloudy then the War: The sudden and suspected death of the Queen of *Navar*, the Marriage of the Prince her Son with the Lady *Margaret* one of the Sisters of the King; the celebrating of the wedding in the death of the Admiral on St. *Bartholomews* day 1572, and the slaughter of thirty thousand men within few days after; the reduction of the whole Kingdom to the Kings obedience, except the Cities of *Nismes*, *Montauban* and *Rochel* onely; the obstinate standing out of *Rochel*, upon the instigation of such Preachers as fled thither for shelter, and the reduction of it by the Duke of *Anjou* to the last extremity; the raising of the Siege, and the Peace ensuing, on the Election of that Duke to the Crown of *Poland*; the resolution of the *Hugonots* to renew the War, as soon as he had left the Kingdom; and their ingaging in the same, on the Kings last sickness In all which traverses of State there is nothing memorable in reference to my present purpose, but onely the conditions of the Pacification which was made at the Siege of *Rochel*; by which it was accorded between the parties on the 11 of *July*, *Anno* 1573, that all offences should be pardoned to the said three Cities, on their submission to the King; and that it should be lawful for them to retain the free Exercise of their Religion, the people meeting in the same unarmed, and but few

1569. 1572. 1573.

in number; that all the inhabitants of the ſaid three Cities ſhould be obliged to obſerve, in all outward matters (except Baptiſm and Matrimony) the Rites and Holy-days of the Church; that the uſe of the Catholick Religion ſhould be reſtored in the ſaid Cities and all other places, leaving unto the Clergy and Religious perſons their Houſes, Profits, and Revenues; that *Rochel* ſhould receive a Governour of the Kings appointment, (but without Garriſon) renounce all correſpondencies and confederacies with Forreign Princes, and not take part with any of the ſame Religion againſt the King; and finally, that the ſaid three Towns ſhould deliver Hoſtages for the performance of the Articles of the preſent Agreement, to be changed at the end of every three months, if the King ſo pleaſed: It was alſo condeſcended to in favour of particular perſons, that all Lords of free Mannors throughout the Kingdoms, might in their own Houſes lawfully celebrate Marriage and Baptiſm, after their own manner, provided that the Aſſembly exceeded not the number of ten; and that there ſhould be no inquiſition upon mens Conſciences, Liberty being given to ſuch as had no minde to abide in the Kingdom, that they might ſell their Lands and Goods, and live where they pleaſed.

1574. 32. Such were the Actings of the *French Calvinians*, as well by ſecret practices as open Arms, during the troubleſome Reign of *Francis* the Second and *Charles* the Ninth, and ſuch their variable Fortunes according to the interchanges and ſucceſſes of thoſe broken times, in which, for fifteen years together, there was nothing to be heard but Wars and rumours of Wars; ſhort intervals of Peace, but ſuch as generally were ſo full of fears and jealouſies, that they were altogether as unſafe as the Wars themſelves. So that the greateſt calm of Peace, ſeemed but a preparation to a War enſuing; to which each party was ſo bent, that of a poyſon it became their moſt conſtant Food. In which diſtraction of affairs dyed King *Charles* the Ninth, in the five and twentieth year of his age, and fourteenth of his Reign, leaving this life at *Paris* on the 30 of *May*, *Anno* 1574. He had been uſed for ſome months to the ſpitting of bloud, which brought him firſt into a Feaver, and at laſt to his grave, not without ſome retaliation of the Heavenly Juſtice, in puniſhing that Prince by vomiting up the bloud of his Body natural, which had with ſuch prodigious cruelty exhauſted ſo much of the beſt bloud of the body Politick. After whoſe death, the Crown deſcended upon *Henry* the new King of *Poland*, who preſently upon the news thereof forſook that Kingdom, and poſted with all ſpeed to *Venice*, and from thence to *France*, where he was joyfully received by all loyal Subjects. At his firſt coming to the Crown, he reſolved to put an end to thoſe combuſtions which had ſo often inflamed his Kingdom, and extinguiſh all thoſe heats which had exaſperated one party againſt another; that he might ſit as Umpire or Supreme Moderator of the preſent differences,

differences, and draw unto himself an absolute Soveraignty over both alike: which to effect, he resolves to prosecute the War so coldly, that the *Hugonots* might conceive good hopes of his moderation; but still to keep the War on foot, till he could finde out such a way to bring on the peace, as might create no suspition of him in the hearts of the Catholicks. By which means hoping to indulge both parties, he was perfectly believed by none, each party shewing it self distrustful of his inclinations, and each resolving to depend on some other Heads.

33. About this time, when all men stood amazed at these proceedings of the Court, the State began to swarm with Libels and Seditious Pamphlets, published by those of the *Hugonot* Faction, full of reproach, and fraught with horrible invectives, not onely against the present Government, but more particularly against the persons of the Queen and all her Children. Against the Authors whereof, when some of the Council purposed to proceed with all severity, the Queen-mother interposed her power, and moderated by her prudence the intended rigors; affirming, as most true it was, that such severity would onely gain the greater credit to those scurrilous Pamphlets, which would otherwise vanish of themselves, or be soon forgotten. Amongst which Pamphlets, there was none more pestilent then that which was composed in the way of a Dialogue, pretending one *Eusebius Philadelphus* for the Author of it. *Buchanan* building first upon *Calvins* Principles, had published his Seditious Pamphlet *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, together with that scurrilous and infamous Libel which he called *The Detection*, repleat with nothing but reproaches of his lawful Soveraign. But this *Eusebius Philadelphus*, or whosoever he was that masked himself under that disguise, resolved to go beyond his pattern in all the acts of Malice, Slandering and Sedition; but be out-gone by none that should follow after him in those ways of wickedness. Two other Tracts were published about this time also, both of them being alike mischievous, and tending to the overthrow of all publick Government; but wanting something of the Libel in them, as the other had: Of these, the one was called *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, or the rescuing of the people from the power of Tyrants; published under the name of *Stephanus Brutus*, but generally believed to be writ by *Beza*, the chief surviving Patron of the *Presbyterians*. In which he prostitutes the dignity of the Supreme Magistrate to the lusts of the people, and brings them under the command of such *popular* Magistrates, as *Calvin* makes to be the Conservators of the publick Liberty. The other was intituled *De jure Magistratus in Subditos*, built on the same grounds, and published with the same intention as the others were. A piece so mischievous in it self, and so destructive of the peace of Humane Society, that each side was ashamed to own it; the Papists fathering it upon *Hottoman* a

French

French Civilian, the *Presbyterians* on *Hiclerus* a Romish Priest: But it appears plainly by the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, that it was published by some of the *Disciplinarians*, at whose doors I leave it.

34. But for *Eusebius Philadelphus*, he first defames the King and Queen in a most scandalous manner, exposes next that flourishing Kingdom for a prey to strangers; and finally, lays down such Seditious Maximes, as plainly tend to the destruction of Monarchical Government. He tells us of the King himself, that he was trained up by his Tutors in no other qualities then drinking, whoring, swearing and forswearing, frauds and falsehoods, and whatsoever else might argue a contempt both of God and Godliness; that as the Court by the Example of the King, so by the Example of the Court all the rest of the Kingdom was brought into a reprobate sence, even to manifest Atheism; and that as some of their former Kings were honoured with the Attributes of *fair*, *wise*, *debonaire*, *well-beloved*, &c. so should this King be known by no other name then *Charles the treacherous*. The Duke of *Anjou* he sets forth in more ugly colours then he doth the King, by adding this to all the rest of his Brothers vices, that he lived in a constant course of *Incest* with his Sister the Princess *Margaret*, as well before as after her Espousal to the King of *Navar*. For the Queen-mother he can finde no better names then those of *Fredegond*, *Brunechild*, *Jezibel*, and *Messalina*; of which the two first are as infamous in the stories of *France*, as the two latter in the Roman and Sacred Histories. And to expose them all together, he can give the Queen-mother and her Children (though his natural Princes) no more cleanly title then that of a *Bitch-wolfe and her Whelps*; affirming, that in Luxury, Cruelty and Perfidiousness, they had exceeded all the Tyrants of preceding times [a]: which comes up close to those irreverent and lewd expressions which frequently occur in *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Knox*, &c. in reference to the two *Mary*'s Queens of *England* and *Scotland*, and other Princes of that age; which have been formerly recited in their proper places.

Lupa illa cum catulis suis, part 1. p. 87.

[a] Part 1. pag. 11.

35. The Royal Family being thus wretchedly exposed to the publick hatred, he next applyes himself to stir up all the world against them both at home and abroad. And first he laboureth to excite some desperate Zealot to commit the like assassinate on the King then Reigning, as one *Bodillus* is reported in some *French* Histories to have committed on the person of *Chilprick* one of the last Kings of the *Merovignians*, which he commemorates for a Noble and Heroick action, and sets it out for an example and encouragement to some gallant French-man, for the delivery of his Country from the Tyranny of the House of *Valois*, [b] the ruine whereof he mainly drives at in his whole designe. And though he seem to make no doubt of prevailing in it, yet he resolves to try his Fortune otherwise if that should fail. And first beginning with their next neighbour the King of *Spain*, he puts

[b] *Qui dirum* Valesium *tenditis deleant, si semel furor exardescet.* p. 75.

he puts them in remembrance of those many injuries which he and his Ancestors had received from the House of *Valois*; acquaints him with the present opportunity which was offered to him of revenging of those wrongs, and making himself Master of the Realm of *France*; and chalks him out a way how he might effect it; that is to say, by coming to a present Accord with the Prince of *Orange* [a], indulging Liberty of Conscience to the *Belgick* Provinces, and thereby drawing all the *Hugonots* to adhere unto him: which counsel if he did not like, he might then make the same use of the Duke of *Savoy* (for whom the *Hugonots* in *France* had no small affection) * and by bestowing on him the adjoyning Regions of *Lyonoise*, *Daulphine* and *Provence*, might make himself Lord of all the rest without any great trouble. The like temptation must be given to the Queen of *England*, by putting her in minde of her pretences to the Crown it self, and shewing how easie a thing it might be for her [b] to acquire those Countries, whose Arms and Titles she assumed: with like disloyalty he excites the Princes of the Empire [c] to husband the advantage which was offered to them, for the recovering of *Metz*, *Toule* and *Verdun*, three Imperial Cities, by this Kings Father wrested betwixt fraud and force from *Charles* the Fifth, and ever since incorporated with the Realm of *France*. If all which failed, he is resolved to cast himself on the Duke of *Guise*, though the most mortal and implacable enemy of the *Hugonot* Faction; and makes a full address to him in a second Epistle prefixt before the Book it self; in which he puts him in remembrance of his old pretensions to the Crown of *France*, extorted by *Hugh Capet* from his Ancestors of the House of *Loraigne*; offereth him the assistance of the *Hugonot* party for the recovery of his Rights; and finally, beseeches him to take compassion of his ruined Country [d], cheerfully to accept the Crown, and free the Kingdom from the spoil and tyranny of Boyes and Women, together with that infinite train of Strangers, Bawdes and Leachers which depend on them: which was as great a Master-piece in the art of mischief, as the wit of malice could devise.

36. As for his Doctrines in reference to the common duties between Kings and Subjects, we may reduce them to these heads, that is to say, 1. That the Authority of Kings and Supreme Magistrates is circumscribed and limited by certain bounds, which if they pass, their Subjects are no longer tyed unto their obedience; that Magistrates do exceed those bounds, when either they command such things as God forbiddeth, or prohibit that which he commands; that therefore they are no longer to be obeyed, if their Commands are contrary to the Rules of Piety or Christian Charity; of which the Subjects must be thought the most competent Judges. 2. That there were companies and societies of men before any Magistrates were set over them; which Magistrates were no otherwise set over them then

[a] *Non solum illos*, Belgiam *pacatum redituros, sed ante annum* Franciam *ipsam (hodie a regis amicitiæ alienatam) illius imperio adjuncturos*, pag 68.

* *Ut ulli cedant* Lugdunisis *tractus*, Delphinatus & Provincia, *finitimæ Regiones*, &c. p 69.

[b] *Facile poterit eas Regiones recipere quarum nomina & stemmata gestat*, p. 71.

[c] *Facile recuperare possit* Metas, Viriodurum & Tullum, &c. p. 71.

[d] *Regnum capessere velis a Tyranno mulierculis*, Italis, *ganeonibus, & lenonibus dilapidatum*. Pref.

then by common consent; that every Magistrate so appointed was bound by certain Articles and Conditions agreed between them, which he was tyed by Oath to preserve inviolable; that the chief end for which the people chose a Superiour Magistrate, was, that they might remain in safety under his protection; and therefore if such Magistrates either did neglect that end, or otherwise infringe the Articles of their first Agreement, the Subjects were then discharged from the bond of obedience; and that being so discharged from the bond of obedience, it was as lawful for them to take up Arms against their King in maintainance of their Religion, Laws and Liberties, if indangered by him, as for a Traveller to defend himself by force of Arms against Thieves and Robbers. 3. That no Government can be rightly constituted, in which the Grandeur of the Prince is more consulted then the weal of the People; that to prevent all such incroachments on the Common Liberty, the people did reserve a power of putting a curb upon their Prince or Supreme Magistrates, to hold them in, such as the *Tribunes* were in *Rome* to the Senate and Consuls, and the *Ephori* to the Kings of *Sparta*: that such a power as that of the *Spartan Ephori* is vested in the seven Electors of the *German* Empire, which gives them an Authority to depose the Emperour, if they see cause for it; and that the like may be affirmed of the English Parliaments, who oftentimes have condemned their Kings, but he knows not whom. 4. That by the first constitutions of the Realm of *France*, the Supreme power was not entrusted to the King, but the three Estates; so that it was not lawful for the King to proclaim a War, or to lay Taxes on the people, but by their consent; that these Estates assembled in a Common Council, did serve instead of eyes and ears to a prudent Prince, but to a wicked and ungoverned, for Bit or Bridle; and that according to this power they dethroned many of their Kings for their Lusts, Luxuries, Cruelty, Slothfulness, Avarice, &c. that if they proceeded not in like manner with the King then Reigning, it was because they had an high esteem (with scorn and insolence enough) of his eminent Vertues, his Piety, Justice and Fidelity, and the great commendations which was given of his Mothers Chastity: and therefore finally (which was the matter to be proved by those Factious Principles) that it was altogether as lawful for the French to defend themselves, their Laws and Liberties, against the violent assault of a furious Tyrant (so he calls their King) as a Traveller by Thieves and Robbers. Which Aphorisms he that listeth to consult in the Author, may finde them from pag. 57. to 66. of the second Dialogue, and part 1. pag. 8.

37. But notwithstanding these indignities and provocations, the King resolved to proceed in his former indifferency, hoping thereby to break the *Hugonots* without blows and bloud-shed, and thereby to regain the good opinion of his Popish Subjects. To which end he was pleased to grant such priviledges to the

Hugonot

Hugonot Faction as they durſt not ask, and never had aſpired unto in their greateſt heats; which he conceived he had more reaſon to do in the preſent pinch, then any of his Predeceſſors had in far leſs extremities: For the *Hugonots* had not onely brought in a formidable Army of *Switz* and *Germans*, under the conduct of Prince *Caſimir* one of the younger ſons of *Frederick* the Third then Elector *Palatine*, but had alſo made a fraction in the Court it ſelf, by drawing *Francis* Duke of *Alanzon* his youngeſt Brother to be Head of their Party, who brought along with him a great number of Romiſh Catholicks, who then paſt under the name of the *Male-contents*. To break which blow, and free his Kingdom from the danger of ſo great an Army, he firſt capitulates to pay the *Germans* their Arrears, amounting to a million and two hundred thouſand Ducats; to gratifie Prince *Caſimir* with the Signory of *Chaſteau-Thierry* in the Province of *Champaigne*, with a Penſion of fourteen thouſand Crowns, and a Command of a hundred Lances: To confer the Government of *Picardie* with the ſtrong Town of *Perrone* on the Prince of *Conde*, and ſettle on his Brother the Duke of *Alanzon* the Provinces of *Berry*, *Touraine* and *Anjou*, together with one hundred thouſand Crowns of yearly Penſion, and made him alſo Duke of *Anjou* for his greater honour. And then to pacifie and oblige the *Hugonots* (if ſuch men could be gained or pacified by acts of favour) he grants unto them by his Edict of the 14 of *May* 1576, that they ſhould peaceably enjoy the exerciſe of their Religion, together with full power for erecting Colledges and Schools, for holding Synods, of Celebrating Matrimony, and Adminiſtring the Sacraments, with the ſame freedom as was uſed by his Catholick Subjects: that thoſe of the Reformed Religion ſhould be permitted to execute any Places or Offices, and enjoy any Dignities of what ſort ſoever, without ſuch diſtinction betwixt them and the reſt of that Nation, as had been of late times obſerved: that in each Parliament of *France* a new Court ſhould be preſently erected, conſiſting equally of Judges and Officers of both Religions, and they to have the Cognizance of all Cauſes which concerned the *Hugonots*: that all ſentences paſt againſt the Admiral, the Count of *Montgomery*, and the reſt of that party, ſhould be revoked and made null; and the eight cautionary Towns, being all places of great ſtrength and conſequence, ſhould remain with the *Hugonots*, till all theſe Articles were confirmed, and the Peace concluded.

38. The paſſing of this Edict gave great ſcandal to the Catholick party, which thereupon was eaſily united by the Duke of *Guiſe* into a common Bond or League for maintainance and defence of their Religion, apparently indangered by thoſe large Indulgences; by the firſt Article whereof they bound themſelves for the Eſtabliſhment of the Law of God in its firſt Eſtate; to reſtore and ſettle his holy Service according to the Form

and Manner of the Catholick Apoſtolick Roman Church; and to abjure and renounce all errors contrary thereunto. Then followed many other Articles, relating to the preſervation of the Kings Authority, the maintainance of the common liberties and Priviledges of their Country; the mutual defence of one another in defence of this League againſt all perſons whatſoever; the conſtancy of their obedience to any one whom they ſhould chuſe to be the Head of their Confederacie; and finally, the proſecuting of all thoſe without exception, who ſhould endeavour to oppoſe and infringe the ſame. And for the keeping of this League, they ſeverally and joyntly bound themſelves by this following Oath, *viz. I ſwear by God the Creator (laying my hand upon the holy Goſpel) and under pain of Excommunication and eternal Damnation, that I enter into this holy Catholick League according to the Form thereof now read unto me; and that I do faithfully and ſincerely enter into it with a will either to command or to obey, and ſerve as I ſhall be appointed: And I promiſe upon my life and honour unto the laſt drop of my bloud never to depart from it, or tranſgreſs it, for any command, pretence, excuſe or occaſion, which by any means whatſoever can be repreſented to me.* And as the *Hugonots* had put themſelves under the Protection of the Queen of *England*, and called the *Germans* to their aid; ſo they reſolved according unto this example to put themſelves under the Patronage of the Catholick King, and to call in the Forces of the King, Pope, and the Princes of *Italy*, if their occaſions ſo required. The news of which confederacy ſo amazed the King, that he proceeded not to the performance of thoſe Indulgences contained in the Edict of the 14 of *May*, which ſeemed moſt odious and offenſive in the eyes of the Catholicks; ſo that both ſides being thus exaſperated againſt one another, and each ſide jealous of the King, the old confuſions were revived, the diſorders multiplyed, and all things brought into a worſe condition then at his firſt coming to the Crown. For though the Catholick King had willingly conſented to be head of the League, yet to break off all ſuch dependance as was by that means to be faſtned on him by the reſt of the Leaguers, the French King findes himſelf neceſſitated to aſſume that honour to himſelf. And thereupon, in the Aſſembly held at *Blois*, having in vain tryed many ways to untie this knot, he publickly declared himſelf to be the Principal Head and Protector of it, with many ſpecious proteſtations that he would ſpend his laſt breath in a cauſe ſo glorious, as the reducing of his people unto one Religion: which as it raiſed many jealouſies in the mindes of the *Hugonots*, ſo it begot no confidence of him in the hearts of their oppoſites.

39. Hereupon a new War breaks out, and a new Peace followeth, by which ſome Clauſes in the former Edict were reſtrained and moderated, though otherwiſe ſufficiently advantagious

tagious to all those of the Reformation; so as now hoping that all matters were accorded between the parties, the King pretends to betake himself wholly to his private Devotions; falls on the institution of a new Order of Knighthood, called *The Order of the Holy Ghost*; commends his Brother for a Suiter to the Queen of *England*, to keep him out of harms way for the time to come; and finally, failing of the project, procureth his advancement to the Dukedom of *Brabant*, and to be made the General-Governour of the *Belgick* Provinces, which had withdrawn themselves from their Obedience to the King of *Spain*.

40. But in the midst of these devices, the Leaders of the *Hugonots* are again in Arms, under colour that the former Edict had not been observed; but in plain truth, upon a clear and manifest experience, that Peace was the ruine of their Party, and that they could not otherwise preserve their power then by open War. The Prince of *Conde* seizeth on *La Fere* in *Picardy*, and the King of *Navar* makes himself Master by strong hand on the City of *Cahors*; which draws the King again from his Meditations, under which must be covered his retirement from all publick business. But *La Fere* being regained from the Prince of *Conde*, the sacking of *Cahors* was connived at, and the breach made up, that so the *Hugonots* might be tempted to consume their Forces in the Wars of *Flanders*, to which they were invited by their Brethren of the *Belgick* Provinces, who had called in the Duke of *Anjou* against their King. And so long *France* remained in quiet, as that War continued. But when the Duke returned after two or three years, and that there was no hopes of his reverting to so great a charge; the *Hugonots* wanting work abroad, were furnished with this occasion to break out at home. 1581.
The Catholick League had now layn dormant for some years, none seeming more Zealous then the King in the Cause of *Rome*. But when it was considered by the Duke of *Guise*, and the rest of the 1584.
League, that the Duke of *Anjou* being dead, and the King without any hope of Issue, the Crown must fall at last to the King of *Navar*; it was resolved to try all means by which he might be totally excluded from the right of Succession. For what hope could they give themselves to preserve Religion, when the Crown should fall upon the head of an Heretick, an Heretick relapsed, and therefore made uncapable of the Royal Dignity by the Canon-Laws? Of these Discourses and Designes of the *Guisian* Faction, the King of *Navar* takes speedy notice, and prepares accordingly, thinking it best to be before-hand, and not to be taken unprovided when they should come. And to that end, having 1585.
first cleared himself by a Declaration from the crime of Heresie, and now particularly from being a relapsed Heretick, with many foul recriminations on the House of *Guise*, he

ſends his Agents to ſollicite the *German* Princes to come in to aid him againſt the oppreſſions of the League, which ſeemed to aim at nothing but the ruine of the Realm of *France:* which ſo exaſperated thoſe of the *Guiſian* Faction, that they prevailed by their Emiſſaries with Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth, to Excommunicate the King of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Conde*, and to declare them both uncapable of the Royal Succeſſion, as relapſed Hereticks: Which he performed in open Conſiſtory on the ninth of *September* 1585, and publiſhed the ſentence by a ſpecial Bull within three dayes after.

41. The French King in the mean time findes himſelf ſo intangled in the Snares of the League, and ſuch a general defection from him in moſt parts of the Kingdom, that he was forced by his Edict of the ninth of *July*, to revoke all former grants and capitulations which had been made in favour of the *Hugonot* party. After which followed a new War; in which the *Switz* and *Germans* raiſe great Levies for the
1586. aid of the *Hugonots*, ſollicited thereunto amongſt many others by *Theodore Beza*; who by his great Eloquence and extraordinary diligence, did prevail ſo far, that the Princes *Palatine*, the Count *Wirtemberge*, the Count of *Montbelguard*, and the Proteſtant Cantons of the *Switz*, agreed to give them their
1587. aſſiſtance. Amongſt whom, with the helps which they received from the King of *Denmark*, and the Duke of *Saxony*, a mighty Army was advanced, conſiſting of thirty two thouſand Horſe and Foot; that is to ſay, twelve thouſand *German* Horſe, four thouſand Foot, and no fewer then ſixteen thouſand *Switz*. For whoſe advance, beſides a general contribution made on all the Churches of *France*, the ſum of ſixty thouſand Crowns was levyed by the Queen of *England*, and put into the hands of Prince *Caſimire* before remembred, who was to have the Chief Command of theſe Forreign Forces. Theſe Forreign Forces made much greater by the acceſſion of eight thouſand *French* which joyned unto them, when they firſt ſhewed themſelves upon the Borders; Of which, two hundred Horſe and eight hundred Foot were raiſed by the Signory of *Geneva*. But before this vaſt Army could come up to the King of *Navar*, the Duke of *Joyeuſe* gives him battel near a place called *Coutraſſe*; at which time his whole Forces were reduced to four thouſand Foot, and about two thouſand five hundred Horſe; with which ſmall Army encountred a great power of the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, and obtained a very ſignal Victory, there being ſlain upon the place no fewer then three thouſand men, of which the Duke of *Joyeuſe* himſelf was one; more then three thouſand taken priſoners, together with all the Baggage, Arms and Ammunition which belonged to the Enemy. After which followed the defeat of the *Germans* by the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the violent pro-

proceedings of the Leaguers againſt the King, which brought him to a neceſſity of joyning with the King of *Navar*, and craving the aſſiſtance of his *Hugonot* Subjects, whoſe Arms are now legitimated, and made acts of Duty. In which condition I ſhall leave them to their better Fortunes; firſt taking a ſurvey of the proceedings of the *Calviniſts* in the neighbouring *Germany*, paſſing from thence to the *Low Countries*, and after croſſing over to the Iſles of *Britain*.

The end of the third Book.

AERIUS REDIVIVUS:

OR,

The History

Of the

PRESBYTERIANS.

LIB. III.

Containing

Their Poſitions and Proceedings in the Higher Germany; *their dangerous Doctrines and Seditions; their Innovations in the Church, and alteration of the Civil Government; of the* Belgick *Provinces, from the year* 1559, *to the year* 1585.

1. THE Doctrine of the Reformation begun by *Luther*, and purſued by *Zuinglius*, was entertained in many Provinces of the Higher *Germany*, according as they ſtood affected to either party, or were tranſported by the ends and paſſions of their ſeveral Princes: But generally at the firſt they inclined to *Luther*, whoſe way of Reformation ſeemed leſs odious to the Church of *Rome*, and had the greateſt approbation from the States of the Empire; the Duke of *Saxony* adhered unto him at his firſt beginning, as alſo did the Marqueſs of *Brandenbourg*, the Dukes of *Holſteine*, the two Northern Kings, and by degrees the reſt of the *German* Princes of moſt power and value, except onely thoſe of *Auſtria*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, the three Elector Biſhops, the Duke of *Cleve*, the Marqueſs of *Baden*, and generally all the Eccleſiaſticks which were not under the Command of the *Lutheran* States. The

Prince

Prince Elector *Palatine* came not in to the party, till the year 1546. At which time *Frederick* the Second, though scarce warm in his own Estate, on which he entred *Anno* 1544, took the advantage of the time to reform his Churches; the Emperour being then brought low by the change of Fortune, and forced not long after to abandon *Germany*. Upon the 10 of *January*, he caused Divine Offices to be celebrated in the Mother-tongue, in the chief Church of *Heidelberg*, the principal City of the lower *Palatinate*, and the chief Seat of his Residence. The news whereof encouraged all the rest of the Protestant Princes to congratulate with him, and to desire him to embrace the Confession of *Ausberge*; to which he readily accorded, and setled all things in his Countries by the *Lutheran* Model, as well for Government and Doctrine, as for Forms of Worship. In which condition it continued during the residue of his life, and the short Government of *Otho-Henry*, who succeeded him in those Estates, and was the last of the direct Line of the House of *Bavaria*. After whose death, *Anno* 1559, succeeded *Frederick* Duke of *Simmeren*, descended from *Steven Palatine* of *Zuidbrook*, or *Bipont*, younger son of the Emperour *Rupert*: From whom the Princes of the other House had delivered their Pedigree: Which Prince succeeding by the name of *Frederick* the Third, appeared more favourable to the *Zuinglian* then the *Lutheran* Forms, animated thereunto by some needy Courtiers, in hope to make a prey of Glebe and Tythes, and other poor remainders of the Churches Patrimony. 1546. 1556. 1559.

2. For the advancing of this Work, *Gualter* a very moderate and learned man is desired from *Zurick*, and cheerfully undertakes the Service; in which he prospered so well, that he took off most of the Princes from their former opinions, and brought them to conform their judgements in all points of Doctrine, to the Confession of the *Switzer* or *Helvetian* Churches. The Discipline of which Churches differed at that time from *Calvins* Platform, as appears clearly by some passages in a Letter of *Bullingers*, bearing date *Decemb.* 13. 1553, when *Calvin* was necessitated to beg some tolerable approbation of his new Device. For there it is expresly said, that though [a] their Discipline at *Zurick*, and the rest of the Cantons, agreed not in all points with that of the Consistory which had been setled at *Geneva*, but was accommodated to the temper of their own Dominions; yet they desired not the subversion of *Calvins* Model, which seemed so necessary at that time for the Town of *Geneva*, that they advised not to have it altered. But more particularly it appears by *Beza* in the life of *Calvin*, and by the Letter of *Ligerus* before remembred, that Excommunications were not used in any of the Reformed Churches, whether they were of *Lutheran* or *Zuinglian* judgement. But scarce had *Gualter* so setled *Zuinglianism* in the Church of *Heidelberg*, and those which did depend upon it, when a bold Challenger from *Geneva*

[a] *Et quamvis nostra disciplina vestra per omnia non respondeat, &c.— nec ideo vestram velle subversam.* Bull. Epist.

Geneva defies them all, and undertakes to prove this Propoſition in the publick Schools, *That to a Miniſter aſſiſted with the help of his Elderſhip, doth appertain the power of Excommunication by the Law of God.* Hereupon followed that famous Diſputation in the Schools of *Heidelberg*, the ſubſtance whereof we finde drawn up in *Urſines* Catechiſm, from pag. 835. to pag. 847. of the Engliſh Edition. By which it doth appear, that the name of the Reſpondent was *George Withers* a Native of *England*, and that one *Peter Boquine* was the Moderator; and therefore *Withers* muſt be taken to have made the Challenge. The *Theſes* then maintained by *Withers*, were theſe two that follow, *viz. That to the ſincere preaching of the Word, and the lawful adminiſtration of the Sacraments, is required an Office or Power of Government in the Church. 2. That a Miniſter with his Elderſhip ought to enjoy and exerciſe a Power of Convicting, Reproving, Excommunicating and Executing any part of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, or any Offenders whatſoever, even on Princes themſelves.*

3. The Arguments by which the Reſpondent was aſſaulted, together with the anſwers which were made unto them, were taken by the pen of *Urſine*, a Divine of *Heidelberg*, who was preſent at the Diſputation, and by his means tranſmitted to the uſe of the Church; the Title of his Abſtract this, *viz. Certain Arguments aſſoyled, whereby ſome in a publick Diſputation held in* Heidelberg 1568, June 10. (*Dr.* Peter Boquine *being Moderator, and Mr.* George Withers *Engliſh-man Reſpondent*) *endeavoured to aboliſh Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline: Which Arguments and their ſolutions were taken word for word from the mouth of Dr.* Urſine, *at the repetition of this diſputation on the next day privately made in Colleg. Sapient.* For further ſatisfaction, I refer the Reader to the Book it ſelf, and ſhall now onely add this note, *viz.* that as the Arguments were not found ſufficient to beat down that power which Chriſt had left unto his Church for excommunicating ſcandalous and notorious ſinners; ſo neither were the Anſwers ſtrong enough to preſerve Lay-elders in the poſſeſſion of a power that belonged not to them. Which was in time the iſſue of the diſputation, which afterwards was ſo hotly followed, between *Theodore Beza* on the one ſide, and Dr. *Thomas Eraſtus*, (whom *Calvin* mentioneth in his Epiſtle to *Olerianus*) Doctor of Phyſick, on the other; *Beza* evincing the neceſſity of Excommunication in the Church of Chriſt, and *Eraſtus* proving nothing to the contrary, but that Lay-elders were not neceſſary to the exerciſe of it. Which diſputation laſted long, and effected little, managed on both ſides in Printed Tractates; the laſt of which was that of *Beza*, firſt publiſhed at *Geneva*, reprinted afterwards at *London*, *An.* 1590. But in the mean time the *Genevian* Diſcipline was admitted in both *Palatinates*, the Country divided into Claſſes and Synodical meetings; thoſe Claſſes ſubdivided into their *Presbyteries*,

and

and each *Presbytery* furniſhed with a power of Excommunication, and exerciſing ſuch Church-cenſures as the Fact required. But then we are to know withal, that thoſe wiſe Princes being loath to leave too much Authority in the hands of the Elderſhips, with whoſe encroachments on the power of the Civil Magiſtrate they were well acquainted, appointed ſome Superiour Officers of their own nomination to ſit as Chief amongſt them, without whom nothing could be done; and they were ſure that by them nothing would be done, which either might intrench upon their Authority, or their people's Liberty. A temperament for which they were beholden to the ſaid *Eraſtus*, who being a Doctor of Phyſick (as before was noted) deviſed this *Pill* to *purge Presbytery* of ſome *Popiſh humours*, which ſecretly lay hid in the *body* of it.

4. The like alloy was mixed with the *Genevian* Diſcipline in the Churches of *Haſſia*, *Naſſaw*, and thoſe other petite Eſtates and Signories, which make up the Confederacie of the *Wetteravians*. Which having once received the Doctrine of *Zuinglius*, did ſhortly after entertain the *Calvinian* Elderſhips, but moderated and reſtrained in thoſe Exorbitancies which the *Presbyterians* actually committed in the Realm of *Scotland*, and in moſt places elſe ſubjected unto their Authority. But in regard the *Palatine* Churches are eſteemed as a Rule to the reſt (the reſt of *Germany* I mean) in all points of Doctrine; and that the publick Catechiſm thereof is generally reckoned for Authentick, not onely in the Churches of the Higher *Germany*, but in the *Netherland*-Churches alſo; it will not be amiſs to take notice of them in ſuch Doctrinal Points, in which they come up cloſe to *Calvin*, and the Rules of *Geneva*. Firſt therefore taking them for *Zuinglians* in the point of the Sacrament, and *Anti-Lutherans* in defacing Images, aboliſhing all diſtinction of Faſts and Feſtivals, and utterly denying all ſet-Forms of publick Worſhip; they have declared themſelves as high in maintainance of *Calvins* Doctrines touching Predeſtination, Grace, Free-will, *&c.* as any *ſub-lapſarian* or *ſupra-lapſarian*, which had moſt cordially Eſpouſed that Quarrel. For proof whereof, the Writings of *Urſine* and *Pareus*, *Alſted*, *Piſcator*, and the reſt, Profeſſors in the Schools of *Heidelberg*, *Herborne* and *Sedan* (being all within the limits of the Higher *Germany*) might be here produced, did I think it neceſſary. But theſe not being the proper Cognizances of the *Presbyterians*, and better to be taken by their actings in the Synod of *Dort*, then in ſcattered Tractates; I ſhall take notice onely of thoſe points of Doctrine which are meer *Genevian*, in reference to their oppoſition to Monarchical Government; a Doctrine not unwelcome to the *Zuinglian* Princes in either *Germany*, becauſe it gives them a fit ground for their juſtification, not onely for proceeding to reform their Churches without leave of the Emperour, whom they muſt needs acknowledge for their Supreme Lord;

but also for departing from the Confession of *Ausberge*, which onely ought to be received within the bounds of the Empire.

5. First then, beginning with *Ursine*, publick Professor for Divinity in the Chair of *Heidelberg*, he thus instructs us in his Commentary on the *Palatine Catechism*. *Albeit* (saith he) *that wicked men sometimes bear Rule, and therefore are unworthy of honours; yet the Office is to be distinguished from their persons, and that the man whose vices are to be detested, ought to be honoured for his Office, as Gods Spiritual Ordinance:* which is a truth so consonant to the Holy Scriptures, that nothing could be said more piously in so short a position. But then he gives us such a Gloss as corrupts the Text, telling us in the words next following, That *since Superiours are to be honoured in respect of their Office, it is therefore manifest, that so far onely we must yeild obedience unto their commands, as they exceed not in the same the bounds of their Offices.* Which plainly intimates, that if Princes be at any time transported beyond the bounds of their Offices, of which the people and their popular Magistrates are the onely Judges, the Subjects are not bound to yeild obedience unto their commands, under pretence that they are past beyond their bounds, and have no influence on the People, but onely when they shine within the compass of their proper Spheres.

6. More plainly speaks *Pareus*, who succeeded him both in place and Doctrines; out of whose Commentary on the 13 Chapter of St. *Paul's* Epistle to the *Romans*, the following propositions were extracted by some Delegates and Divines of *Oxon*, when the unsoundness of his Judgement in this particular was questioned and condemned by that University. First then it was declared for a truth undoubted, *That Bishops and other Ministers or Pastors in the Church of Christ, both might and ought, with the consent of their several Churches, to Excommunicate, or give over to the power of Satan, their Superiour Magistrates, for their impiety towards God, and their injustice towards their Subjects, if they continued in those errours after admonition, till they gave some manifest signs of their repentance.* 2. *That Subjects being in the condition of meer private men, ought not without some lawful calling either to take arms to assault a Tyrant, before their own persons be indangered; or to defend themselves though they be indangered, if by the ordinary Magistrates they may be defended from such force and violence.* 3. *That Subjects being in the condition of meer private men, may lawfully take Arms to defend themselves against a Tyrant, who violently shall break in upon them as a Thief or Ravisher, and expedite themselves from the present danger, as against a common Thief and Robber, when from the ordinary Magistrates there appeareth no defence or succour.* 4. *That such Subjects as are not meerly private men, but are placed in some inferiour Magi-*

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ſtracy may lawfully by force of Arms defend themſelves, the Common-wealth, the Church and the true Religion, againſt the pleaſure and command of the Supreme Magiſtrate: Theſe following conditions being obſerved, that is to ſay, if either the Supreme Magiſtrate become a Tyrant, practiſeth to commit Idolatry, or blaſpheme Gods Name; or that any great and notable injuſtice be offered to them, as that they cannot otherwiſe preſerve their conſciences and lives in ſafety: conditioned finally, that under colour of Religion, and a Zeal to Juſtice, they do not rather ſeek their private ends then the publick good. And this laſt Propoſition being ſo agreeable to *Calvins* Doctrines, he flouriſheth over, and inforceth with thoſe words of *Trajan*, which before we cited out of *Buchan*, when he required the principal Captain of his Guard to uſe the Sword in his defence, if he governed well; but to turn the point thereof againſt him, if he did the contrary.

7. Building their practice on theſe Doctrines, we finde the *Palatine* Princes very forward in aiding the French *Hugonots* againſt their King upon all occaſions. In the firſt riſings of that people, *Monſieur d' Andelot* was furniſhed with five thouſand Horſe, and four thouſand Foot, moſt of them being of the Subjects of the Prince Elector, *Anno* 1562, when he had but newly entertained the thoughts of *Zuinglianiſm*, and had not fully ſettled the *Calvinian* Doctrines. But in the year 1566, when the *Hugonots* were upon the point of a ſecond War, he joyns with others of the *German* Princes in a common Ambaſſie, by which the French King was to be deſired, that the Preachers of the Reformed Religion might Preach both in *Paris* and all other places of the Kingdom without control, and that the people freely might repair to hear them in what numbers they pleaſed. To which unſeaſonable demand, the King, though naturally very Cholerick, made no other anſwer, then that he would preſerve a friendſhip and affection for thoſe Princes ſo long as they did not meddle in the Affairs of his Kingdom, as he did not meddle at all in their Eſtates. After which, having ſomewhat recollected his Spirits, he ſubjoyned theſe words, with manifeſt ſhew of his diſpleaſure, that it concerned him to ſollicite their Princes to ſuffer the Catholicks to ſay Maſs in all their Cities. With which nipping anſwer the Ambaſſadors being ſent away, they were followed immediately at the heels by ſome of the *Hugonots*, who being Agents for the reſt, prevailed with Prince *John Caſimir* the ſecond Son of the Elector, to raiſe an Army in defence of the common Cauſe. To which purpoſe they had already furniſhed him with a ſmall ſum of money, aſſuring him that when he was come unto their Borders, they would pay down one hundred thouſand Crowns more towards the maintainance of his Army. Which promiſes perſwading more then the greateſt Rhetorick, excited him, with many Captains and Commanders, who for the moſt part lived upon ſpoil and plunder, 1567.

to raiſe an Army of ſeven thouſand Horſe and four thouſand Foot, with which they made foul work in *France*, waſting and ſpoiling all Countries whereſoever they came: for being joyned unto the reſt of the *Hugonots* Army, they found them brought to ſuch a poor and low condition, that they were not able to advance the leaſt part of that ſum which they had promiſed to
1568. provide againſt their coming. Somewhat was raiſed by way of Contribution, to keep them in ſome preſent compliance; and for the reſt, they were permitted to pay themſelves in the ſpoil of the Country, eſpecially Churches, Monaſteries, and Religious Houſes. But the Queen offering termes of Peace, none were more forward then theſe *Germans* to imbrace the offer, and *Caſimir* more forward in it then all the reſt. The King had offered to diſburſe a great part of the money which belonged to the Souldiers for their pay; which to thoſe mercenary ſpirits was too ſtrong a temptation to be reſiſted or neglected.

8. Theſe *Germans* were ſcarcely ſetled in their ſeveral Houſes, when the *Hugonots* brake out again, and a new Army muſt be raiſed by the Duke of *Zudibruck* (whom the French call the
1569. Duke of *Deuxponts*) a Prince of the Collateral Line to the Electoral Family; who upon hope of being as well paid as his Cozen *Caſimir*, tempted with many rich promiſes by the Heads of the *Hugonots*, and ſecretly encouraged by ſome Miniſters of the Queen of *England*, made himſelf Maſter of a great and puiſſant Army, conſiſting of eight thouſand Horſe and ſix thouſand Foot. With this Army he waſtes all the Country, from the very edge of *Burgundy* to the Banks of *Loire*; croſſeth that River, and commits the like outrages in all the Provinces which lye between that River and the *Aquitain* Ocean. In which action, either with the change of Air, the tedioufneſs of his Marches, or exceſſive drinking, he fell into a violent Feaver, which put a period to his travails within few days after. Nor did this Army come off better, though it held out longer: for many of them being firſt conſumed with ſickneſs, ariſing from their own intemperance, and the delicious luſts of the Strumpets of *France*; the reſt were almoſt all cut off at the Battail of *Mont-counter*, in which they loſt two Colonels, and twenty ſeven Captains of Foot, and all their Horſe except two thouſand, which ſaved themſelves under Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſaw*. But the love of money prevailed more with them then the fear of death: For within few years after, *Anno* 1575, we finde them entring *France* again under Prince *John Caſimir*, in company with the young Prince of *Conde*, who had ſollicited the Cauſe. The Army, at that time conſiſting of eight thouſand Horſe, three thouſand *French* Fire-locks, and no fewer then fourteen thouſand *Switz* and *Germane* Foot, joyned with the *Hugonots*, and a new Faction of Politicks or *Male-contents*, under the Command of the Duke of *Alanzon*, who had revolted from his Brother;

ther; became so terrible to the King, that he resolved to buy his Peace upon any rates. To which end, having somewhat cooled the heats of his Brother, he purchaseth the departure of the *Germane* Souldiers, by ingaging to pay them their Arrears, which came in all to twelve hundred thousand Crowns on a full computation: Besides the payment of which vast sum, he was to gratifie Prince *Casimir* with the Signory of *Chasteau-Thierry* in the Province of *Champagne*, the command of one hundred French Lances, and an annual pension of fourteen thousand Crowns, as before was said.

9. In the mean time the flames of the like civil War consumed a great part of *Flanders*, to which the Prince Elector must bring Fewel also: For being well affected to the House of *Nassaw*, and more particularly to the Prince of *Orange*, and knowing what encouragements the *Calvinians* in the *Netherlands* had received from them; he hearkned cheerfully to such Propositions as were made to him at the first by Count *Lodowick* his Ministers, and after by the Agents of the Prince himself. But those small Forces which he sent, at their first ingaging doing no great service, he grants them such a large supply after the first return of Prince *Casimirs* Army, *Anno* 1568, as made them up a Body of *French* and *Germans*, consisting of seven thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; with which he sent Prince *Christopher* a younger Son, to gain experience in the War, and to purchase Honour. And though he might have been discouraged by the loss of that Army, and the death of his Son into the bargain, from medling further in that quarrel; yet the *Calvinian* spirit so predominated in his Court and Counsels, that another Army should be raised, and *Casimir* imployed as Commander of it, as soon as he could give himself the least assurance that the *French* required not his assistance. During the languishing of which Kingdom between Peace and War, the War in *Flanders* grew more violent and fierce then ever, which moved the Provinces confederated with the Prince of *Orange* to enter into a strict union with the Queen of *England*, who could not otherwise preserve her self from the plots and practices of *Don John* of *Austria*, by which he laboured to embroyl her Kingdom. By the Articles of which League or Union, she bound 1578.
her self to aid them with one thousand Horse and five thousand Foot; the greatest part whereof she raised in the Dominions of the Prince Elector, or indeed rather did contribute to the payment of so much money for his Army which was drawn together for the service of the Prince of *Orange*, as might amount unto that number. And that they might receive the greater countenance in the eye of the World, she sends for *Casimir* into *England*, where he arrived about the latter end of *January* 1578, is Royally feasted by the Queen, rewarded with an annual Pension, and in the next year made Knight of the Garter also. By these encouragements he returns to his charge in the

Army

Army, which he continued till the calling in of the Duke of *Anjou*, and then retired into *Germany* to take breath a while; where he found such an alteration in the State of affairs, as promised him no great assurance of employment on the like occasion.

10. For *Lodowick* the fifth succeeding Prince Elector in the place of his Father, and being more inclined to the *Lutheran* Forms, did in time settle all his Churches on the same Foundation on which it had been built by the Electors of the former Line; so that it was not to be thought that either he could aid the *Hugonots*, or the *Belgick Calvinists* in any of their Insurrections against their Princes, if either of them possibly could have had the confidence to have moved him in it. But he being dead, and *Frederick* the Fourth succeeding, the *Zuinglian* Doctrines and the *Genevian* Discipline are restored again; and then Prince *Casimir* is again sollicited to raise a greater power then ever for the aid of the French. The Catholicks of which Realm had joyned themselves in a common League not onely to exclude the King of *Navar* and the Prince of *Conde* from their Succession to the Crown, but wholly to extirpate the Reformed Religion. To counterpoise which Potent Faction, the King of *Navar* and his Associates in that Cause implored the assistance of their Friends in *Germany*, but more particularly the Prince Elector *Palatine*, the Duke of *Wirtemberge*, the Count of *Mombelliard*, and the Protestant Cantons; who being much moved by the danger threatned unto their Religion, and powerfully stirred up by *Beza*, who was active in it, began to raise the greatest Army that ever had been sent from thence to the aid of the *Hugonots*: And that the action might appear with some Face of Justice, it was thought fit to try what they could do towards an atonement, by sending their Ambassadors to the Court of *France* before they entred with their Forces. But the Ambassador of Prince *Casimir* carried himself in that imployment with so little reverence, and did so plainly charge the King with the infringing of the Edicts of Pacification, that the King dismist them all with no small disdain; telling them roundly, that he would give any man the lye which should presume to tax him of the breach of his promise. This short dispatch hastned the coming in of the Army, compounded of twelve thousand *German* Horse, four thousand *German* Foot, sixteen thousand *Switz*, and about eight thousand *French* Auxiliaries which staid their coming on the Borders. With which vast Army they gained nothing but their own destruction; for many of them being consumed by their own intemperance, more of them wasted by continual skirmishes with which they were kept exercised by the Duke of *Guise*, most of the rest were miserably slaughtered by him near a place called *Auneaw* (a Town of the Province of *La Beausse*) or murthered by the common people, as they came in their way.

21. Such

11. Such ill ſucceſs had *Frederick* the Fourth in the Wars of *France*, as made him afterwards more careful in engaging in them, until he was therein ſollicited on a better ground to aid that King againſt the Leaguers, and other the diſturbers of the Common Peace. Nor did ſome other of the petty Princes ſpeed much better in the ſucceſs of this Affair; the Country of *Montbelguard* paying dearly for the Zeal of their Count, and almoſt wholly ruined by the Forces of the Duke of *Guiſe*. *Robert* the laſt Duke of *Bouillon*, of the Houſe of *Marke*, had ſpent a great part of his time in the acquaintance of *Beza*, and afterwards became a conſtant follower of the King of *Navar*, by whom he was imployed in raiſing this great Army of *Switz* and *Germans*, and deſtined to a place of great Command and Conduct in it: Eſcaping with much difficulty in the day of the ſlaughter, he came by many unfrequented ways to the Town of *Geneva*; where, either ſpent with grief of minde, or toyl of body, he dyed ſoon after, leaving the Signory of *Sedan* to his Siſter *Charlot*, and her to the diſpoſing of the King of *Navar*, who gave her in Marriage, not long after, to the Viſcount *Turenne*; but he had firſt eſtabliſhed *Calviniſm* both for Doctrine and Diſcipline in all the Towns of his Eſtate; in which they were afterwards confirmed by the Marriage of *Henry Delatoure* Viſcount of *Turenne*, Soveraign of *Sedan*, and Duke of *Bouillon* by his former Wife, with one of the Daughters of *William* of *Naſſaw* Prince of *Orange*, a profeſſed *Calvinian*; the influence of which Houſe, by reaſon of the great Command which they had in the *Netherlands*, prevailed ſo far on many of the Neighbouring Princes, that not onely the Counties of *Naſſaw* and *Hanaw*, with the reſt of the Confederacy of *Vetteravia*, but a great part of *Haſſia* alſo gave entertainment to thoſe Doctrines, and received that Diſcipline, which hath given ſo much trouble to the reſt of Chriſtendom. Which ſaid, we have an eaſie paſſage to the *Belgick* Provinces, where we ſhall finde more work in proſecution of the Story, then all the Signories and Eſtates of the Upper *Germany* can preſent unto us.

12. The *Belgick* Provinces, ſubject in former times to the Dukes of *Burgundy*, and by deſcent from them to the Kings of *Spain*, are on all ſides invironed with *France* and *Germany*, except toward the *Weſt*, where they are parted by the Intercurrent-Ocean from the Realm of *England*, with which they have maintained an ancient and wealthy Traffick. Being originally in the hands of ſeveral Princes, they fell at laſt by many diſtinct Titles to the Houſe of *Burgundy*; all of them, except five, united in the perſon of Duke *Philip the good*, and thoſe five added to the reſt by *Charles* the Fifth. From hence aroſe that difference which appears between them in their Laws and Cuſtoms, as well as in diſtinct and peculiar Priviledges; which rendred it a matter difficult, if not impoſſible, to mould them into one Eſtate, or to erect them into an abſolute and So-

veraign, though it was divers times endeavoured by the Princes of it. The whole divided commonly into seventeen Provinces, most of them since they came into the power of the Kings of *Spain*, having their own proper and subordinate Governours accountable to their King, as their Lord in Chief, who had the sole disposal of them, and by them managed all Affairs both of War and Peace, according to their several and distinct capacities: All of them priviledged so far, as to secure them all (without a manifest violation of their Rights and Liberties) from the fear of Bondage. But none so amply priviledged as the Province of *Brabant*, to which it had been granted by some well-meaning, but weak Prince amongst them, that if their Prince or Duke (by which name they called him) should by strong hand attempt the violation of their ancient priviledges, the Peers and People might proceed to a new Election, and put themselves under the Clyentele or Patronage of some juster Governour.

13. The whole Estate thus laid together, is reckoned to contain no more in compass then twelve hundred miles; but is withall so well planted, and extremely populous, that there are numbered in that compass no fewer then three hundred and fifty Cities, and great Towns equal unto Cities; besides six thousand and three hundred Villages of name and note, (some of them equal to great Towns) not taking in the smaller Dorps, and inferiour Hamlets. But amongst all the Cities and great Towns, there were but four which anciently were honoured with Episcopal Sees, that is to say, the Cities of *Utrecht*, *Cambray*, *Tournay*, and *Arras*; and of these four, they onely of *Arras* and *Tournay* were naturally subject to the Princes of the House of *Burgundy*; the Bishop of *Cambray* being anciently a Prince of the Empire, and *Utrecht* not made subject to them till the Government of *Charles* the Fifth. Which paucity of the Episcopal Sees in so large a Territory, subjected some of the Provinces to the Bishops of *Leige*, some to the jurisdiction of the Archbishops of *Rheims* and *Colen*, and others under the Authority of the Bishops of *Munster*. Of which the first were in some sort under the Protection of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, the three last absolute and independent, not owing any suite or Service at all unto them. By means whereof, concernments of Religion were not looked into with so strict an eye, as where the Bishops are accomptable to the Prince for their Administration, or more united with and amongst themselves in the publick Government. The inconvenience whereof being well observed by *Charles* the Fifth, he practised with the Pope then being, for increasing the number of the Bishopricks, reducing them under Archbishops of their own, and Modeling the Ecclesiastical Politie under such a Form, as might enable them to exercise all manner of spiritual jurisdiction within themselves, without recourse to any Forreign Power or Prelate but the Pope himself. Which being first designed

ſigned by him, was afterwards effected by King *Philip* the Second, though the event proved contrary to his expectation. For this enlargement of the number of the Sees Epiſcopal, being projected onely for the better keeping of the Peace and Unity of the *Belgick* Churches, became unhappily the occaſion of many Tumults and Diſorders in the Civil State, which drew on the defection of a great part of the Country from that Kings obedience.

14. For ſo it was, that the Reformed Religion being entertained in *France* and *Germany*, did quickly finde an entrance alſo into ſuch of the Provinces as lay neareſt to them; where it found people of all ſorts ſufficiently ready to receive it. To the increaſe whereof the Emperor *Charls* himſelf gave no ſmall advantage, by bringing in ſo many of the *Switz* and *German* Souldiers to maintain his Power, either in awing his own Subjects, or againſt the *French*, by which laſt he was frequently invaded in the bordering Provinces. Nor was Queen *Mary* of *England* wanting (though ſhe meant it not) to the increaſing of their numbers. For whereas many of the Natives of *France* and *Germany*, who were affected zealouſly to the Reformation, had put themſelves for Sanctuary into *England* in the time of King *Edward*; they were all baniſhed by Proclamation in the firſt year of her Reign. Many of which not daring to return to their ſeveral Countries, diſperſed themſelves in moſt of the good Towns of the *Belgick* Provinces (eſpecially in ſuch as lay moſt neer unto the Sea) where they could beſt provide themſelves of a poor ſubſiſtance. By means whereof, the Doctrine of the Proteſtant and Reformed Churches began to get much ground upon them; to which the continual intercourſes which they had with *England*, gave every day ſuch great and manifeſt advantage, that the Emperour was fain to bethink himſelf of ſome proper means for the ſuppreſſing of the inconveniences which might follow on it. And means more proper he found none in the whole courſe of Government, then to increaſe the number of the former Biſhopricks, to re-inforce ſome former Edicts which he made againſt them, and to bring in the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, which he eſtabliſhed and confirmed by another Edict bearing date *April* 20. 1548. Which notwithſtanding, the Profeſſors of that Doctrine, though reſtrained a while, could not be totally ſuppreſſed; ſome Preachers out of *Germany*, and others out of *France* and *England*, promoting underhand thoſe Tenents, and introducing thoſe opinions, which openly they durſt not own in thoſe dangerous times. But when the Emperour *Charles* had reſigned the Government, and that King *Philip* the Second, upon ſome urgent Reaſons of State had retired to *Spain*, and left the Chief Command of his *Belgick* Provinces to the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, they then began to ſhew themſelves with the greater confidence, and gained ſome great ones to their ſide, whom diſcontent by reaſon of the diſappointment of their

several aims had made inclinable to innovation both in Church and State.

15. Amongst the great ones of which time, there was none more considerable for Power and Patrimony, then *William* of *Nassaw* Prince of *Orange*, invested by a long descent of Noble Ancestors in the County of *Nassaw*, a fair and goodly Territory in the Higher *Germany*; possest of many good Towns and ample Signories in *Brabant* and *Holland*, derived upon him from *Mary* Daughter and Heir of *Philip* Lord of *Breda*, &c. his great Grand-fathers Grand-mother; and finally, enriched with the Principality of *Orange* in *France*, accruing to him by the death of his Cozen *Rene*; which gave him a precedencie before all other *Belgick* Lords in the Court of *Brussels*. By which advantages, but more by his abilities both for Camp and Counsel, he became great in favour with the Emperour *Charles*; by whom he was made Governour of *Holland* and *Zealand*, Knight of the Order of the Fleece; imployed in many Ambassies of weight and moment, and trusted with his deerest and most secret purposes. For Rivals in the Glory of Arms, he had the Counts of *Horne* and *Egmond*, men of great Prowess in the Field, and alike able at all times to Command and Execute. But they were men of open hearts, not practised in the Arts of Subtilty and dissimulation, and wanted much of that dexterity and cunning which the other had for working into the affections of all sorts of people. Being advanced unto this eminencie in the Court, and knowing his own strength as well amongst the Souldiers as the common people, he promised to himself the Supreme Government of the *Belgick* Provinces on the Kings returning into *Spain*. The disappointment of which hope, obliterated the remembrance of all former favours, and spurred him on to make himself the Head of the Protestant party, by whose assistance he conceived no small possibility of raising the *Nassovian* Family to as great an height as his ambition could aspire to.

16. The Protestants at that time were generally divided into two main bodies, not to say any thing of the *Anabaptists* and other Sectaries who thrust in amongst them. Such of the Provinces as lay toward *Germany*, and had received their Preachers thence, embraced the Forms and Doctrines of the *Lutheran* Churches, in which not onely Images had been still retained, together with set-Forms of Prayer, kneeling at the Communion, the Cross in Baptism, and many other laudable Ceremonies of the Elder times; but also most of the ancient Fasts and Festivals of the Catholick Church, and such a Form of Ecclesiastical Polity, as was but little differing from that of Bishops: which Forms and Doctrines being tolerated by the Edicts of *Paussaw* and *Ausberg*, made them less apt to work disturbance in the Civil State, and consequently the less obnoxious to the fears and jealousies of the Catholick party. But on the other

other side, such Provinces as lay toward *France* participated of the humour of that Reformation which was there begun, modelled according unto *Calvins* Platform both in Doctrine and Discipline. More stomacked then the other, by all those who adhered to the Church of *Rome*, or otherwise pretended to the peace and safety of the Common-wealth: For the *French* Preachers being more practical and Mercurial then the other were, and not well principled in respect of Monarchical Government, were looked upon as men more likely to beget commotions, and alienate the peoples hearts from their natural Governour. And at the first the Prince of *Orange* enclined most to the *Lutheran* party, whose Forms and Doctrines had been setled by his Father in the County of *Nassaw*: And for the clear manifestation of the good opinion which he harboured of them, he Married *Anne* the Daughter of *Maurice* Duke Elector of *Saxony*, the greatest of the *Lutheran* Princes. At which when the Dutchess of *Parma* seemed to be displeased, he openly assured her of his Adhesion to the Catholick Cause, and caused his Eldest Son which he had of that Marriage to be Baptized according to the Prescript of the Church of *Rome*; but underhand promoted for a time the *Lutheran* Interest, which he had sucked in as it were with his Mothers Milk. But it was onely for a time that he so promoted it: For finding the *Calvinians* to be men of another Metal, more quick and stirring of themselves, more easily exasperated against their Governours, and consequently more fit to advance his purposes; he made himself the great Protector of that faction, and spared not to profess himself for such upon all occasions; insomuch, that being afterwards questioned about his Religion by the Duke of *Arescot*, he discovered to him his bald head, and told him plainly, that there was not more *Calvism* on his head, then there was *Calvinism* in his heart.

17. But to make way for these designes, there were two ob- 1560.
stacles to be removed, without which nothing could be done in pursuance of them. King *Philip* at his going for *Spain*, had left three thousand Spanish Souldiers (the onely remainder of those great Armies which had served his Father and himself against the *French*) in Garrison upon the Borders, under pretence of shutting up the back-door against the *French*, but generally thought to be left of purpose for a curb to the Natives, in case of refractorines or opposition unto his Commands. They must be first removed, and the Country cleared of all such rubs as otherwise would have made the way less passable unto private ends. For though the King had put those Souldiers under the Command of two Lords of the *Netherlands*, that is to say, the Prince of *Orange* himself, and the Count *Egmont*, that they might rather seem to be the natural *Militia* of the Country, then a power of strangers; yet that device did little edifie amongst them: for the

two Lords, especially the Prince of *Orange*, expressed such contentment in the trust and honour which was therein conferred upon them, that they excited the whole Country both to move the King before his going, and the Governess after his departure to dismiss those Souldiers which could not be imposed upon them without breach of their Priviledges. To this request the King had given a gratious answer, and promised to remove them within four months after his going into *Spain*; but secretly gave order to the Lady Regent to retain them longer, till the new Bishops and the *Inquisition* were confirmed amongst them. And she conceived her self so bound to those instructions, and their detaining there so necessary for his Majesties Service, that she delayed time as long as possibly she could: Which being observed by those which were of greatest power and credit with the common people, it was resolved that no more contribution should be raised on the several Provinces toward the payment of their wages; and on the other side, the Regent was so constant to her resolution, that she took up money upon interest for their satisfaction. But being wearied in the end by the importunity of all sorts of people, counselled by her Husband the Duke of *Parma* to give way unto it, and authorized at last by the King himself to hearken unto their desires; she gives order to have them drawn out of their several Garrisons, and Shipt at *Flushing*; from thence to be transported into *Spain* with the first fair winde.

18. The easie removing of this rub, incouraged those who managed the designe for innovating in the Church and State, to make the like attempt against the Cardinal *Granvel*; whose extraordinary parts and power they were more affraid of, then of all the Spaniards in the Country. This man being of the *Perenots* of *Granvel* in the Country of *Burgundy*, was trained up by a Father of such large abilities, that he was by *Charles* the Fifth made Chancellor of the *German* Empire, and trusted by him in Affairs of the greatest moment: And he declared himself to be such a quick proficient in the Schools of Learning, that he became the Master of no fewer then seven Languages; (in all which he was able to express himself with a fluent eloquence) and at twenty four years of age was made Bishop of *Arras*: commended by his Father to the Emperour *Charles*, and by him unto King *Philip* the Second, he served them both with great fidelity and courage; and had withall such a dexterity of dispatch in all concernments, as if he had been rather born then made a States man. And unto these he added such a moderation in his pleasures, such abstinence both from food and sleep when the case required it, such extraordinary pains in accommodating all the difficulties which came before him, and such a diligent observance of his Princes motions, that his greatest Adversaries could not chuse but say, that he was a Jewel, fit to be owned by none but the greatest Kings. By means where-

whereof, he ſo prevailed upon the King whilſt he ſtaid amongſt them, that he did nothing either at home or abroad, made neither Peace nor League with Kings or Nations; concluded no Marriage, quieted no Seditions, acted nothing that related to Religion or the Church, in which the counſels of this man were not influential. The like Authority he held with the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, not onely out of that report which the King made of him, but her own election, who found his counſel ſo applyable to all occaſions, that ſeldom any private or publick buſineſs came in agitation, in which his judgement had not been previouſly required, before it was openly delivered. And though his previous reſolutions in matters of counſel, were carried with all imaginable care and cloſeneſs from the eyes of the Courtiers; yet no man doubted but that all Affairs were tranſacted by him, imputing many things unto him, as it often happeneth, which he had no hand in.

19. In the firſt riſings of this man, he was deſpiſed for an upſtart by the Prince of *Orange*, and ſome other great men of the Country; not fearing any thing from him, as an alien born, unfurniſhed of dependants, and who by reaſon of his calling could make no ſtrong Alliance to preſerve his Power. But when they found that his Authority increaſed, that all things bended to that point at which he aimed, and that ſome of the Nobility began to apply themſelves unto him, and became his Creatures; they then conceived it neceſſary to make head againſt him, for fear of being brought to the like ſubmiſſions. Firſt therefore they began to claſh with him at the Councel-Table, and to diſſent from many things which he appeared in, though otherwiſe of great advantage in themſelves to the publick Service. But finding that thoſe oppoſitions did rather ſerve to ſtrengthen his power, then take any thing from it, they miſreport him to the King in their ſeveral Letters for a turbulent ſpirit, a man of proud thoughts, and one that hated the Nobility. By whoſe depreſſing, he aſpired to more perſonal greatneſs then was conſiſtent either with his Majeſties ſafety or the *Belgick* Liberties. And that being done, they generally traduce him by their Whiſperers amongſt the people, to be the onely man that laboured for the bringing in of the Inquiſition, and for eſtabliſhing the new Biſhops in their ſeveral Sees, under pretence of ſtopping the increaſe of Sects and Hereſies: And unto theſe reports of him, he gave ſome fair colour, by proſecuting the concernments of the Church with more zeal then caution; lying the more open to the practices of the growing party, by a ſeeming neglect of their intendments, and a reliance onely on his Maſters favour. From hence it was, that ſuch as did pretend to any licentiouſneſs in Life or Doctrine, exclaimed againſt him as the Author of thoſe ſeverities wherewith the King had formerly proceeded againſt divers of them; as on the other ſide, they cryed up all the Lords which appeared againſt

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gainſt him, as the chief Patriots of the Country, the Principal Patrons and Aſſertors of the publick Liberty.

20. The people being thus corrupted, it was no hard matter for the Lords to advance the Project, in rendring *Granvel* as unpleaſing in the eyes of the King, as they had made him odious in the ſight of the people. In order whereunto, ſome of them ſhewed themſelves leſs careful of the Cauſe of Religion, by ſmothering the publication of his Majeſties Edicts which concerned the Church in the Provinces under their command. Others dealt under-hand with the common people, perſwading them not to yeild ſubmiſſion to thoſe new Tribunals, which onely ſerved for the exerciſe of ſuperſtition, and the Popes Authority. And ſome again connived at the growth of Hereſie (by which name they called it) by ſuffering the maintainers of thoſe new opinions to get ground amongſt them; encouraged ſecretly ſome ſeditious practices; and finally omitted nothing, by which the King might underſtand by a ſad experiment how much he had miſplaced his favours, and to what imminent danger he expoſed the *Netherlands*, by putting ſuch Authority over them in the hands of a Forreigner. Of all which practices the Cardinal was too intelligent, and had too many Friends abroad to be kept in ignorance; which made him carry a more vigilant eye upon their deſignes, to croſs their Counſels, and elude their Artifices, when any thing was offered to the prejudice of the publick Peace: but in the end, the importunity of his Adverſaries became ſo violent, and the breach had ſuch a face of danger in the ſight of the Governeſs, that ſhe moved the King for his diſmiſſion; to prevent which, he firſt retired into *Burgundy*, and from thence to *Rome*; preferred not long after to be Vice-Roy of the Realm of *Naples*; and finally, made Preſident of the Council for *Italy* in the Court of *Spain*.

21. In the mean time the *Calviniſts* began to try their Fortunes in thoſe Provinces which lay next to *France*, by ſetting up two of their Preachers on the ſame day in two great Cities, *Valenciennes* the chief City of *Haynalt*, and *Tournay* the chief City of *Flanders Gallicant*: In the firſt of which, the Preacher having finiſhed in the Market-place where he made his Sermon, was followed in the Streets by no fewer then one hundred people; but in the other, by a train of ſix hundred, or thereabouts, all of them ſinging *Davids* Pſalms of *Marots* Tranſlation, according to the cuſtom of the *Hugonots* amongſt the *French*. Some tumults hereupon enſued in either City; for the repreſſing whereof, *Florence* of *Momorancy* Lord of *Montigny*, being the Governour of that Province, rides in poſt to *Tournay*, hangs up the Preacher, ſeizeth on all ſuch Books as were thought Heretical, and thereby put an end to the preſent Sedition. But when the Marqueſs of *Bergen* was required to do the like at *Valenciennes*, he told the Governeſs in plain terms, that it was

neither

neither agreeable to his place or nature to put an Heretick to death. All that he did was the committing of two of their Preachers to the common Prison; and that being done, he made a journey unto *Leige* to decline the business: Which so incouraged the *Calvinian* party to proceed in their purposes, that they threatned mischief to the Judges, if any harm happened to the Prisoners. But sentence at the seven months end being past upon them to be burnt, and all things being made ready for the execution, the Prisoners brought unto the Stake, and the fire ready to be kindled, there presently arose a tumult so fierce and violent, that the Officers were compelled to take back their Prisoners, and to provide for their own safety, for fear of being stoned to death by the furious multitude. But the people having once begun, would not so give over; for being inflamed by one of their company, whom they had set up in the midst of the Market-place to preach an extemporary Sermon, two thousand of them ran tumultuously to the common Goal, force open the doors, knock off the Shackles of the Prisoners, restore them to their former Liberty, and so disperse themselves to their several dwellings. The news of which Sedition being brought to *Brussels*, the Governess dispatcheth certain Companies of Foot, and some Troopes of Horse, with order to the Marques of *Bergen* to appease the disorders in the Town. But they found all things there so quiet, that there was little need of any other Sword then the Sword of Justice; by which some of the chief Ring-leaders of the Tumult, and one of their Preachers (who had unhappily fallen into their hands) were sentenced to that punishment which they had deserved.

22. The *Calvinists* conceiving by this woful experiment, that it was not safe jesting with Edged-tools, and that they were not of sufficient power for so great a business, betook themselves to other courses. And finding that some of the principal Lords were much offended at the exorbitant power of *Granvel*, that others shewed no good affection to his Majesties Government, and that the rest had no desire to see the new Bishops setled in their several Sees, for fear of being over-powered by them in all publick Councils; they seriously applyed themselves to foment those discords, and make the rupture greater then at first it was. The new Bishops being fourteen in number, were in themselves so eminent in point of Learning, and of a conversation so unblameable in the eyes of all men, that malice it self could make no just exception against the persons: A quarrel therefore must be picked against the Form and Manner of their indowment, which was by founding them in such wealthy Monasteries as were best able to maintain them; the Patrimony which anciently was allotted to the use of the Abbot, being to be inverted (after the death of the incumbent) to the use of the Bishop. This was presented to the Monks as a great disfranchisement, a plain devesting of them of their Native Priviledges; not

not onely by depriving them of the choice of their Governour, but by placing over them an imperious Lord instead of an indulgent Father. The Magistrates and people of such of the Cities as were designed for the Sees of the several Bishops, were practised on to protest against their admission; by whose establishment the common people must be subject to more Masters then before they were, and the Magistrates must grow less in power and reputation then they had been formerly. They represented to the Merchants, that without liberty of Conscience it was not possible there could be liberty of Trade; the want whereof must needs bring with it their impoverishing, a sensible decay of all sorts of Manufactures; and consequently, an exposing of the common people to extremest beggery. Which consideration, as appeared soon after, was alone sufficient, not onely to ingage the Merchants, but to draw after them that huge rabble of Mechanical people (which commonly make up the greatest part of all populous Cities) that depended on them. But nothing better pleased the discontented Nobility, then their Invectives against *Granvel*, against whom, and such of the Court-Lords as adhered unto him, they fastened their most scandalous and infamous Libels upon every post; not sparing through his sides to wound the honour of the King, and reproach the Government, which by this means they made distasteful to the common subjects.

An. 1564. 23. By these devices, and some others of like dangerous nature, they gained not onely many of the common people, but divers of the greatest Lords; some also of the principal Cities, and not a few of the *Regulars*, or Monastick Clergy. By means whereof, their Friends and Factors grew so powerful, as to oppose such motions both in Court and Council, as tended to the prejudice of the Reformation; insomuch, that when King *Philip* had given order to the Dutchess of *Parma* to send two thousand Horse to the aid of *Charles* the *French* King against the *Hugonots*; the Prince of *Orange* and his party did openly oppose, and finally over-rule it at the Council-Table. This gave incouragement to the *Calvinists* to try their Fortune once again, not in *Valenciennes* as before, but in the principal Cities of *Brabant* and *Flanders*. At *Rupelmond*, a chief Town of *Flanders*, a Priest which had been gained unto their opinions, and was imprisoned for the same, fell on a desperate design of firing the next room unto him, wherein were kept the Monuments and Records of the Prince; to the end that while the Guards were busied in preserving things that concerned the publick, he might finde a handsome oportunity to get out of their hands. But the fire being sooner quenched then he had imagined, both he and his Accomplices, which were nine in number, were brought unto the place of Execution, and there justly suffered: the Priest himself declaiming bitterly against *Calvin* at his Execution, and charging all his sufferings upon that

upon that account. At *Antwerp* one *Fabricius*, once a *Carmelite* Fryar, but now a great promoter of *Calvins* Doctrines, had gained much people to that side; for which being apprehended, he had judgement of death. But being brought unto the Stake, such a shower of Stones was seen to fall upon the head of the Hang-man, that not daring to abide the storm till the fire had done, he drew his Sword and sheathed it in the Prisoners body, and after saved himself by seeming to make one in the Tumult. And the next day they caused some Verses writ in bloud to be posted up, in which was signified, that there were some in *Antwerp* who had vowed revenge for the death of *Fabricius*; though afterwards they surceased, upon the executing of one of the Mutineers, and entertained more sober and religious counsels. But the distemper seemed much greater in the Town of *Bruges*, where the Inquisitors Deputy had sent a man to prison, on a suspition of Heresie, with a Guard of three Officers to attend him; at which the Senate was so moved, that they commanded the Officers to be seized upon, to be committed close prisoners, and to be fed with nothing but bread and water; the party in the mean time being set at liberty.

24. Startled with Tumult after Tumult, but more with the unhandsome carriage of the Senate of *Bruges*; the King gives order to his Sister the Lady Governess, to see his Fathers Edicts severely executed, and more particularly to take special care that the Decrees and Canons of the Council of *Trent* be presently received and obeyed in all the Provinces: Against which Orders of the King, though many of the great Lords opposed at the Council-Table, yet the Governess carried it at the last: And thereupon the opposite party incensed the *Brabanters* against admitting the Edicts or the *Tridentine* Council, as tending manifestly to the violation of their ancient priviledges: At which though most of them took fire, yet it burned but slowly, proceeding onely at the first in the way of Remonstrance, which for the most part carried more smoke then flame. But after the Ministers and Agents of *Lodowick* Count of *Nassaw* (one of the younger brothers of the Prince of *Orange*) were returned from *Heidelberg*, there appeared a kinde of new spirit amongst the people. He had before with certain other Noble-men of his age and quality betook himself unto *Geneva*, either for curiosity or study, or for some worse purpose, where being wrought upon by the *Calvinians* which conversed with them, and finding their own people to be very inquisitive after new opinions, they were not sparing in the commendation of the Religion which they found exercised in that City, and seemed to wish for nothing more then that they might have liberty of Conscience to profess the same. But knowing that so great a business could not be carried on successfully but by force of Arms, he had his Agents in the Court of the Prince Elector for getting some 1565.

aſſiſtance, if it came to blows, or under colour of his name to awe the Governeſs. And it fell out according unto his deſire: for hereupon the party animated with new hopes, renewed their former courſe of libelling againſt the preſent Government with greater acrimony then before, diſperſing no fewer then five thouſand of thoſe ſcandalous Pamphlets within the compaſs of a year, by which the people were exaſperated and fitted for engaging in any action, which by the cunning of their Leaders, and the inſinuations of their Preachers, ſhould be offered to them.

25. But theſe were onely the preparatives to the following Tumults; for in the middle of theſe heats, nine of the Lords not being Officers of State, convened together at *Breda*, the principal Seat and moſt aſſured hold of the Prince of *Orange*, where they drew up a Form of an *Aſſociation*, which they called the *Covenant*, contrived by *Philip Marnixius* Lord of *Alleg.nd*, a great admirer of the perſon and parts of *Calvin*. In the preamble whereof they inveighed bitterly againſt the Inquiſition, as that which being contrary to all Laws both Divine and Humane, did far exceed the cruelty of all former Tyrants: they then declared in the name of themſelves and the reſt of the Lords, that the care of Religion appertained to them as Councellors born, and that they entred into this Aſſociation for no other reaſon, but to prevent the wicked practices of ſuch men, as under colour of the ſentences of death and baniſhment, aimed at the Fortunes and deſtructions of the greateſt perſons: that therefore they had taken an holy Oath not to ſuffer the ſaid Inquiſition to be impoſed upon their Country: praying therein, that as well God as man would utterly forſake them, if ever they forſook their Covenant, or failed to aſſiſt their Brethren which ſuffered any thing in that Cauſe; and finally, calling God to witneſs, that by this Covenant and Agreement amongſt themſelves, they intended nothing but the Glory of God, Honour of their King, and their Countries peace. And to this Covenant as they ſubſcribed before their parting, ſo by their Emiſſaries they obtained ſubſcription to it over all their Provinces; and for the credit of the buſineſs, they cauſed the ſame to be tranſlated into ſeveral Languages, and publiſhed a Report that not onely the Chief Leaders of the *Hugonots* in *France*, but many of the Princes of *Germany* had ſubſcribed it alſo: which whether it were true or not, certain it is, that the Confederacie was ſubſcribed by a conſiderable number of the Nobility, ſome of the Lords of the Privy-Council, and not a few of the Companions of the Golden Fleece.

26. Of the nine which firſt appeared in the deſigne, the principal were *Henry* Lord of *Brederode*, deſcended lineally from *Sigefride*, the ſecond Son of *Arnold*, the fourth Earl of *Holland*; Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſaw* before mentioned; and *Florence* Count of *Culemberg*, a Town of *Gueldres*, but anciently priviledged from

from all subjection to the Duke thereof. Accompanied with two hundred of the principal Covenanters, each of them having a case of Pistols at his Saddle-bow, *Brederode* enters *Bruſſels* in the beginning of *April*, to which he is welcomed by Count *Horne* and the Prince of *Orange*, which last had openly appeared for them at the Council-Table, when the unlawfulness of the confederacy was in agitation. And having taken up their Lodging in *Culemberg*-house, they did not onely once again subscribe the Covenant, but bound themselves to stand to one another by a solemn Oath. The tenour of which Oath was to this effect, That if any of them should be imprisoned, either for Religion or for the Covenant, immediately the rest, all other business laid aside, should take up arms for his assistance and defence. Marching the next day by two and two till they came to the Court, they presented their petition to the Lady Regent, by the hands of *Brederode*, who desired her in a short Speech at the tendry of it, to believe that they were honest men, and propounded nothing to themselves, but obedience to the Laws, Honour to the King, and safety to their Country. The sum of the Petition was, That the Spanish Inquisition might be abolished, the Emperours Edicts repealed, and new ones made by the advice of the Estates of the Countries. Concerning which we are to know, that the Emperour had past several Edicts against the *Lutherans*, the first of which was published in the year 1521, and the second about five years after, *Anno* 1526, by means whereof many well-meaning people had been burnt for Hereticks: but that which most extremely gaulled them, was the Edict for the bringing in of the *Inquisition*, published upon the 29 of *April* as before was said. Against these Edicts they complained in the said Petition. To which upon the morrow she returned such an answer by the consent of the Council, as might give them good hopes that the Inquisition should be taken away, and the Edicts moderated; but that the King must first be made acquainted with all particulars before they passed into an Act. With which answer they returned well satisfied unto *Culemberg-house*, which was prepared for the entertainment of the chief Confederates.

27. To this House *Brederode* invites the rest of his Company, bestows a prodigal Feast upon them; and in the middle of their Cups it was put to the question, by what name their Confederacie should be called. Those of their party in *France* were differenced from the rest by the name of *Hugonots*, and in *England* (much about that time) by the name of *Puritans*; nor was it to be thought but that their followers might be as capable of some proper and peculiar appellation, as in *France* or *England*. It happened that at such time as they came to tender their Petition, the Governess seemed troubled at so great a number, and that Count *Barlamont* (a man of most approved fidelity to his Majesties service) advised her not to be discouraged at it; telling her in the *French* tongue betwixt jest and

earneſt, that they were but *Gueux* (or *Gheuſes*, as the Dutch pronounced it) that is to ſay, men of diſſolute lives and broken fortunes, or in plain Engliſh *Rogues* and *Beggars*. Upon which ground they animated one another by the name of *Gheuſes*, and calling for great bowls of Wine, drank an health to the name; their Servants and Attendants crying out with loud acclamations, *Vive les Gueus*, long live the *Gheuſes*. For the confirming of which name, *Brederode* takes a Wallet which he ſpyed in the place, and laid it on one of his Shoulders as their Beggars do, and out of a Wooden diſh brim-full drinks to all the Company; thanks them for following him that day with ſuch unanimity, and binds himſelf upon his honour to ſpend his life, if need ſhould be, for the generality of the Confederates, and for every member of them in particular: Which done, he gave his Diſh and Wallet to the next unto him, who in like manner paſt it round, till they had bound themſelves by this ridiculous Form of initiation to ſtand to one another in defence of their Covenant; the former acclamation of *Long live the Gheuſes*, being doubled and redoubled at every Health. The jollity and loud acclamations which they made in the Houſe, brought thither the Prince of *Orange*, Count *Egmont*, and Count *Horne*, men of moſt Power and Reputation with the common people; who ſeemed ſo far from reprehending the debauchery which they found amongſt them, that they rather countenanced the ſame; the former Healths and Acclamations being renewed and followed with more heat and drunken bravery then they were at firſt: on which incouragement they take upon themſelves in earneſt the name of *Gheuſes*, and by that name were ſolemnly proclaimed by that Raskal Rabble at their coming out; which name being taken thus upon them, as the mark of their Faction, was afterwards communicated to all thoſe of the ſame Religion.

28. Returning to their ſeveral dwellings, they cauſed a miſchievous report to be ſpread abroad, not onely that they had obtained a ſuſpenſion of the Emperours Edicts, and an exemption from the power of the Inquiſition; but that the Companions of the Order of the Golden Fleece, being men of moſt Authority both in Court and Council, had declared for them in the Cauſe. To gain belief to which report, a falſe and counterfeit paper is diſperſed amongſt them, in which it was notified to all that ſhould read the ſame, that the Lords and Companions of the Fleece had ſworn by their Order to the Gentlemen choſen by the Eſtates of the Country, to preſent the deſires of the people to the Lady Regent, *That from thenceforth the Eccleſiaſtical Inquiſitors and other Magiſtrates ſhould puniſh no man for his Religion, neither by impriſonment, exile, or death, unleſs it were joyned with a popular tumult, and the publick ruine of their Country; of which the Covenanters themſelves were to be the Judges.* And though the Governeſs took the wiſeſt

and

and moſt ſpeedy courſe both to diſcover and proclaim the danger of ſo lewd a practice, and uſed all honeſt ways for the undeceiving of the people in that Particular; yet either ſhe obtained no credit to her *Anti-Remonſtrances*, or found the Venome too far ſpread for ſo weak an Antidote. For preſently upon the ſcattering and diſperſing of the ſaid Declaration, as many of the Reformed parties as had fled the Country, returned again unto their Houſes; and ſuch as had concealed themſelves, or otherwiſe diſſembled their Religion, began more confidently to avow the profeſſion of it. For whoſe incouragement and increaſe, there was no want of diligence in ſuch of the Miniſters as reſorted to them out of *France*; firſt preaching to them in the Fields, and afterwards in ſome of their open Towns; but every where bitterly inveighing againſt the Tyranny of the Pope, the pride of *Spain*, and the corruptions of the Clergy; but moſt eſpecially of the Biſhops, whom they chiefly aimed at. By theſe invectives, and their continual preaching up of a popular liberty, their followers ſo exceedingly increaſed in a very ſhort time, that in the Fields near the Citie of *Tournay*, there were ſeen no fewer then eight thouſand perſons at a Sermon; a greater multitude then that in the Fields near *Liſles*, and ſometimes more then double that number in the fields near *Antwerp*. But in ſuch Parts and Provinces as lay neareſt *France*, they took greater liberty, and fell from Preaching to the Miniſtration of the Sacraments and Sacramentals; Marrying ſome, and Baptizing others, according to the Form deviſed by *Calvin*; but *Sanctifying* all by a continual intermixture of *Davids* Pſalms, tranſlated into French Meter as before was ſaid.

Together with theſe *French* Preachers and *Calvinian* Miniſters, there entred ſeveral Emiſſaries ſent from the Admiral *Colligni*, the Prince of *Conde*, and others of the Heads of the *Hugonot* Faction, whoſe intereſt it was to imbroyl the *Netherlands*, that they themſelves might fear no ſuch danger on that ſide, as formerly they had received. And theſe men play'd their parts ſo well, that a confuſed Rabble of the common people, furniſhed with Staves, Hatchets, Hammers and Ropes, and armed with ſome few Swords and Muskets, upon the Eve of the Aſſumption of the Bleſſed Virgin, fell violently into the Towns and Villages about St. *Omers*, one of the chief Cities of *Artois*, forced open all the Doors of Churches and Religious Houſes, if they found them ſhut; demoliſhed all the Altars, and defaced the Shrines, and broke the Images in pieces, not ſparing any thing which in the Piety of their Anceſtors was accounted ſacred. Encouraged by which good ſucceſs, they drive on to *Ipres*, a Town of *Flanders*, where they were ſure to finde a party prepared for them, by which the Gates of the City were ſet open to give them entrance: no ſooner were they entred, but they went directly to the Cathedral, (their multitudes being much increaſed all the way

way they came) where presently they fell to work; some beating down the Images with Staves and Hammers, some pulling down the *Statues* of our Saviour with Ropes and Ladders; other defacing Pulpits, Altars, and the Sacred Ornaments, burning the Books, and stealing the Consecrated Plate. With the same fury they proceeded to the burning of the Bishops Library, and the destroying of all Churches and Religious Houses within that City; in which they found as little opposition from the hands of that Magistrate, as if they had been hired and imployed in that service by the Common Council. About the same time, that is to say, on the morrow after the Assumption, another party being of the same affections, and taking both example and encouragement from this impunity, fall into *Menin*, *Commines*, *Vervich*, and other Towns upon the *Lys*: In all which they committed the like impious out-rages, carrying away with them Plate and Vestments, and all other consecrated things which were easily portable; but burning or destroying what they could not carry. The like they would have done also at the Town of *Seclin*, but that the people rose in Arms, assaulted them, and drove them back, not without great slaughter of that mutinous and seditious Rabble, and some loss of themselves.

30. In *Antwerp* the chief City of *Brabant* they found better Fortune. They had before attained to so great a confidence, that having assembled in the Fields to hear a Sermon according to their usual custom, and finding their number to amount unto fifteen thousand; they mounted their Preacher on a Horse, and brought him triumphantly into the City, attended by a strong Guard both of Horse and Foot, to the great terrour and affrightment of the principal Magistrates. For remedy of which disorders, the Governess sent thither the Count of *Megen*, and afterwards the Prince of *Orange* with some slender Forces; on the approaching of which last (for the first was presently recalled, as a man less popular) infinite multitudes of the people went out to meet him; entertained him with the accustomed acclamation of *Vive les Gueux*, and cryed him up for the great Patron and Protector of the *Belgick* Liberty. At which though he seemed outwardly to be somewhat offended, yet it was easie to be seen that he received a secret contentment in it; and therefore acted nothing whilst he stayed amongst them, by which he might become less gracious in the eye of that Faction then he was before. Encouraged by which remisness, and being privately excited by some of his Followers, they abate little or nothing of their former insolencies, which they discovered not long after his departure to the Court of *Brussels*, by their violent disturbance of a solemn Procession made by the Clergy of that City, in honour of their supposed Patroness the Blessed Virgin; and that too on the very Festival of her Assumption, when the like outrages were committed in other places: For not con-

content to jeer and taunt them in the Streets as they passed along, they follow them into the principal Church of that City; where first they fall to words, and from words to blows, and from blows to wounds; to the great scandal of Religion, and the unpardonable prophanation of that holy Place.

31. But this was onely an Essay of the following mischief. For on the same day Sennight, being not onely more numerous, but better armed, they flocked to the same Church at the Evening-Service; which being ended, they compel the people to forsake the place, and possess themselves of it. Having made fast the Doors for fear that some disturbance might break in upon them, one of them begins to sing a Psalm in *Marots* Meter, wherein he is followed by the rest; that such a holy exercise as they were resolved on, might not be undertook without some preparation: which fit of Devotion being over, they first pulled down a massie Image of the Virgin, afterwards the Image of Christ, and such other Saints as they found advanced there, on their several *Pedestals*; some of them treading them under-foot, some thrusting Swords into their sides, and others hagling of their Heads with Bills and Axes: In which work as many were imployed in most parts of the Church, so others got upon the Altars, cast down the sacred Plate, defaced the Pictures, and disfigured the paintings on the Walls, whilst some with Ladders climbed the Organs, which they broke in pieces; and others with like horrible violence, destroyed the Images in the Windows, or rather brake the Windows in despight of the Images. The Consecrated Host they took out of the Pixes, and trampled under their feet; carouse such Wine as they brought with them in the sacred Chalices, and greased their shooes with that Chrysome, or anoynting Oyl, which was prepared for some Ceremonies to be used at Baptism, and in the visiting of the sick. And this they did with such dispatch, that one of the fairest Churches in *Europe*, richly adorned with Statues and massie Images of Brass and Marble, and having in it no fewer then seventy Altars, was in the space of four hours defaced so miserably, that there was nothing to be seen in it of the former beauties. Proud of which fortunate success, they brake into all other Churches of that City, where they acted over the same spoils and outragious insolencies; and afterwards forcing open the doors of Monasteries and Religious Houses, they carryed away all their Consecrated Furniture, entred their Store-houses, seized on their Meat, and drank off their Wine; and took from them all their Money, Plate, and Wardrobes, both Sacred and Civil, not sparing any publick Library whersoever they came: a ruine not to be repaired but with infinite sums: the havock which they made in the great Church onely, being valued at four hundred thousand Ducates by indifferent rates. The like outrages they committed at the same time in *Gaunt* and *Oudenard*, and all the Villages about them; the severalties whereof would make

make up a Volume: let it ſuffice, that in the Province of *Flanders* onely, no fewer then four hundred Conſecrated places were in the ſpace of ten days thus defaced, and ſome of them burnt down to the very ground.

32. The news of theſe intolerable outrages being poſted one after another to the Court at *Bruſſels*, occaſioned the Governeſs (when it was too late) to ſee her errour in ſending back her Spaniſh Souldiers, and yeilding to the improvident diſmiſſion of the prudent Cardinal, by whoſe Authority and Counſel ſhe had ſo happily preſerved thoſe Provinces in peace and quiet; and then ſhe found that ſhe had good reaſon to believe all the information which Count *Mansfield* gave her, touching a plot of the *Calvinian* party in *France* (from whence came moſt of theſe new Preachers) to imbroyl the *Netherlands*; which till that time ſhe looked on as a groundleſs jealouſie. But as it is in ſome Diſeaſes, that when they are eaſie to be cured, they are hard to be known; and when they are eaſie to be known, they are hard to be cured: ſo fared it at that time with theſe diſtempers in the *Belgick* Provinces; which now were grown unto that height, that it was very difficult, if not almoſt impoſſible, to finde out a remedy. For having called together the great Council of State, and acquainted them with the particulars before remembred, ſhe found the Counts of *Mansfield*, *Aremberg*, and *Barlamont*, cheerfully offering their aſſiſtance to reduce the people to obedience by force of Arms; but *Egmont*, *Horne* and *Orange*, (whoſe Brother Count *Lodowick* was ſuſpected for a chief contriver of the preſent miſchief) of a contrary judgement, ſo that ſhe could proceed no further; and indeed ſhe durſt not; for preſently a ſecret Rumour was diſperſed, that if ſhe did not ſo far gratifie the Covenanters and their adherents, that every man might have liberty to go to Sermons, and no man be puniſhed for Religion, ſhe ſhould immediately ſee all the Churches in *Bruſſels* fired, the Prieſts murthered, and her ſelf impriſoned. For fear whereof, though ſhe took all ſafe courſes for her own ſecurity, yet ſhe found none ſo ſafe as the granting of ſome of their demands to the Chief Conſpirators, by which the Provinces for the preſent did enjoy ſome quiet. But this was onely like an Intermiſſion in the fit of an Ague: For preſently hereupon ſhe received advertiſement that thoſe of the Reformed party were not onely ſuffered to take unto themſelves ſome Churches in *Machlin*, *Antwerp* and *Tournay*, which till then had never been permitted; but that at *Utrecht* they had driven the Catholicks out of their Churches, and at the *Boſch* had forced the Biſhop to forſake the City, as their holy Fathers in *Geneva* had done before them. And in a word, to make up the meaſure of her ſorrows, and compleat their inſolencies, ſhe had intelligence of the like Tumult raiſed at *Amſterdam*, where ſome of the Reforming Rabble had broken into a Monaſtery of the *Franciſcans*, defaced all Conſecrated things,

things, beat and ſtoned out the Religious perſons, not without wounding ſome of the principal Senators who oppoſed their doings.

33. Provoked with theſe indignities, ſhe reſolves upon the laſt remedy, which was, to bring them to obedience by force of Arms: and therein ſhe had no ſmall encouragement from the King himſelf, and good aſſurance of aſſiſtances from ſuch Princes of *Germany* as ſtill adhered unto the Pope. The news whereof ſo ſtartles the chief of the Covenanters, that they enter into conſultation of Electing a new Prince, or putting themſelves under the power of ſome potent Monarch, by whom they might be countenanced againſt their King, and priviledged in the enjoyment of their Religion. It was adviſed alſo, that three thouſand Books of *Calvinian* Doctrine ſhould be ſent into *Spain*, and diſperſed in the chief Cities of it; to the end, that whilſt the King was buſied in looking to his own peace at home, he might the leſs regard the Tumults which were raiſed in the *Netherlands*: and yet for fear that Project might not take effect, it was agreed upon that a combination ſhould be made between the heads of the Covenanters, and the principal Merchants; between whom it was finally concluded, and the concluſion ratified by a ſolemn taking of the Sacrament on either ſide, that the Covenanters ſhould protect the Merchants againſt all men whatſoever, who laboured to reſtrain them in the freedom of Conſcience; and that the Merchants ſhould ſupply the Covenanters with ſuch ſums of money as might enable them to go through with the Work begun. It alſo was agreed upon, that the *Calvinian* party for a time ſhould ſuppreſs their own, and make profeſſion of conformity to the *Lutheran* Doctrines, contained in the Confeſſion of *Ausberg*, in hope thereby of having ſuccour and relief from the *Lutheran* Princes, if the King ſhould ſeek to force them in the way of Arms: which was accordingly performed. And that being done, they caſt themſelves into a ſeparate and diſtinct Republick from that of the State, erect a Supreme Conſiſtory in the City of *Antwerp*, and ſome inferiour Judicatories in the other Cities, (but all ſubordinate unto that of *Antwerp*) in which they take upon them the choice of Magiſtrates, for managing and directing all Affairs which concerned the Faction.

34. Of all theſe Plots and Conſultations, the King is punctually informed by the vigilant Governeſs; and thereupon cauſed a report to be diſperſed, that he intended to beſtow a Royal viſit on his *Belgick Provinces*; but firſt to ſmooth the way before him by a puiſſant Army. On this advertiſement the Governeſs reſumes her courage, complains how much the Covenanters had abuſed her favours; and publickly declares, that ſhe had onely given them leave to meet together for hearing Sermons of their own; but that their Miniſters had took upon them to Baptize and Marry, and perform all other Sacred Offices in a different

manner from that allowed of by the Church; That they had set up divers Consistories and new Forms of Government, not warranted by the Laws of the several Provinces; That they had opened divers Schools for training up their Children in Heretical Principles; That they had raised great sums of Money under pretence of purchasing a toleration of the King (whose Piety was too well known to be so corrupted) but in plain truth, to levy Souldiers for a War against him; That therefore she commands all Governours and Deputy-Governours in their several Provinces, not onely to dissolve Heretical Meetings (otherwise then for Sermons onely) in the time to come, but to put Garrisons into such of the Towns and Cities as were held suspected, or were most likely to be seized on to the Kings disservice. By this Remonstrance, seconded with the news of the Kings intention, the leading Covenanters were so startled, that they resolved on the beginning of the War, and were accordingly in Arms, before the Governess had either raised Horse or Foot, more then the ordinary Train-bands, which were to be maintained in continual readiness, by the Rules of that Government. But first, they thought it most agreeable to the State of Affairs, to possess themselves of such strong Towns as either stood convenient for the letting in of Forreign Succours, or otherwise for commanding the adjoyning Territories. In which designe they speed so well, that many great Towns declare for them of their own accord; some were surprised by such of the *Calvinian* Leaders as had friends amongst them; and some were willing to stand neutral till they saw more of it. But none fared better at the first then *Anthony* of *Bomberg*, one of the *Calvinists* of *Antwerp*, who having formerly served the *Hugonot* Princes in the Wars of *France*, had put himself into the *Bosch*, from whence the Faction had not long before expelled their Bishop: And there he played his game with such fraud and cunning, that he put the people into Arms, made himself Master of the Town, and turned the Cannon upon Count *Meghen*, who was Commissionated by the Governess, amongst other things, to plant a Garrison in the same.

35. This good success encouraged many of the rest to the like attempts, but few of them with so good Fortune. The Count of *Brederode* having Fortified his own Town of *Viana*, a small Town of *Holland*, stretcheth his Arms from thence to imbrace the rest, and takes in *Amsterdam* it self without opposition; but having the like aim on *Utrecht*, he found his hopes defeated by the Count of *Meghen*, who got in before him. Worse fared it with *Philip de Marnix*, Lord of *Tholouse*, another of the *Antwerpian Calvinists*, of greater power then *Bomberg*, but of less dexterity: holding intelligence with the Provost of *Middleberg*, he entertained a design of surprising *Vlushing*, and therewith the whole Isle of *Walcheren*, and the rest of *Zealand*. To which end he embarks his men, and sails down the *Scheldt*, not without

without ſome good hope of effecting his enterprize before any diſcovery was made of it. But the Governeſs knew of what importance the ſaid Iſland was, and was there before him in her Forces, though not in her perſon. Repulſed from thence, he marcheth back again towards *Antwerp*, takes up his Quarters in the Borough of *Oſtervill*, the *Southwark* as it were of *Antwerp*, and from thence ſo named; where he is ſet upon by *Lanoy*, another of the Regents Captains; the Borough fired about his ears, himſelf burned in a Barn, fifteen thouſand of his Souldiers killed in the flight, three hundred of them taken and then put to the Sword: Which execution was thought neceſſary as the caſe then ſtood, for fear the *Calviniſts* in the City might renew the fight, and put him worſe to it then before: Nor were they wanting to their Friends in that deſperate exigent, whoſe ſlaughter they beheld from the Walls of the City. But when they thought to paſs the Bridge, they found no Bridge at all to give them paſſage: the Prince of *Orange* being then at *Antwerp*, had cauſed it to be broken down the day before, not out of any deſigne to prevent the *Calviniſts* from aſſiſting their Brethren, but rather to hinder the Victorious Catholicks (if it ſhould ſo happen) from making any uſe of it to poſſeſs the City. But the *Calviniſts* not knowing of his ſecret purpoſes, tumultuouſly aſſembled to the number of fourteen thouſand men, fell foul upon him in the Streets, reviled him by the name of Traytor, and clapped a Piſtol to his Breaſt, and queſtionleſs had proceeded to ſome greater outrage, if the *Lutherans* (hating the *Calviniſts*, and as hateful to them) had not joyned with the *Papiſts*, and thereby over-powered them both in ſtrength and numbers.

36. But none fared worſe then the *Calvinians* of *Tournay* and *Valenciennes*, though they were both ſtronger and more numerous then in other places. Thoſe of *Valenciennes* had refuſed to admit a Garriſon, encouraged by their *French* Preachers to that diſobedience. But being beſieged by *Norcarmius*, Deputy-Governour of *Haynalt* for the Marqueſs of *Bergen*, they were compelled in the end to ſubmit to mercie; which was ſo intermixed with juſtice, that thirty ſix of the principal Incendiaries were beheaded, ſome of their Preachers hanged, and ſome Souldiers executed; the Liberties of the City being ſeized, and declared to be forfeit till the King ſhould be pleaſed to reſtore them. Thoſe of *Valenciennes* had been animated by the Conſiſtories of ſome other Cities to make good the Town againſt *Norcarmius*, as long as they could; aſſuring them that he muſt ſhortly raiſe the Siege, to quench the fire that would be kindled in another Province. Accordingly it was contrived that ſome Foot-Companies which lay in *Armentieres* ſhould waſte the Country about *Liſle* in *Flanders Gallicant*; and that whilſt *Raſſinghen* the Governour of *Liſle* drew out of the City to ſuppreſs them, the *Calviniſts* of *Tournay* by the aid of their Brethren within

that City ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of it. And ſo far it ſucceeded as they had projected, that the *Armenterians*, being conducted by one *Cornelius*, who of a Smith became a Preacher, and would needs make himſelf a Commander alſo, acted their part in the deſigne, but eaſily were ſubdued by *Raſſinghen* at the firſt aſſault. The news whereof not onely terrified the Conſiſtorians within *Liſle* it ſelf, but ſo diſheartned thoſe of *Tournay*, who hoped to have made themſelves Maſters of it, that they thought it beſt for them to retire; but being ſet upon by *Norcarmius*, who had drawn ſome Forces from his Camp before *Valenciennes* to perform this ſervice, they were utterly routed, moſt of their men (amounting to four thouſand) either killed or taken; two Barrels of Powder, twenty Field-peeces, and nine Colours, falling into the hands of the Conquering Army: with which *Norcarmius* marching on directly to the Gates of *Tournay*, commands them in the name of the Governeſs to receive a Garriſon, entred the Town, diſarms the people, impriſoned the Incendiaries, reſtored the Biſhop and Clergy to their former power; and finally, impoſed ſuch a Governour over them, as was like to give a good account of them for the times enſuing.

1567. 37. The taking of theſe Towns to mercy, the like ſucceſs in other places, and a report that *Ferdinand* of *Toledo* Duke of *Alva* was coming forwards with an Army to make way for the King, did ſo deject the Heads of the *Gheuſes*, and the reſt of the Covenanters, that moſt of them began to droop; whereof the Governeſs did not need to be advertiſed, and was reſolved to make ſome preſent uſe of the Conſternation. She therefore cauſes a new Oath or Proteſtation to be forthwith made, and to be taken by all Magiſtrates and Officers both of Peace and War; by which they were to bind themſelves without exception to obey any who ſhould be appointed in the Kings name for their Supreme Governour. And this ſhe was reſolved upon againſt all diſſwaſions; not that ſhe meant to uſe it for a diſcrimination, by which ſhe might diſcover how they ſtood affected to his Majeſties Service; but that ſhe might with leſs envy diſplace all ſuch as wilfully refuſed the Oath, or puniſh them with death and confiſcation if they brake their Faith. Being propounded to the Council, it was cheerfully approved and ſubſcribed by ſome, and reſolutely oppoſed by others, under pretence that they had formerly took the Oath of Allegiance to the King himſelf, and that Oaths were not to be multiplyed without juſt neceſſity. But none more pertinaciouſly refuſed it then the Prince of *Orange*, who deviſed many plauſible reaſons in his juſtification, but ſuch as were of little weight when they came to the ballance. Count *Egmont* for a while demurred, but at laſt ſubmitted, and took the Oath as others of the Council had done before: the falling off of which great man ſo amazed the reſt, that every one thought it now high time

time to provide for himself. The Prince of *Orange* with his Family retireth unto his County of *Nassaw*, but leaves his Ministers behinde him to maintain his Interest: Count *Brederode* departs for *Germany*, where he dyed soon after: Count *William de la March*, commonly called the Baron of *Lume*, takes Sanctuary in the Realm of *England*: *Bomberg* not finding any safety to be had in the *Bosch*, abandoneth it to the Regents Empire, by whom it was not onely forced to receive a Garrison, but also to redeem their priviledges for a sum of money. After which most of the revolted Cities came in so speedily, that there was nothing to be seen of the late Rebellion.

38. And here the Country might have been resetled in its firm obedience, if either the King had gone in person to confirm the Provinces, or had imployed a Minister less odious then the Duke of *Alva*, the cruelty of whose nature was both known and feared; or rather, if the Prince of *Orange*, and the rest of that Faction, had not preserved themselves for an after-game. But the King stays behinde, and the Duke comes forward. And coming forward with an Army of experienced Souldiers, entreth the Provinces, assumes the Government, imprisoneth many of the Nobility; the Counts of *Horn* and *Egmont* amongst the rest, whom he after executed. The news whereof being brought unto Cardinal *Granvel*, he is reported to have said, That *if one Fish* (by which he meant the Prince of *Orange*) *had escaped the Net, the Duke of* Alva's *draught would be nothing worth.* And so it proved in the event; for the Prince being strong in Kindred and Alliances in the Higher *Germany*, made use of all his interest in them for the securing of his life, and the recovery of his Lands and Honours, of which he was judicially deprived by the Duke of *Alva*, who caused the sentence of condemnation to be passed upon him, confiscates his Estate, proscribes his person, placeth a Garrison in *Breda*, entreth on all the rest of his Towns and Lands; and finally, seizeth upon *Philip* Earl of *Buren* his eldest Son, whom he sent prisoner into *Spain*. The news whereof gave little trouble to the Prince, because it made his taking Arms the more excusable in the sight of men: For now, besides the common quarrel of his Country, and the cause of Religion, he might pretend an unavoidable necessity of fighting for his Life, Lands, Honours, and Posterity, unless he would betray them all by a wilful sluggishness. Besides, he was not without hope, that if he should miscarry in the present enterprise, his Eldest Son, being brought up in the Court of *Spain*, might be restored to those Estates which himself had lost; but if he prospered in his work, and that the King should still think fit to detain him Prisoner, he had another Son by the Daughter of *Saxonie*, who might succeed him, as he did, in his power and greatness. 1568.

39. But first, he thought it most agreeable to his present condition, to employ other hands and heads besides his own; to which

which end he had ſo contrived it, that whilſt his brother *Lodowick* invaded *Frieſland*, and Count *Hoſtrat* out of *Juliers* and the Lower *Palatinate* croſſed over the *Moſe*, an Army of the *French Hugonots* ſhould fall into *Artois*, to give the *Spaniards* the more work by this treble invaſion. But the *French* Forces being followed at the heels by ſome Troops of Horſe whom the King ſent after them, were totally defeated neer the Town of St. *Vallery*; their Chief Commanders brought to *Paris*, and there beheaded. Count *Hoſtrat* with his Forces had the like misfortune, firſt broken, and afterwards totally vanquiſhed by *Sancho d' Avila* one of *Alva*'s Generals: Onely Count *Lodowick* had the honour of a ſignal Victory, but bought it with the death of his brother *Adolph* whom he loſt in the Battail; though afterwards encountring with the Duke himſelf, he loſt ſix thouſand of his men, beſides all his Baggage, Ordnance and Ammunition, hardly eſcaping with his life. And now it is high time for the Prince to enter; who having raiſed an Army of eight and twenty thouſand Horſe and Foot (increaſed not long after by the addition of three thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe, which the *French Hugonots* out of pure Zeal unto the Cauſe had provided for him) takes his way toward *Brabant*, which he had marked out for his Quarters; but there he found the Dukes whole Army to be laid in his way, whom he could neither paſs by, nor ingage in fight; the Duke well knowing, that ſuch great Armies wanting pay, would diſband themſelves, and were more ſafely broken by delay then battail; onely he watched their motions, and ingaged by parties, in which he always had the better: And by theſe Arts ſo tired the Prince, that in the end he was compelled to diſſolve his Forces, and retire once more into *Naſſaw*. But whilſt the Duke was thus imployed in ſecuring the paſſages of the Country which lay next to *Germany*, he left the Ports and Sea-Towns open to the next Invadour: Which being obſerved by *William de March* Baron of *Luma*, who with few Ships kept himſelf upon the Seas out of *Alva*'s reach, he ſuddenly ſeized upon the *Brill*, a Port of *Holland*, where he defaced ſuch Images as he found in their Churches, omitting no irreverence unto any thing which was accounted Sacred; but otherwiſe ſo fortified and intrenched the Town, that it proved impregnable. This hapned on *Palm*-Sunday, *Anno* 1570; and on the Sunday following, being *Eaſter*-day, the *Spaniſh* Garriſon is turned out of *Vluſhing*, the chief Port of *Zealand*: by gaining of which two places, it might not be unfitly ſaid, that they carried the Keys of *Holland* and *Zealand* at their Girdles, and were inabled by that means to receive ſuccours from all Parts and Nations which lay towards the Sea, as they after did.

40. The loſs of theſe two Ports drew along with it a defection of moſt of the ſtrong Towns in *Holland*, which at the inſtigation of the Baron of *Luma*, put themſelves under the com-

command of the Prince of *Orange*, and at his motion took the Oath of fidelity to him; from him they received their Garrison, Shipping and Arms, and to him they permitted the disposing of all places of Government, making of Laws, and the distributing of the Revenues which belonged to the Clergy: To him such multitudes repaired out of *France* and *England*, (besides Auxiliary *Scots*) that within less then four months, a Navy of one hundred and fifty Sail lay rigged in *Vlushing*, and from thence spoiled and robbed all Merchants of the *Spanish* party. Nor were the Dukes Affairs in much better order in the parts next *France*, in which Count *Lodowick* with the help of some *French Hugonots* had made himself Master of *Mons*, the chief City of *Haynalt*; which seemed the more considerable in the eyes of *Alva*, because the *French* King openly, but for different ends, had avowed the Action. By whose permission, *Gasper Colligny*, the great Admiral of *France*, and one of the chief Leaders of the *Hugonot* party, had raised an Army in the Borders, consisting of six or seven thousand men, which he put under the command of the Lord of *Jenlis*, who had before conducted the *French* Succours to the Prince of *Orange*. But *Jenlis* being defeated by *Don Frederick* the Dukes Eldest Son, and the Prince of *Orange* wanting power to relieve the besieged, the Town was re-delivered into the hands of the *Spaniards* upon terms of honour, and *Lodowick* retires to *Dilemberg*, the chief Town of *Nassaw*.

41. The Prince of *Orange* in the mean time, animated by the General revolt of almost all the strong Towns in *Holland*, raised a new Army of no fewer then eleven thousand Foot and six thousand Horse; with which he entred into *Brabant*, possest himself of some of the principal Towns, and suffered others to redeem themselves with great sums of money, with which he satisfied his Souldiers for their pains and hazard in the obtaining of the rest. *Dendermand* and *Oudenard*, two strong Towns of *Flanders* which had made some resistance, he both stormed and plundered; the Souldiers in all places making spoil of Churches, and in some tyrannizing over the dead, whose Monuments they robbed and pillaged. But none fared worse then the poor Priests, whom out of hate to their Religion, they did not onely put to death, but put to death with tortures; and in some places which fell under the power of the *Baron* of *Luma*, hanged up their mangled Limbs or Quarters, as Butchers do their small Meats in a common Shambles: which spoils and cruelties so alienated the affections of all the people, that his power in those parts was not like to continue long; and having failed of his attempt in relieving *Mons*, crossed the Country into *Holland*, as his surest receptacle; on whose retreat the Duke recovers all the Towns which he had taken in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, follows him into *Holland*, and besiegeth *Harlem*; in which the Souldiers, to demonstrate of what Sect they were, made a meer

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Pageant of Religion: for ſetting up Altars on the Bulwarks, they dreſſed them with Images and repreſentations of the Saints; and being attired in Copes and Veſtments, they ſung Hymns before them, as if they were offering Devotions. After which mockery they brought out the reſemblances of Prieſts and Religious perſons made of ſtraw, whipt them, and ſtabbed them into the body; and finally, cutting off their heads, flung them into the Leaguer: Sometimes they alſo placed the Images of Chriſt, and many of the Saints, againſt the mouth of the Cannon, with many other Acts of the like impiety; for which they were brought to a dear reckoning when the Town was taken; at which time moſt of them were either put to the Sword, or hanged, or drowned.

42. *Frederick* the Prince Elector *Palatine* had hitherto ingaged no further in the *Belgick* troubles then the reſt of his Neighbours. But now he doth more cordially eſpouſe the quarrel, upon ſome hope of propagating the *Calvinian* Doctrines, which he had lately introduced into his Dominions. And being well affected to the Houſe of *Naſſaw*, and knowing what encouragements the *Calvinian* Faction in the *Netherlands* had received from them, cheerfully hearkened to ſuch propoſitions as were made to him at the firſt by Count *Lodowick* his Miniſters, and after by the Agent of the Prince himſelf. He had ſent ſome aid not long before to ſupport the *Hugonots*: But now his Souldiers being returned from *France*, and grown burdenſome to him, are drawn together into a body; and with the help of ſome others out of *France* and *Germany*, compound an Army of ſeven thouſand Foot and four thouſand Horſe, with which he ſends Prince *Chriſtopher* a younger ſon, under the conduct of Count *Lodowick* and his Brother *Henry*. But they had ſcarce entred within the Borders of *Gelderland*, where they expected an addition of freſh Forces from the Prince of *Orange*, when they were ſet upon by *Sanchio d' Avila* before mentioned, and routed with ſo great a ſlaughter, that almoſt all the whole Army were either taken priſoners, remedileſly wounded, or ſlain outright: and as for their three Generals, *Lodowick* of *Naſſaw*, *Grave Henry*, and the young Prince *Chriſtopher*, they were either ſlain fighting in the battail, or trampled under the Horſes Feet, or finally, ſtifled in the flight, as they croſſed the Fens; the laſt more probable, becauſe their bodies were not to be found on the ſtricteſt ſearch.

43. But notwithſtanding this misfortune, neither the Prince Elector nor the Prince of *Orange* could be moved to deſert the Cauſe, which by the temptation of revenge was grown dearer to them. For after this we finde Prince *Caſimir*, another of the *Palatine* Princes, in the Head of an Army raiſed for aſſiſting the Confederates in the *Belgick* Provinces, (by which name they began to be commonly called) after the death of *Requeſenes*, who had ſucceeded *Alva* in the publick Government;

but

but wanting time before his death to settle the command in some trusty hands, till some Supreme Officer might be sent unto them from the Court of *Spain*; the Government devolved for the present on the Council of State, and was invaded afterwards by the States themselves, whose Deputies assembling in the Council-house or Court of *Brussels*, made up the body of that Council which governed all Affairs both of Peace and War. But great contentions growing betwixt them and the Souldiers, and those contentions followed on either side with great animosities, the Prince of *Orange* had a most excellent opportunity for the establishing of his new Dictatorship over *Holland* and *Zealand*, and some of the adjoyning Provinces of less name and note. But being weary at the last of their own confusions, and more impatient of the insupportable insolencies of the Spanish Souldiers, an Association is first made in the Provinces of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Artois* and *Hainalt*. By which it was agreed in Writing, and confirmed by Oath, that they should mutually assist each other against the *Spaniards* till they had cleared the Country of them. And with these Provinces, consisting for the most part of such as were counted Catholicks, *Holland* and *Zealand*, with the rest, though esteemed heretical, did associate also: which Union is called commonly the *Pacification of Gaunt*, because agreed on in that City, and was so much insisted on by the Heads of the Leaguers, that it was counselled by the Prince, not to admit of *Don John* for their Supreme Governour, till he had ratified and confirmed that Association.

44. But because there was no mention of maintaining the Kings Authority, or preserving the Catholick Religion in the Originals of the League; it was found necessary to provide for both by some explication, to take away the envy and suspition of that great disloyalty which otherwise must have fallen upon them. And by that explication it was thus declared, *viz.* that they would faithfully from thenceforth maintain the League, for the conservation of their most Sacred Faith, and the Roman Catholick Religion; for preserving the Pacification made at *Gaunt*; for the expulsion of the Spaniards and their adherents; their due obedience to the Kings most excellent Majesty being always tendered. According to which explication, it was confirmed by *Don John* under the name of the *perpetual Edict*, with the Kings consent; who thought his own Authority and the Roman Religion to be thereby sufficiently provided for, but he found the contrary. For when the Prince of *Orange* was required to subscribe to the Pacification, with the addition of two Clauses for constancie in this Religion, and the Kings obedience, he refused it absolutely, assuring such as moved it to him, that the Provinces under his command or confederacie with him were barred in Conscience from subscribing to the preservation of the *Romish* Faith. And at

this time it was, that he merrily told the Duke of *Aresçot*, who was one of the Delegates, that there was not more *Calvisme* on his head, then there was *Calvinisme* in his heart. He well foresaw that the agreement betwixt *Don John* and the Estates of the Country would not long continue; and he resolved to make some advantage of the breach, whensoever it hapned. Nor was he any thing mistaken in the one or the other; for discontents and jealousies encreasing mutually between the parties, *Don John* leaves *Brussels*, and betakes himself to the Castle of *Namure* for fear of an Assassinate (as it was given out) which was intended on his person: which so incensed the Estates, that by a general consent, a *Dictatorian* or Soveraign power was put into the hands of the Prince of *Orange* by the name *Ruart*, according to the priviledge and practice of the *Brabanters* in extreme necessities. Invested with which power, he instituteth a new face of Government both in *Brussels* it self, and many of the Towns adjoyning, modelled after the Example of *Holland* and *Zealand*. He demolished also the great Fort at *Antwerp*, which had been raised with so great Pride and Ostentation by the Duke of *Alva*: The like done also in demolishing the Castles of *Gant*, *Utrecht*, *Lisle*, *Valenciennes*, and some other places; performed by such alacrity by them that did it, as if they had shaken off the Yoke of some Forreign servitude. An Oath was also framed for renouncing all obedience to *Don John* their Governour, and people of all sorts compelled to take it; for the refusal whereof by the *Jesuits* of *Antwerp*, a Rabble of *Calvinian* Zealots, on the day of *Pentecost*, forced open the doors of that *Society*, plundred their houses of all things Sacred and Prophane, and set the Father on board a Ship of the *Hollanders* with great scorn and insolencie, to be landed in some other Country.

45. The like done also to the Fathers of *Tournay*, *Bruges*, and *Maestricht*, banished on the same account from their several Cities; with whom were also exiled in some places *Franciscan* Fryars, in others many secular Priests, who would not easily be perswaded to abjure their Loyalty. By whose departure divers Churches were left destitute, and unprovided of incumbents to instruct the people: which so increased the confidence and hopes of the *Calvinians*, that they not onely petitioned the Estates for liberty of Conscience, but for the publick use of Churches in their several Territories: but being refused in their desires, (though the Prince of *Orange* openly appeared for them) they were resolved no longer to expect the lazie temper of Authority, but actually took possession of some of the Churches in *Brabant*, *Gelderland* and *Flanders*, and openly exercised that Religion, which till then they had professed in secret; nor durst the Estates do any thing in vindication of their own Authority, considering what necessary use they might have of them, in the present War against *Don John*, and

from

from how great a person they received incouragement. But in the midst of this career, they received a stop; for the Confederates being vanquished by *Don John* at the battail of *Gemblack*, *Brussels* and all the Towns of *Brabant* submitted themselves one after another to the power of the conquerour. *Philipivil*, a strong Town of *Hainalt*; *Limburg* and *Dalem*, with some others, not so easily yeilding, were either forced by long siege, or some violent storming, or otherwise surrended upon capitulations. During which Sieges and Surrendries, the Prince of *Orange*, who had escaped with safety from the battail of *Gemblack*, was busied in establishing his Dominion on the Coast of *Holland*: In which designe he found no opposition but at *Amsterdam*, constant at that time, even to miracle, both to their old Religion and their old Obedience. But being besieged on all sides both by Sea and Land, they yeilded on condition of enjoying the free exercise of their former Faith, and of the like Freedom from all Garrisons, but of Native Citizens: But when they had yeilded up the Town, they were not onely forced to admit a Garrison, but to behold their Churches spoil'd, their Priests ejected, and such new Teachers thrust upon them as they most abominated. But liberty of Religion being first admitted, a confused liberty of opinions followed shortly after; till in the end that Town became the common Sink of all Sects and Sectaries which hitherto have disturbed the Church, and proved the greatest scandal and dishonor of the Reformation.

46. *Holland* had lately been too fruitful of this viperous brood, but never more unfortunate, then in producing *David George* of *Delfe*, and *Henry Nicholas* of *Leiden*, the two great Monsters of that age: but the impieties of the first were too gross and horrid to finde any followers; the latter was so smoothed over as to gain on many, whom the Impostor had seduced. The *Anabaptists* out of *Westphalia* had found shelter here in the beginning of the Tumults; and possibly might contribute both their hearts and hands to the committing of those spoils and outrages before remembred. In imitation of whose counterfeit piety, and pretended singleness of heart, there started up another Sect as dangerous and destructive to humane Society as the former were; for by insinuating themselves into the heart of the ignorant multitude, under a shew of singular Sanctity and Integrity, did afterwards infect their mindes with damnable Heresies, openly repugnant to the Christian Faith. In ordinary Speech they used new and monstrous kindes of expressions, to which the ears of men brought up in the Christian Church had not been accustomed, and all men rather wondered at then understood. To difference themselves from the rest of mankinde, they called their Sect by the name of the *Family of Love*, and laboured to perswade their hearers, that those onely were elected unto life Eternal, which were by them adopted Children of that Holy Family; and that all others were but Reprobates and

Damned persons. One of their Paradoxes was (and a safe one too) that it was lawful for them to deny upon oath whatsoever they pleased, before any Magistrate, or any other whomsoever, that was not of the same *Family* or Society with them. Some Books they had, in which their dotages were contained and propagated; first writ in *Dutch*, and afterwards translated into other Languages as tended most to their advantage; that is to say, *The Gospel of the Kingdom*; *The Lords Sentences*; *The Propheſie of the Spirit of the Lord*; *The publication of peace upon earth*: by the Author *H. N.* But who this *H.N.* was, those of the *Family* could by no fair means be induced or inforced by threatnings to reveal. But after, it was found to be this *Henry Nicholas* of *Leiden*, whom before we spake of: Who being emulous of the Glories of King *John* of *Leiden*, that most infamous Botcher, had most blasphemously preached unto all his followers, that *he was partaker of the Divinity of God, as God was of his humane nature.* How afterwards they past over into *England*, and what reception they found there, may be told hereafter.

50. By giving freedom of Conscience to all Sects and Sectaries, and amongst others, to these also, the Prince of *Orange* had provided himself of so strong a party in this Province, that he was able to maintain a defensive War against all his opposites, especially after he had gained the Ports of *Brill* and *Vlushing*, which opened a fair entrance unto all adventurers out of *England* and *Scotland*. For on the Rumour of this War, the *Scots* in hope of prey and plunder, the *English* in pursuit of Honour and the use of Arms, resorted to the aid of their *Belgick* Neighbours, whose absolute subjugation to the King of *Spain* was looked on as a thing of dangerous consequence unto either Nation. And at the first they went no otherwise then as Voluntiers of their own accord, rather connived at then permitted by their several Princes: But when the Government was taken into the hands of the States, and that the War was ready to break out betwixt them and *Don John*; the Queen of *England* did not onely furnish them with large sums of money, but entred into a League or Confederation; by which it was agreed, That the Queen should send unto their aid one thousand Horse and five thousand Foot; that they should conclude nothing respecting either Peace or War, without her consent and approbation; that they should not enter into League with any person or persons, but with her allowance, and she, if she thought good, to be comprehended in the same; that the States should send the like aid unto the Queen, if any Prince attempted any act of Hostility against her or her Kingdoms; and that they should furnish her with forty Ships of sufficient burthen, to serve at her pay under the Lord Admiral of *England*, whensoever she had any necessary occasion to set forth a Navy; and finally (not to insist upon the rest) that if any difference

rence ſhould ariſe amongſt themſelves, it was to be referred and offered unto her Arbitrament. And to this League ſhe was the rather induced to grant her Royal aſſent, becauſe ſhe had been certainly advertiſed by the Prince of *Orange*, that *Don John* was then negotiating a marriage with the Queen of *Scots*, that under colour of her Title he might advance himſelf to the Crown of *England*. And yet ſhe ventured neither men nor money, but on very good terms; receiving in the way of pawn the greateſt part of the rich Jewels and maſſie Ornaments of Plate which anciently belonged unto the Princes of the Houſe of *Burgundy*.

51. This League exceedingly increaſed the reputation of the new *Confederacy*, and made the *States* appear conſiderable in the eye of the world. And more it might have been, if either *Don John*'s improſperous Government had continued longer, or if the Prince of *Orange* had not entertained ſome deſigns apart for himſelf. But *Don John* dyes in the year 1578, and leaves his Forces in the power of *Alexander Farneze* Prince of *Parma*, Son to that Dutcheſs whom we have ſo often mentioned in this part of our Hiſtory. A Prince he was of no leſs parts and Military Proweſs, then any of his Predeceſſors; but of a better and more equal temper then the beſt amongſt them; whereof he gave ſufficient teſtimony in his following Government, in which he was confirmed (after the Kings occaſioned lingrings) with great ſtate and honour: For having regained from the States ſome of the beſt Towns of which they had poſſeſſed themſelves before the arrival of *Don John*, he forced them to a neceſſity of ſome better counſels then thoſe by which they ſteered their courſe, ſince they came to the Helm. And of all counſels none ſeemed better to the Prince of *Orange*, then that the Country ſhould be ſo cantoned amongſt ſeveral Princes, that every one being ingaged to defend his own, the whole might be preſerved from the power of the *Spaniards*. To this end it had been adviſed that *Flanders* and *Artois* ſhould return to the Crown of *France*, of which they were holden, and to the Kings whereof the Earls of both did homage in the times foregoing. The Queen of *England* was to have been gratified with the Iſles of *Zealand*; the Dukedom of *Gueldres* to divert to the next Heirs of it; *Groning* and *Deventer* to be incorporated with the *Hans*; *Holland* and *Frieſland*, together with the diſtricht of *Utrecht*, to be appropriated wholly to the Prince of *Orange*, as the reward of his deſervings: the *Brabanters* to a new Election, according to their native rights: the reſt of the Provinces to remain to the *German* Empire, of which they had anciently *Eleired*.

52. This diſtribution I confeſs had ſome cunning in it, and muſt have quickly brought the *Spaniſh* pride to a very low ebb, if he that laid the plot could have given the poſſeſſion. It is reported that when the Pope offered the Realms of *Naples* and *Sicily*

Sicily to King *Henry* the Third, for *Edmond* Earl of *Lancaſter* his youngeſt Son, he offered them on ſuch hard conditions, (and ſo impoſſible in a manner to be performed) that the Kings Embaſſadors merrily told him, he might as well create a Kingdom in the Moon, and bid his Maſter climb up to it, for it ſhould be his. And ſuch a Lunary conceit was that of the diviſion and ſubdiviſion of the *Belgick* Provinces, in what *Calvinian* head ſoever it was forged and hammered. For being that each of the *Donees* was to conquer his part before he could receive any benefit from it, the device was not like to procure much profit, but onely to the Prince of *Orange*, who was already in poſſeſſion, and could not better fortifie and aſſure himſelf in his new Dominion, then by cutting out ſo much work for the King of *Spain*, as probably might keep him exerciſed to the end of the world. But this device not being likely to ſucceed, it ſeemed better to the Prince of *Orange* to unite the Provinces under his command into a Solemn League and Aſſociation, to be from thenceforth called the *Perpetual Union*. Which League, Aſſociation, or perpetual Union, bears date at *Utrecht* on the 23 of *January* 1578, and was then made between the Provinces of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Guelders*, *Zutphen*, *Utrecht*, *Frieſland* and *Overyſſel*, with their Aſſociates,
1579. called ever ſince that time the *United Provinces*. In the firſt making of which League or perpetual Union, it was provided in the firſt place, that they ſhould inſeparably joyn together for defence of themſelves, their Liberty and Religion, againſt the power of the *Spaniard*. But it was cautioned in the ſecond, that this Aſſociation ſhould be made without any diminution or alteration of the particular Priviledges, Rights, Freedoms, Exemptions, Statutes, Cuſtoms, Uſes, Preheminencies, which any of the ſaid Towns, Provinces, Members, or Inhabitants at that time enjoyed. Liberty of Religion to be left to thoſe of *Holland* and *Zealand*, in which they might govern themſelves as to them ſeemed good: and ſuch a Freedom left to thoſe of other Provinces, as was agreed on at the Pacification made at *Gaunt*; by which it was not lawful to moleſt thoſe of the Church of *Rome* in any manner whatſoever.

53. But more particularly it was provided and agreed on, that ſuch Controverſies as ſhould grow between the ſaid Provinces, Towns, or Members of this Union, touching their Priviledges, Cuſtoms, Freedoms, *&c.* ſhould be decided by the ordinary courſe of Juſtice, or by ſome amicable and friendly compoſition amongſt themſelves; and that no other Countries, Provinces, Members or Towns, whom thoſe Countries did no way concern, ſhall in any part meddle by way of friendly intermiſſion tending to an accord. Which caution I the rather note in this place and time, becauſe we may perhaps look back upon it in the caſe of *Barnevelt*, when they had freed themſelves from the power of the *Spaniards*, and were at leiſure to

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infringe the publick Liberties, in the purſuit of their particular Animoſities againſt one another. But to proceed: this Union, as it was more advantagious unto Queen *Elizabeth*, then the general League; ſo was it afterwards more cordially affected by her, when their neceſſities inforced them to caſt themſelves and their Eſtates upon her protection. But theſe proceedings ſo exaſperated the King of *Spain*, that he proſcribed the Prince of *Orange* by his publick Edict, bearing date *June* 18. 1581. And 1581.
on the other ſide, the Prince prevailed ſo far upon thoſe of the Union, as to declare by publick Inſtrument, that the King of *Spain*, by reaſon of his many violations of their Rights and Liberties, had forfeited his Eſtate and Intereſt in the ſeveral Provinces, and therefore that they did renounce all manner of fidelity and obedience to him. Which Inſtrument bears date on the twenty ſixth of *July* then next following. Upon the publiſhing whereof, they brake in pieces all the Seals, Signets, and Counter-ſignets of the King of *Spain*; appointed others to be made by the States General; for diſpatch of ſuch buſineſs as concerned the *Union* or Confederation; requiring all ſubjects to renounce their Oaths to the ſaid King of *Spain*, and to take a new Oath of Fidelity to the general Eſtates, againſt the ſaid King and his adherents: the like done alſo by all Governours, Superintendents, Chancellors, Councellors, and other Officers, *&c.* They had before drawn the Sword againſt him, and now they throw away the Scabberd. For to what end could this action aim at, but to make the breach irreparable between them and the King, to ſwell the injury ſo high, as not to be within the compaſs of future pardon? And when men once are brought unto ſuch a condition, they muſt reſolve to fight it out to the very laſt, and either carry away the Garland as a ſigne of Victory, or otherwiſe live like Slaves, or dye like Traytors. But this was done according to *Calvins* Doctrine in the Book of *Inſtitutes*, in which he gives to the Eſtates of each ſeveral Country ſuch a Coercive Power over Kings and Princes, as the *Ephori* had exerciſed over the Kings of *Sparta*, and the *Roman Tribunes* ſometimes put in practice againſt the *Conſuls*. And more then ſo, he doth condemn them of a betraying of the Peoples Liberty, whereof they are made *Guardians* by Gods own appointment (ſo he ſaith at leaſt) if they reſtrain not Kings when they play the Tyrants, and wantonly inſult upon, or oppreſs the Subjects. So great a Maſter could not but meet with ſome apt Scholars in the Schools of Politie, who would reduce his Rules to practice, and juſtifie their practice by ſuch great Authority.

54. But notwithſtanding the unſeaſonable publication of ſuch an unprecedented ſentence, few of the Provinces fell off from the Kings obedience; and ſuch ſtrong Towns as ſtill remained in the hands of the States, were either forced unto their duty, or otherwiſe hard put to it by the Prince of *Parma*. To keep whom

whom buſied in ſuch ſort, that he ſhould not be in a capacity of troubling his Affairs in *Holland*, the Prince of *Orange* puts the *Brabanders* (whoſe priviledges would beſt bear it) to a new Election: And who more fit to be the man then *Francis* Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to *Henry* the Third of *France*, and then in no ſmall poſſibility of attaining to the Marriage of the Queen of *England*? Aſſiſted by the Naval power of the one, and the Land-Forces of the other, What Prince was able to oppoſe him? and what power to withſtand him? The young Duke paſſing over into *England*, found there an entertainment ſo agreeable to all expectations, that the Queen was ſeen to put a Ring upon one of his Fingers; which being looked on as the pledge of a future Marriage, the news thereof poſted preſently to the *Low Countries* by the Lord *Aldegund* who was then preſent at the Court, where it was welcomed both in *Antwerp* and other places with all ſignes of joy, and celebrated by diſcharging of all the Ordnance both on the Walls, and in ſuch Ships as then lay on the River. After which triumph comes the Duke, accompanied by ſome great Lords of the Court of *England*, and is inveſted ſolemnly by the Eſtates of thoſe Countries, in the Dukedoms of *Brabant* and *Limburg*, the Marquiſate of the holy Empire, and the Lordſhip of *Machlin*: which action ſeems to have been carryed by the power of the Conſiſtorian *Calviniſts*; for beſides that it agreeth ſo well with their common Principles, they were grown very ſtrong in *Antwerp*, where *Philip* Lord of *Aldegund*, a profeſt *Calvinian*, was Deputy for the Prince of *Orange*, as they were alſo in moſt Towns of conſequence in the Dukedom of *Brabant*. But on the other ſide, the Romiſh party was reduced to ſuch a low eſtate, that they could not freely exerciſe their own Religion, but onely as it was indulged unto them by Duke *Francis*, their new-made Soveraign, upon condition of taking the Oath of Allegiance to him, and abdicating the Authority of the King of *Spain*; the grant of which permiſſion had been vain and of no ſignificancie, if at that time they could have freely exerciſed the ſame without it. But whoſoever they were that concurred moſt powerfully in conferring this new honour on him, he quickly found that they had given him nothing but an airy Title, keeping all power unto themſelves: So that upon the matter he was nothing but an honourable Servant, and bound to execute the commands of his mighty Maſters. In time perhaps he might have wrought himſelf to a greater power; but being young, and ill adviſed, he raſhly enterpriſed the taking of the City of *Antwerp*; of which being fruſtrated by the miſcarriage of his plot, he returned inglorioufly into *France*, and ſoon after dyes.

55. And now the Prince of *Orange* is come to play his laſt part on the publick Theatre: his winding Wit had hitherto preſerved his Provinces in ſome terms of peace, by keeping *Don John* exerciſed by the General States, and the Prince of

Parma

Parma no leſs buſied by the Duke of *Anjou*; nor was there any hope of recovering *Holland* and *Zealand* to the Kings obedience, but either by open force, or ſome ſecret practice; the firſt whereof appeared not poſſible, and the laſt ignoble. But the neceſſity of removing him by what means ſoever, prevailed at laſt above all ſence and terms of Honour. And thereupon a deſperate young Fellow is ingaged to murther him; which he attempted by diſcharging a Piſtol in his face, when he was at *Antwerp* attending on the Duke of *Anjou*; ſo that he hardly eſcaped with life. But being recovered of that blow, he was not long after ſhot with three poyſon Bullets by one *Balthaſar Gerard* a *Burgundian* born, whom he had lately taken into his ſervice: which murder was committed at *Delph* in *Holland*, on the 10 of *June* 1584, when he had lived but fifty years, and ſome months over. He left behind him three Sons, by as many Wives. On *Anne* the Daughter of *Maximilian* of *Egmont* Earl of *Bucen*, he begat *Philip* Earl of *Bucen* his eldeſt Son, who ſucceeded the Prince of *Orange* after his deceaſe. By *Anne* the Daughter of *Maurice* Duke Elector of *Saxony*, he was Father of *Grave Maurice*, who at the age of eighteen years was made Commander General of the Forces of the States United, and after the death of *Philip* his Elder Brother, ſucceeded him in all his Titles and Eſtates. And finally, by his fourth Wife *Loviſe* Daughter of *Gaſper Colligny* great Admiral of *France* (for of his third, being a Daughter to the Duke of *Montpenſier*, he had never a Son) he was the Father of Prince *Henry Frederick*, who in the year 1625 became Succeſſor unto his Brother in all his Lands, Titles, and Commands. Which *Henry* by a Daughter of the Count of *Solmes*, was Father of *William* Prince of *Orange*, who married the Princeſs *Mary*, Eldeſt Daughter of King *Charles* the ſecond Monarch of great *Britain*: And departing this life in the flower of his youth and expectations, *Anno* 1650, he left his Wife with Childe of a *Poſt-humous* Son, who after was baptized by the name of *William*, and is now the onely ſurviving hope of that famous and illuſtrious Family.

56. But to return again to the former *William*, whom we left weltring in his bloud at *Delph* in *Holland*: He was a man of great poſſeſſions and Eſtates, but of a ſoul too large for ſo great a Fortune: For beſides the Principality of *Orange* in *France*, and the County of *Naſſaw* in *Germany*, he was poſſeſſed in right of his firſt Wife of the Earldom of *Bucen* in *Gelderland*, as alſo of the Town and Territories of *Lerdame* and *Iſelſtine* in *Holland*; and in his own Patrimonial Right, was Lord of the ſtrong Towns and goodly *Signories* of *Breda*, *Grave* and *Dieſt*, in the Dukedom of *Brabant*. In the right of which laſt Lordſhip, he was *Burgrave* of *Antwerp*. He was alſo Marqueſs of *Vere* and *Vluſhing*, with ſome juriſdiction over both, in the Iſle of *Walcheren*; by *Charles* the Fifth made Knight of the Golden Fleece, and by King *Philip* Governour of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and 1584.

the County of *Burgundy*. All which he might have peaceably enjoyed with content and honour, as did the Duke of *Areſchot*, and many others of the like Nobility, if he had aimed onely at a perſonal or private greatneſs. But it is poſſible that his thoughts carryed him to a higher pitch, and that perceiving what a general hatred was born by the Low Country-men againſt the *Spaniard*, he thought it no impoſſible thing to diſpoſſeſs them at the laſt of all thoſe Provinces, and to get ſome of them for himſelf. And he had put fair for it, had not death prevented him, by which his life and projects were cut off together. For compaſſing which projects, he made uſe of that Religion which beſt ſerved his turn: being bred a *Lutheran* by his Father, he profeſt himſelf a *Romaniſt* under *Charles* the Fifth; and after finding the *Calvinians* the more likely men to advance his purpoſes, he declared himſelf chiefly in their favour, though he permitted other Sects and Sectaries to grow up with them; in which reſpect he openly oppoſed all Treaties, Overtures, and Propoſitions, looking towards a peace, which might not come accompanied with ſuch a liberty of Conſcience, both in Doctrine and Worſhip, as he knew well could never be admitted by the Miniſters of the Catholick King. But the *Calvinians* of all others were moſt dear unto him. By his encouragement, the *Belgick* Confeſſion was drawn up and agreed upon 1567. By his countenance, being then *Burgrave* and Governour of *Antwerp* (as before is ſaid) they ſet up their Conſiſtory in that City, as afterwards in many others of the Dukedome of *Brabant*; and by his favour they attained unto ſuch Authority, and took ſuch deep root in *Holland*, *Zealand*, and the reſt of the Provinces under his command, that they prevailed in fine over all Religious Sects and Sectaries which are therein tolerated.

57. And that they might the better be enabled to retain that power which under him they had acquired, they were reſolved not to return again to their firſt obedience, which they conceived ſo inconſiſtent with it, and deſtructive of it: To this end they commit the Government to ſome few amongſt them, under the name of the Eſtates, who were to govern all affairs which concerned the publick in the nature of a Common-wealth, like to that of the *Switzers*; ſo much the more agreeable to them, becauſe it came more neer to that form or Polity which they had erected in the Church. And in this poſture they will ſtand as long as they can; which if they found themſelves unable to continue with any comfort, and that they needs muſt have a Prince, they will ſubmit themſelves to the *French* and *Engliſh*, or perhaps the *Dane*; to any rather then their own. And to this point it came at laſt; for the Prince of *Parma* ſo prevailed, that by the taking of *Gaunt* and *Bruges*, he had reduced all *Flanders* to the Kings obedience, brought *Antwerp* unto terms of yeilding, and carried on the War to the Walls of *Utrecht*. In which extremity they offered themſelves to the French King; but

but his affairs were ſo perplexed by the *Hugonots* on the one ſide, and the *Guiſian* Faction on the other, that he was not in a fit capacity to accept the offer. In the next place they have recourſe to the Queen of *England*; not as before, to take them into her protection, but to accept them for her Subjects; and that the acceptance might appear with ſome ſhew of juſtice, they inſiſt on her deſcent from *Philip* Wife to King *Edward* the Third, Siſter, and ſome ſay Heir of *William* the Third, Earl of *Holland*, *Haynalt*, *&c.* Which *Philip*, if ſhe were the Eldeſt Daughter of the ſaid Earl *William* (as by their Agents was pretended) then was the Queens Title better then that of the King of *Spain*, which was derived from *Margaret* the other Siſter: Or granting that *Philip* was the younger; yet on the failer, or other legal interruption of the Line of *Margaret*, (which ſeemed to be the caſe before them) the Queen of *England* might put in for the next Succeſſion: and though the Queen upon very good reaſons and conſiderations refuſed the Soveraignty of thoſe Countries, which could not without very great injury to publick juſtice be accepted by her; yet ſo far ſhe gave way to her own fears, the ambition of ſome great perſons who were near unto her, and the pretended Zeal of the reſt, that ſhe admitted them at the laſt into her protection.

58. The Earl of *Leiceſter* was at that time of greateſt power in the Court of *England*, who being a great favourer of the *Puritan* Faction, and eagerly affecting to ſee himſelf in the head of an Army, ſollicited the affair with all care and cunning; and it ſucceeded anſwerably to his hopes and wiſhes. The Queen conſents to take them into her protection, to raiſe an Army of five thouſand Foot and one thouſand Horſe, to put it under the Command of a ſufficient and experienced General, and to maintain it in her pay till the War were ended. And it was condeſcended to on the other ſide, that the Towns of *Brill* and *Vluſhing*, with the Fort of *Ramekins*, ſhould be put into the hands of the *Engliſh*; that the Governour whom the Queen ſhould appoint over the Garriſons, together with two other perſons of her nomination, ſhould have place and ſuffrage in the Council of the States United; that all their own Forces ſhould be ranged under the Command of the Engliſh General; and that the States ſhould make no peace without her conſent. By which tranſaction, they did not onely totally withdraw themſelves from the King of *Spain*, but ſuffered the *Engliſh* to poſſeſs the Gates of the *Netherlands*, whereby they might imbar all Trade, ſhut out all Supplies, and hold them unto ſuch conditions as they pleaſed to give them. But any Yoke appeared more tolerable then that of the *Spaniard*; and any Prince more welcome to them, then he to whom both God and Nature had made them ſubject. According unto which agreement, *Vluſhing* is put into the hands of Sir *Philip Sidney*, the *Engliſh* Army under the Command of the Earl of *Leiceſter*; and (which

is more then was agreed on) an absolute Authority over all Provinces is committed to him, together with the glorious Titles of Governour and Captain-General of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and the rest of the States United: which how it did displease the Queen; what course was took to mitigate and appease her anger; what happened in the war, betwixt him and the Prince of *Parma*; and what cross Capers betwixt him and the States themselves, is not my purpose to relate. It is sufficient that we have presented to the eye of the Reader, upon what principles the *Netherlands* were first embroyled, whose hands they were by which the Altars were prophaned, the Images defaced, Religious Houses rifled, and the Churches ruinated: And finally, by what party, and by whose strange practices, the King of *Spain* was totally devested of all those Provinces, which since have cast themselves into the form of a Commonwealth.

59. Which being thus shortly laid together in respect of their *Politicks*, we must look back and take another view of them in their *Ecclesiasticks*. In which we shall finde them run as cross to all Antiquity, as they had done to Order and good Government in their former Actings. And the first thing we meet with of a Church-concernment, was the publishing of their Confession of their Faith and Doctrine, *Anno* 1565, or thereabouts (as many national and provincial Churches had done before) but differing in many great points from that of *Ausberg*; and therefore the less acceptable unto the *Lutheran* party, and the more distasteful to the *Romish*. In which Confession, to be sure, they must hold forth a parity of Ministers in the Church of Christ; they had not else come up to the Example and designe of the Mother-City, which was to lay all flat and level in the publick Government: For in the XXXI Article *a* it is said expresly, that for as much as concerns the Ministers of Gods holy Word, in what place soever they shall execute that Sacred Calling, they are all of them to enjoy the same Power and Authority, as being all of them the Ministers of Jesus Christ, the onely Universal Bishop, and the onely Head of his Body which is the Church. And for the Government of the Church, it was declared to be most agreeable to that Sacred and Spiritual Polity by God prescribed in his Word, that a Consistory, or Ecclesiastical Senate should be Ordained in every Church, consisting of *Pastors*, *Elders* and *Deacons*, *b* to whose charge and care it should belong, that true Religion be preserved, sound Doctrine preached, and that all vitious and lewd livers should be restrained and punished by the Churches Censures. For turning which *Aerian* Doctrines into use and practice, they did not only animate all Orders and Degrees of men not to admit their new Bishops where they were not setled, or to expel them where they were; but alienated and dismembred all such Lands and Rents by which they were to be maintained. This they conceived the readiest way

a Quantum vero attinet divini verbi Ministros, ubicunque locorum sint, Eandem illi potestatem & Authoritatem habent, &c. Confess. Belg. Art. 31.

b Seniores quoq; sint & Diaconi, qui cum pastoribus Senatum quasi Ecclesiæ constituant. ut hac ratione vera Religio conservari possit, &c. Ibid. Art. 30.

to

to make ſure work with them; for when the maintainance was gone, the Calling was not like to hold up long after. And this being done, as they had firſt ſet up their Conſiſtories in *Antwerp*, and ſuch other Cities in which they were conſiderable for power and number; ſo by degrees they ſet up their *Presbyteries* in the leſſer Towns, which they united into *Claſſes*, and ranged thoſe *Claſſes* into National and Provincial Synods: In which they made ſuch Laws and Canons (if ſome of their *irregular* Conſtitutions may deſerve that name) as utterly ſubverted the whole Frame of the ancient Diſcipline, and drew unto themſelves the managery of all Affairs which concerned Religion.

60. But that they might not be ſuppoſed therein to derogate from the Authority of the Civil Magiſtrate, they are content to give him a coercive power in ſome matters which were meerly Civil; and therefore in plain terms condemn the *Anabaptiſts* for ſeditious perſons, Enemies to all good Order and publick Government. But then they clog him with ſome Duties, in which he was to be ſubſervient to their own deſigns; that is to ſay *a*, the countenancing of the Sacred Miniſtry; removing all Idolatry from the Worſhip of God; the ruinating and deſtroying of the Kingdom of Antichriſt. And what they meant by Antichriſt, Idolatry, and the Sacred Miniſtry, is eaſie to be underſtood, without the help of a Commentary. Which Duties if the Magiſtrate ſhall diſcharge with care and diligence, he would eaſe them of much labour, which otherwiſe they meant to take upon themſelves; if not, they muſt no longer ſtay his leiſure, nor expect his pleaſure, but put their own hands unto the work: and ſo it was delivered for good Doctrine by *Snecanus*, a Divine of *Weſt-Frieſland*, for which ſee *lib.* 8. *num.* 23. Which though it be the general Doctrine of all the party, yet never was it preached more plainly then by *Cleſelius* a *Calvinian* of *Rotterdam*, who openly maintained, that if the Magiſtrates took no care to reform the Church, *c* that then it did belong to the common people: And they, as he informs us, were obliged to do it even by force and violence, not onely to the ſhedding of their own, but their Brethrens blood *d*. So principled, it could be no marvail if they turned out the Biſhops to make room for their own *Presbyteries*, defaced all Churches that retained any thing in them of the old Idolatries; and finally, pulled down even the Civil Magiſtrate, when his advancing did not ſtand with their ends and purpoſes. *Flacius Ilyricus*, the founder of the Stiff or Rigid *Lutherans*, had led the way unto them in the laſt particular: By whom it was held forth for a Rule in all Church-Reformations, *e* that Princes ſhould be rather terrified with the fear of Tumults, then any thing which ſeemed to favour of Idolatry or Superſtition ſhould either be tolerated or connived at for quietneſs-ſake. Concurring with him as they did, in his Doctrines of Predeſtination, Grace,

a Ut Sacrum Miniſterium tueantur, omnem Idolatriam à Dei cultu ſubmoveant, Regnum Antichriſti diruant, &c. Ibid. Art 46.

c Neceſſe eſt tum id facere plebeios Iſraelitas.

d Licet ad Sanguinem uſque pro eo pugnent.

e Principes potius metu ſeditionum terrendos, quam vel minimum pacis cauſa indulgendam. Neceſſ. Reſpon. p. 83.

Grace, Freewil, and things indifferent, they were the better fitted to purſue his Principles in oppoſition unto all Authority, by which their Councils were controuled, or their Power reſtrained. And by this means, the publiſhing of their Confeſſion with theſe Heads and Articles, they did not onely juſtifie their exorbitancies in the time then paſt; but made proviſion for themſelves in the times to come.

61. In ſuch other points of their Confeſſion as were meerly doctrinal, and differing from the general current of the Church of *Rome*, they ſhew themſelves for the moſt part to be *Anti-Lutheran*; that is to ſay, *Zuinglians* in the point of the Holy Supper, and *Calviniſts* in the Doctrine of Predeſtination. In which laſt point, they have expreſt the Article in ſuch modeſt terms, as may make it capable of an Orthodox and ſober meaning: For preſuppoſing all mankinde by the Fall of *Adam* to be involved by Gods juſt judgement in the Gulph of Perdition, they make them onely to be *a* predeſtinate to eternal life, whom God by his eternal and immutable counſel hath elected in Chriſt, and ſeparated from the reſt by the ſaid Election. But when the differences were broken out betwixt them and ſuch of their Brethren which commonly paſt amongſt them by the name of *Remonſtrants*, and that it was pretended by the ſaid *Remonſtrants* that the Article ſtood as fair to them as the oppoſite party; the words were then reſtrained to a narrower ſence then the generality of the expreſſion could literally and Grammatically comport withal. It was then pleaded, that they onely were to expound the Article, who had contributed their aſſiſtance to the making of it; and that it did appear by the ſucceſſion of their Doctrine from the firſt Reformation, that no other method of Predeſtination had been taught amongſt them, then as it was maintained by *Calvin* and his Followers in their publick Writings; under which name, as thoſe of *Beza*'s judgement which embraced the *Supralapſarian* way deſired to be comprehended; ſo did they ſeverally pretend, that the words of the Confeſſion did either countenance their Doctrines, or not contradict them. But on the other ſide, it was made as plainly to appear, that ſuch of their firſt Reformers as were of the old *Lutheran* ſtamp, and had precedencie of time before thoſe that followed *Calvins* judgement, imbraced the *Melanchonian* way of Predeſtination, and looked upon all ſuch as Innovators in the publick Doctrines, who taught otherwiſe of it. By them it was declared, that in the year 1530, the Reformed Religion was admitted into the Neighbouring Country of *Eaſt-Frieſland* under *Enno* the Firſt, upon the Preaching of *Harding Bergius* a *Lutheran* Divine of great Fame and Learning, and one of the principal Reformers of the Church of *Embden*, a Town of moſt note in all that Earldom; that from him *Clemens Martini* took thoſe Principles, which he afterwards propagated in the *Belgick* Provinces; that the ſame Doctrine had been publickly maintained

a Quo Deus immutabili ſuo conſilio, in Chriſto Elegit ac ſelegit. Confeſſ. Art. 16.

tained in a Book called *Odegus Laicorum*, or the *Lay-mans Guide*, publiſhed by *Anaſtatius Velluanus*, *Anno* 1554, which was ten years before the French Preachers had obtruded on them this Confeſſion; that the ſaid Book was much commended by *Henricus Antonides*, Divinity-Reader in the Univerſity of *Franeka*; that notwithſtanding this Confeſſion, the Miniſters ſucceſſively in the whole Province of *Utrecht* adhered unto their former Doctrines, not looked on for ſo doing as the leſs reformed; that *Gallicus Snecanus*, a man of great fame for his Parts and Piety in the County of *Weſt-Frieſland*, eſteemed no otherwiſe of thoſe which were of *Calvins* judgement in the points diſputed, then as of Innovators in the Doctrine which had been firſt received amongſt them; that *Johannes Isbrandi*, one of the old Profeſſors of *Rotterdam*, did openly declare himſelf to be an *Anti-Calvinian*; and that the like was done by *Holmannus* Profeſſor of *Leiden*, by *Cornelius Meinardi*, and *Cornelius Wiggeri*, men of principal eſteem in their times and places. Which I have noted in this place, becauſe it muſt be in and about theſe times, namely before the year 1585, in which moſt of theſe men lived and writ who are here remembred. What elſe was done in the purſuance of this controverſie between the parties, will fall more properly under conſideration in the laſt part of this Hiſtory, and there we ſhall hear further of it.

62. Next, look upon them in their *Tacticks*, and we ſhall finde them as profeſſed Enemies to all publick Liturgies and Forms of Prayer, as the reſt of their *Calvinian* Brethren. They thought there was no ſpeedier way to deſtroy the *Maſs*, then by aboliſhing the *Miſſals*; nor any fitter means to exerciſe their own gifts in the acts of Prayer, then by ſuppreſſing all ſuch Forms as ſeemed to put a reſtraint upon the Spirit. Onely they fell upon the humour of tranſlating *Davids Pſalms* into *Dutch* Meter, and cauſed them to be ſung in their Congregations, as the *French Pſalms* of *Marrots* and *Beza*'s Meter were in moſt Churches of that people. By which it ſeems, that they might ſing by the Book, though they prayed by the Spirit; as if their ſinging by the Book in ſet Tunes and Numbers, impoſed not as great a reſtraint upon the Spirit in the acts of Praiſing, as reading out of Book in the acts of Praying. But they knew well the influence which Muſick hath on the ſouls of Men: And therefore though they had ſuppreſſed the old manner of ſinging, and all the ancient Hymns which had been formerly received in the Catholick Church; yet ſinging they would have, and Hymns in Meter, as well to pleaſe their Ears, as to cheer their Spirits, and manifeſt their alacrity in the Service of God. And though they would not ſing with Organs, for fear there might be ſomewhat in it of the old ſuperſtition; yet they retained them ſtill in many of their Churches; but whether for civil entertainment when they met together, or to compoſe and ſettle their affections for Religious Offices, or to take up the time till the Church were filled;

I am not able to determine. The like they also did with all the ancient weekly and set-times of Fasting, which (following the Example of *Aetius*) they devoured at once, as contrary to that Christian Liberty, or licentiousness rather; to which they inured the people, when they first trained them up in opposition to the See of *Rome*. No Fast observed, but when some publick great occasion doth require it of them; and then but half-Fast neither, as in other places, making amends at night for the days forbearance. And if at any time they feed most on fish, as sometimes they do, it rather is for a variety to please themselves in the use of Gods Creatures, or out of State-craft to encourage or maintain a Trade which is so beneficial to them; and rather as a civil then Religious Fast.

63. But there is no one thing wherein they more defaced the outward state of the Church, then in suppressing all those days of publick Worship which anciently were observed by the name of Festivals, together with their Eves or Vigils. In which they were so fearful of ascribing any honour to the Saints departed, whose names were honoured by those days, that they also took away those Anniversary Commemorations of Gods infinite Mercies in the Nativity, Passion, Resurrection and Ascention of our Savour Christ: which though retained amongst the *Switzers*, would not down with *Calvin*; and being disallowed by him, were reprobated without more ado in all the Churches of his Platform, and in these with others. And though they kept the Lords day, or rather some part of it, for Religious meetings; yet either for fear of laying a restraint on their Christian Liberty, in Attributing any peculiar holiness to it which might entitle them to some superstition, they kept that neither but by halfs; it was sufficient to bestow an hour or two of the morning in Gods publick Service, the rest of the day should be their own, to be imployed as profit should advise, or their pleasures tempt them. And whereas in some places they still retained those afternoon-Meetings to which they had been bound of Duty by the Rules of the Church of *Rome*; it was decreed in one of their first Synods (that namely which was held at *Dort*, 1574) *a* that in such Churches where publick Evening-Prayers had been omitted, they should continue as they were; and where they had been formerly admitted, should be discontinued. And if they had no Evening-Prayers, there is no question to be made but they had their Evening Pastimes, and that the afternoon was spent in such imployment as was most suitable to the condition of each several man. Nor was the morning so devoted to Religious uses, but that in some of their good Towns they kept upon that day the ordinary Fairs and Markets, (*Kirk-Masses*, as they commonly called them) which must needs draw away a great part of the people to attend those businesses, to which their several Trades and Occupations did most especially oblige them. What alterations hapned in the change of times, we shall see hereafter.

64. Nor

a Publicæ vespertinæ preces non sunt introducendæ ubi non sunt introductæ, & ubi sunt tollantur. Collat. Hag. cap. 68.

64. Nor was that portion of the day which they were pleased to set apart for Religious Duties, observed with much more reverence by those in the Church, then it was by others in the Market; the head uncovered very seldom, and the knee so little used to kneeling, as if God had created it for no such purpose. And whereas once *Tertullian* did upbraid the Gentiles for their irreverence in sitting before some of those Gods whom they pretended to adore; so might this people be reproached for using the same posture in all acts of Worship, but that they do it purposely to avoid all outward signes of Adoration: even in the Sacrament of the Supper; in which it cannot be denyed but that our Saviour is more eminently present then in any other Divine Ordinance of what name soever, they are so fearful of relapsing to their old Idolatries (if by that name they may be called) that they chuse rather to receive it in any posture, sitting or standing, yea, or walking, then reverently upon their knees. For so they have ordained it in another Synod, mentioned by *Daniel Angelocratur* in his Epitome *Consiliorum*. By the decrees whereof [a] it was left at liberty to receive that Sacrament standing, sitting, or walking, but by no means kneeling: And kneeling was prohibited, *Ob ἀρτολατρείας periculum*, for fear of falling into a new kinde of *Idolatry*, (which was never thought of in the world till they found it out) that is to say, *Bread-worship*, or the Adoration of Bread it self. The *Conference* at *Hampton-Court* hath told us somewhat, but obscurely, of these *Ambling-Communions*; but I never understood them rightly till I saw this Canon. For Canon they will have it called, though most uncanonical. More of the like stuff might be produced from the Acts of their Synods, but that this little is too much to inform the Reader how different they are, both in their Discipline and Doctrine, in point of speculation, and matter of practice, from that which was most countenanced by the piety of the Primitive times, and recommended to them by the constant and uniform tradition of the ages following.

[a] *Liberum est stando, sedendo vel eundo, cœnam celebrare, non autem geniculando*, &c. Cap. 13. Art. 8

65. As is their work, such is the wages they received; and as the reverence is which they give to Christ in his holy Sacrament, such is the honour which is paid them by the common people. They had abolished the *daily Sacrifice* of Praise and Prayer, which might have been continued, though the *Mass* was abrogated; disclaimed the hearing of Confessions, the visitation of the Sick, and Sacerdotal Absolution, as inconsistent with the purity of their Profession; took away all the annual Festivals, with their Eves and Vigils; and in a word, reduced the whole Service of their Ministry to the Sunday-Morning: Which hardly taking up the tenth part of time expended formerly by the Priests on Religious Offices, they were so conscientious as to rest contented with little more then the tenth part of those yearly profits which by the Priest had been received. They had besides so often preached down Tythes as

a *Jewish* maintainance improper and unfit for Ministers of the holy Gospel, when they were paid unto the Clergy of the Church of *Rome*, that at the last the people took them at their word, believe them to be so indeed; and are spurred on the faster to a change of Religion, in which they saw some glimmering of a present profit. Of these mistakes the Prince of *Orange* was too wise not to make advantage; giving assurance to the Land-holders and Country-Villagers, that if they stood to him in the Wars against the *Spaniard*, they should from thenceforth pay no Tythes unto their Ministers, as before they did. The Tythes in the mean time to be brought into the common Treasury toward the charges of the War, the Ministers to be maintained by contributions at an easie rate. But when the War was come to so fair an issue, that they thought to be exempted from the payment of Tythes, answer was made, that they should pay none to the Ministers, as they had done formerly, whereby their Ministers in effect were become their *Masters*; but that the Tythes were so considerable a Revenue to the Common-wealth, that the State could not possibly subsist without them; that therefore they must be content to pay them to the States Commissioners, as they had done hitherto; and that the State would take due care to maintain a Ministry. By means whereof they do not only pay their Tythes as in former times; but seeing how much the publick allowance of the State doth come short of a competencie (though by that name they please to call it) they are constrained, as it were, out of common charity, if not compelled thereto by order, to contribute over and above with the rest of the people, for the improvement and increase of the Ministers maintainance. But as they Bake, so let them Brew, to make good the Proverb. And so I leave them for the present, till we have traced the *Presbyterian* practices and positions both in *England* and *Scotland* (but in *Scotland* first) to that point of time to which we have deduced their successes in these *Belgick* Provinces, and then we shall hear further of them as they come in our way.

The end of the third Book.

AERIUS REDIVIVUS:

OR,

The History

Of the

PRESBYTERIANS.

LIB. IV.

Containing

Their beginning, Progreſs and Poſitions; their dangerous Practices, Inſurrections, and Conſpiracies in the Realm of Scotland, *from the year* 1544 *to the year* 1566.

1. CRoſs we next over into *Scotland*, where the *Genevian* Principles were firſt reduced into uſe and practice. In which reſpect the *Presbyterians* of that Realm ſhould have had precedencie in the preſent ſtory, not only before any of their Brethren in the *Belgick* Provinces, but even before the *French* themſelves, though neareſt both in ſcituation and affection to the Mother-City. For though the Emiſſaries of *Geneva* had long been tampering with that active and unquiet people; yet ſuch a ſtrict hand was held upon them both by *Francis* the Firſt, and *Henry* the Second his Succeſſor, that they durſt not ſtir, till by the death of thoſe two Kings they found the way more free and open to purſue thoſe counſels, which by the induſtry of thoſe men had been put into them, before which time the *Scots* had acted over all thoſe Tumults, Riots and Rebellions, in which not long after they were followed by the *French* and *Netherlands*. But howſoever I have purpoſely

posely reserved them to this time and place, because of that influence which they had on the Realm of *England*, and the connexion of affairs between both the Kingdoms, till they were both united under the command of one Soveraign Prince. And this being said, I shall without more preamble proceed to the following History.

1527. 2. It was about the year 1527, that the Reformation of Religion begun by *Luther*, was first preached in *Scotland*, by the Ministry of one *Patrick Hamilton*, a man of eminent Nobility in regard of his birth, as being Brothers Son to *James* Earl of *Arran*; but far more eminent in those times for his parts and piety, then the Nobility of his House: spending some time at *Witteberg* in the pursuit of his Studies, he grew into acquaintance with *Martin Luther*, *Philip Melancthon*, and other men of name and note in that University; and being seasoned with their Doctrine, he returned into *Scotland*, where he openly declared himself against Pilgrimages, Purgatory, Prayer to the Saints, and for the dead, without going further. And further as he did not go, so indeed he could not. For on the noise of these his preachings, he was prevailed with by *James Beton* Archbishop of St. *Andrews* to repair to that City; but was so handled at his coming, that after some examinations he was condemned to the fire: which sentence was inflicted on him on the last of *February*. But the Church is never made more fruitful, then when the soyl thereof is watered with the blood of Martyrs. For presently upon the committing of this Fact, most men of Quality began to look into the Reasons of such great severities, and were the more inquisitive after all particulars, because they had not been affrighted with the like Example in the memory of the oldest man which then lived amongst them. By this means the opinions of this man being known abroad, found many which approved, but very few which had just reason to condemn them; and passing thus from hand to hand, gave further cause to those of the Popish Party to be watchful over them. And for long time they were on the suffering hand, patiently yeilding up their lives to the Executioners, whersoever any sentence of death was past upon them. And it stood till the decease of King *James* the Fifth, *Anno* 1542, when the unsetledness of Affairs, the tender infancie of the young Queen not above nine days old at the death of her Father, and the conferring of the Regencie after some disputes on *James* Earl of *Arran*, who was thought to favour their opinions, imboldned them to appear more openly in defence of themselves, and to attempt upon the Chiefs of the contrary party; whereof they gave a terrible Example in the death of Cardinal *David Beton*, immediately or not long after the cruel burning of *George Wischart* (whose name is mollified by *Buchanan* into *Sofocardius*) a man of great esteem amongst them, who having spent some time in *France*, and being conversant with some *Calvinists* of that Nation, returned

turned into his Native Counrry with such *French* Commissioners as were sent unto the Earl of *Arran*, *Anno* 1544. In little time he had gained unto himself so many followers, that he became formidable to the greatest Prelates; but unto none more then unto Cardinal *David Beton*, Archbishop of St. *Andrews* also, and Nephew unto *James* his Predecessor. By whose Authority and procurement he was condemned to the like death as *Hamilton* before had suffered, in the year next following.

3. Amongst the followers of this man (the most remarkable in reference to my present purpose) were *Norman Lesly* eldest Son to the Earl of *Rothes*, *John Lesly* Uncle unto *Norman*, *James Melvin*, and the *Kirkaldies* Lairds of *Grange*. By whom and others of that party, a plot was laid to surprise the Castle, and take revenge upon the Cardinal for the death of *Wishart*. Having possest themselves of the Gates of the Castle, they forced their way into his Chamber, and were upon the point of striking the fatal blow, when *James Melvin* told them with great shews of gravity, that the business was not to be acted with such heat and passion. And thereupon holding a Ponyard at his brest, put him in minde of shedding the innocent bloud of that famous Martyr Mas *George Wishart*, which now called loud to God for vengeance, in whose name they were come to do justice on him: which said, he made this protestation, That neither hatred to his person, nor love to his Riches, nor the fear of any thing concerning his own particular, had moved him to the undertaking of that execution; but onely because he had been, and still remained an obstinate enemy against Christ Jesus and his holy Gospel. Upon which words, without expecting any answer, or giving the poor man any time of application to the Father of Mercies, he stabbed him twice or thrice into the body with so strong a malice, that he left him dead upon the place. In the relating of which Murder in *Knox* his History, a note was given us in the Margent of the first Edition, printed at *London* in *Octavo*, which points us to the godly act and saying of *James Melvin*; for so the Author calls this most wicked deed. But that Edition being stopt at the Press by the Queens command, the History never came out perfect till the year of our Lord 1644, when the word *godly* was left out of the Marginal Note, for the avoiding of that horrible scandal which had been thereby given to all sober Readers. But to proceed unto my story: it was upon the 29 of *May*, that the Murderers possest themselves of that strong peece, into which many flocked from all parts of the Realm, both to congratulate the act, and assist the Actors: So that at last they cast themselves into a Congregation, and chose *John Rough*, (who after suffered death in *England*) to be one of their Preachers; *John Knox*, that great incendiary of the Realm of *Scotland*, for another of them. And thus they stood upon their guard till the coming of one and twenty Gallies, and some Land-Forces out of *France*, 1546. 1547.

France, by whom the Castle was besieged, and so fiercely battered, that they were forced to yeild on the last of *July*, without obtaining any better conditions then the hope of life.

4. The Castle being yeilded, and the Country quieted, the *French* returned with their booty, of which their Prisoners which they brought along with them made the principal part; not made the tamer by their sufferings in the enemies Gallies; insomuch that when the Image of the Virgin *Mary* was offered to them to be kissed on some solemn occasion, one of them snatched it into his hands, flung it into the Sea, and said unto them that brought it, in a jeering manner, *That her Ladyship was light enough, and might learn to swim.* Which desperate and unadvised action (as it was no other) is said by *Knox* to have produced this good effect, that the *Scots* were never after tempted
1550. to the like Idolatries. *Knox* at this time was Prisoner in the Gallies amongst the rest, and with the rest released upon the Peace made between *France* and *England*, at the delivering up of *Bulloigne*; from whence he past over into *England*, where he was first made Preacher at *Barwick*, next at *New-castle*, afterwards to some Church of *London*; and finally, in some other places of the *South*. So that removing like our late *Itinerants* from one Church to another, as he could meet with entertainment, he kept himself within that Sanctuary till the death of King *Edward*, and then took himself to *Geneva* for his private Studies: From hence he published his desperate Doctrine of Predestination, which he makes not onely to be an impulsive to, but the compulsive cause of mens sins and mens wickednesses: From hence he published his trayterous and seditious Pamphlet, entituled, *The first blast of the Trumpet*, in which he writes most bitterly, amongst other things, against the Regiment of Women, aiming therein particularly at the two *Maries* Queens of *Scotland*, Queen *Mary* of *England*, and *Mary* Queen Dowager of *Hungary*, Governess of the *Low-Countries* for *Charles* the Fifth: and finally, from hence he published another of the like nature, entituled, *An Admonition to Christians*: In which he makes the Emperour *Charles* to be worse then *Nero*, and *Mary* Queen of *England* nothing better then *Jesabel*. According to which good beginning, he calls her in his History (but not published hence) that *Idolatrous* and *Mischievous Mary* of the *Spaniards* bloud, a *cruel persecutrix* of Gods people, as the Acts of her unhappy Reign did sufficiently witness. In which he comes as close to *Calvin* as could be desired.

5. By this means he grew great with *Calvin*, and the most leading men of the *Consistorians*, who looked upon him as a proper Engine to advance their purposes: But long he had not stayed amongst them, when he received an invitation from some Friends of his of the same temper and affections, as it after proved

proved, to take charge of the Church of *Frankfort*; to which ſome learned men and others of the *Engliſh* Nation had retired themſelves in the Reign of Queen *Mary*: which call he firſt communicated unto *Calvin*, by whoſe encouragement and perſwaſion he accepted of it, and by his coming rather multiplyed then appeaſed the quarrels which he found amongſt them: But ſiding with the inconformable party, and knowing ſo much of *Calvins* minde touching the Liturgie and Rites of the Church of *England*, he would by no means be perſwaded to officiate by it; and for that cauſe was forced by Dr. *Cox*, and others of the Learned men who remained there, to forſake the place, as hath been ſhewn at large in another place. Outed at *Frankfort*, he returns again to his Friends at *Geneva*; and being furniſhed with inſtructions for his future carriage in the cauſe of his Miniſtry, he prepares for his journey into *Scotland*, paſſeth to *Dieppe*, form thence to *England*, and at laſt came a welcome man to his Native Country, which he found miſerably divided into ſides and factions. *Mary* their Infant-Queen had been tranſported into *France* at ſix years of age; the Regency taken from *James* Earl of *Arran*, given to *Mary* of *Lorraign* the Queens Mother; not well obeyed by many of the Nobility and great men of the Country, but openly oppoſed and reviled by theſe, who ſeemed to be inclinable to the Reformation. To theſe men *Knox* applyed himſelf with all care and cunning, preaching from place to place, and from houſe to houſe, as opportunity was given him. In which he gathered many Churches, and ſet up many Congregations, as if he had been the Apoſtle-General of the Kirk of *Scotland*; in all points holding a conformity unto *Calvins* Platform, even to the ſinging of *Davids Pſalms* in the *Engliſh* Meter, the onely Muſick he allowed of in Gods publick Service. From Villages and private Houſes, he ventured into ſome of the great Towns and more eminent Cities; and at the laſt appeared in *Edenborough* it ſelf, preaching in all, and miniſtring the Communion in many places, as he ſaw occaſion. This was ſufficient to have raiſed a greater ſtorm againſt him then he could have been able to indure; but he muſt make it worſe by a new provocation. For at the perſwaſion of the Earl of *Glencarne*, and ſome others of his principal followers, he writes a long Letter to the Queen Regent, in which he earneſtly perſwades her to give ear to the Word of God, according as it was then preached by himſelf and others: which Letter being communicated by the Queen to the Archbiſhop of *Glaſco*, and diſperſed in ſeveral Copies by *Knox* himſelf, gave ſuch a hot Alarm to the Biſhops and Clergy, that he was cited to appear in *Blackfryars* Church in *Edenborough*, on the 15 of *May*: and though upon advertiſement that he came accompanied with ſo great a train, that it could not be ſafe for them to proceed againſt him, he was not troubled at that time; yet he perceived that having made the Queen his enemy, he could not 1555.

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hope to remain longer in that Kingdom, but first or last he must needs fall in their hands.

6. But so it happened, that when he was in the midst of these perplexities, he received a Letter from the Schismatical *English* which repaired to *Geneva*, when they had lost all hope of putting down the *English* Liturgie in the Church of *Frankfort*, by which he was invited to return to his former charge: this Letter he communicated to his principal Friends, resolves to entertain the offer, and prepares all things for his journey. And to say truth, it was but time that he should set forwards; for the danger followed him so close, that within few days after his departure, he was condemned for not appearing, and burnt in his *Effigies* at the Cross in *Edenborough*. But first he walks his round, visits all his Churches, takes a more solemn farewel of his especial Friends; and having left sufficient instructions with them for carrying on the Reformation in despite of Authority, in the latter end of *July* he sets sail for *France*. His party was by this time grown strong and numerous, resolved to follow such directions as he left behind him. To which encouraged by the preaching of one *Willock*, whom *Knox* had more especially recommended to them in the time of his absence, they stole away the Images out of most of their Churches; and were so venturous, as to take down the great Image of St. *Gyles* in the chief Church of *Edenborough*, which they drowned first in the *North-lake*, and burnt it afterwards. But this was but a Prologue to the following Comedy. The Festival of St. *Gyles* draws near, in which the Image of that Saint was to be carryed through the chief Streets of *Edenborough* in a solemn Procession, attended by all the Priests, Fryars, and other Religious persons about that City: another Image is borrowed from the *Gray-Fryars* to supply the place; and for the honour of the day, the Queen Regent her self was pleased to make one in the Pageant. But no sooner was she retired to her private repose, when a confused Rabble of the *Knoxian* Brethren brake in upon them, dismounted the Image, brake off his head against the stones, scattered all the Company, pulled the Priests Surplices over their Ears, beat down their Crosses; and, in a word, so discomposed the Order of that mock-Solemnity, that happy was the man who could first save himself in some House or other; neither their Bag-pipes, nor their Banners, their Tabrets, nor their Trumpets, which made a Principal part in that days triumph, though free enough from superstition in themselves, could escape their fury, but ran the same Fortune with the rest. And though no diligence was wanting for finding out the principal actors in that Commotion; yet as the story hath informed us, the Brethren kept themselves together in such Companies, singing of *Psalms*, and openly encouraging one another, that no body durst lay hands upon them.

7. Finding by this experiment that they were strong enough

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to begin the work, it was thought fit to call back *Knox* to their assistance; to which end they dispatched their Letters to him in the *March* next following, to be conveyed by one *James Sym*, whom they had throughly instructed in all particulars touching their affairs. In *May* the Letters are delivered, the contents whereof he first communicateth to his own Congregation, and afterwards to *Calvin*, and the rest of the Brethren of that Consistory, by whom it was unanimously declared unto him, *that he could not refuse that Vocation, unless he would shew himself rebellious unto his God, and unmerciful to his native Country.* He returned answer thereupon, That he would visit them in *Scotland* with all convenient expedition, and comes accordingly to *Dieppe* in *October* following; where contrary to ex- 1557.
pectation he is advertised by Letters from some secret Friends, that all affairs there seemed to be at a stand, so that his coming to them at that time might be thought unnecessary. Highly displeased with such a cooling Card as he did not look for, he sends his Letters thence to the Nobility and principal Gentry; in which he lets them know how much he was confounded for travailing so far in their Affairs, by moving them to the most Godly and most Learned men (by which he means *Calvin* and the *Consistorians*) who at that time did live in *Europe*, whose judgements and grave counsels he conceived expedient, as well for the assurance of their own Consciences as of his own; that it must needs redound both to his shame and theirs, if nothing should succeed in such long consultations; that he left his Flock and Family at *Geneva* to attend their service, to whom he should be able to make but a weak account of his leaving them in that condition, if he were asked at his return concerning the impediment of his purposed Journey; that he fore saw with grief of spirit, what grievous plagues, what misery and bondage would most inevitably befal that miserable Realm, and every Inhabitant thereof, if the power of God with the liberty of his Gospel did not deliver them from the same; that though his words might seem sharp, and to be somewhat undiscreetly spoken, yet wise men ought to understand, that a true Friend can be no flatterer, especially when the question is concerning the Salvation both of body and soul, not onely of a few men, but of States and Nations; that if any perswade them for fear of dangers which might follow to faint in their intended purpose, though otherwise he might seem to be wise and friendly, yet was he to be accounted foolish, and their mortal enemie, in labouring to perswade them to prefer their worldly rest to Gods Praise and Glory, and the friendship of the wicked before the salvation of their Brethren; that they ought to hazard their own lives, be it against Kings or Emperours, for the deliverance of the people from spiritual bondage; for which cause onely they received from their Brethren Tribute, Honour and Homage, at Gods Commandment. Finally, having laid before them many

ſtrong inducements to quicken them unto the work, he ends with this moſt memorable Aphoriſm, (which is indeed the ſum and ſubſtance of the whole *Conſiſtorian* Doctrine in the preſent caſe) that the Reformation of Religion, and of publick enormities, doth appertain to more then the Clergy, or chief Rulers called Kings.

8. On the receiving of theſe Letters, they are reſolved to proceed in their former purpoſe, and would rather commit themſelves and all theirs to the greateſt dangers, then ſuffer that Religion which they called Idolatry any longer to remain amongſt them, or the people to be ſo defrauded as they had been formerly, of that which they eſteemed to be the onely true preaching of Chriſt's Goſpel. And to this end they entred into a common Bond or Covenant, in the name of themſelves, their Vaſſals, Tenants and dependants, dated upon the third of *Decemb.* and ſubſcribed by the Earls of *Arguile*, *Glencarne* and *Morton*, the Lords *Lorne*, *Ereskin* of *Dun*, *&c.* the Tenour of which was as followeth, *viz.*

9. *We perceiving how Satan in his members, the Antichriſts of our time, cruelly do rage, ſeeking to overthrow and deſtroy the Goſpel of Chriſt and his Congregation, ought according to our bounden duty, to ſtrive in our Maſters cauſe, even unto the death, being certain of the victory in him: The which one duty being well conſidered, we do promiſe before the Majeſty of God and his Congregation, that we (by his Grace) ſhall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, ſubſtance, and our very lives, to maintain, ſet forward, and eſtabliſh the moſt bleſſed Word of God and his Congregation. And ſhall labour according to our power to have faithful Miniſters, truely and purely to miniſter Chriſts Goſpel and Sacraments to his people: we ſhall maintain them, nouriſh them, and defend them, the whole Congregation of Chriſt, and every Member thereof, according to our whole powers, and waging of our lives againſt* Sathan, *and all wicked power that doth intend tyranny or trouble againſt the aforeſaid Congregation. Unto the which holy Word and Congregation we do joyn us: and ſo do forſake and renounce the Congregation of Antichriſt, with all the Superſtitious Abomination and Idolatry thereof. And moreover, ſhall declare our ſelves manifeſt enemies thereto by this our faithful promiſe before God, teſtified to this Congregation by our ſubſcription of theſe preſents.*

10. Having ſubſcribed unto this Bond, their next care was to iſſue out theſe directions following, for the promoting of the work which they were in hand with: 1. That in all Pariſhes of that Realm, the Common-prayer-book (that is to ſay, the Common-prayer book of the Church of *England*) ſhould be read upon the Sundays and Holydays in the Pariſh-Church, together with the Leſſons of the Old and New Teſtament by the ſame appointed;

pointed: 2. That preaching and interpretation of Scripture be had and used in private Houses, without any great convention of the people at them, till it should please God to put it into the heart of the Prince to allow thereof in publick Churches. And had they stood to that, they had been unblameable; but finding by the Subscriptions which they had received from all parts of the Kingdom, that they were nothing inferiour to their Adversaries in power and number, they were not able to hold long in so good an humour. Howsoever it was thought expedient, for the avoiding of Scandal, that they should first proceed in the way of supplication to the Queen and Council; in which it was desired, that it might be lawful for them to meet publickly or privately for having the Common prayers in the vulgar tongue; that the Sacrament of Baptism might be administred in the same Tongue also; the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in both kindes, according to Christs Institution; and that a Reformation might be made of the wicked lives of Prelates, Priests, and other Ecclesiastical persons. The Q[illegible] of *Scots* was in the mean time Married to the *Daulphin* of *France*, upon whose head it was desired by the *French* that at the least the Matrimonial Crown should be solemnly placed; and that all the *French* Nation should forthwith be naturalized in the Realm of *Scotland*. For the better effecting whereof, in the following Parliament, the Queen Regent thought it no ill peece of Statecraft so far to gratifie the Petitioners in their desires, as to license them to meet in publick or private for the exercise of their own Religion, so that it were not in the City of *Edenborough*, or the Port of *Leith*, for fear some Tumult or Sedition might ensue upon it. But not content with this Indulgence, they were resolved to move the Parliament for an Abrogation of all former Laws made against Sects and Heresies, by which they might incur the loss of Life, Land or Liberty; and that none of their profession should be condemned for Heresie, unless they were first convinced by the Word of God to have erred from the Faith which the holy Spirit witnesseth to be necessary to mans Salvation. 1558.

11. But hereunto they could not get the Queens consent. And thereupon they caused a Protestation to be drawn, and openly pronounced in the face of the Parliament, in which it was declared, amongst other things, that neither they, nor any other of the Godly who pleased to joyn with them in the true Faith grounded upon the Word of God, should incur any danger of Life or Lands, or other particular pains, for not observing such acts as have passed heretofore in favour of their Adversaries, or for violating such Rites as have been invented by man without the Commandment of God; that if any Tumult or Uproar should happen to arise in the Realm, or that any violence should be used in reforming of such things as were amiss in the state of the Church, the blame should not be laid

on them, who had desired that all things might be rectified by publick Order: And finally, that they pretended to no other end, but onely for the reforming of such abuses as were found in Religion; and therefore that they might no otherwise be thought of, then as faithful and obedient Subjects to Supreme Authority. And now the Scheme begins to open: the Town of *Perth*, by some called St. *Johnstone*, declared in favour of the Lords of the *Congregation*, which name they had took unto themselves; the news whereof was so unpleasing to the Queen, that she commanded the Lord *Ruthuen*, a man of principal Authority in the parts adjoyning, to take some order for suppressing those Innovations in Religion which some busie people of that Town had introduced: To which he answered, That he was able, if she pleased, to force their bodies, and to seize their goods; but that he had no power to compel their Consciences:
1559. which answer did not more displease the Queen, then it encouraged those of the Congregation; who now from all parts flocked to *Perth*, as a Town strong by scituation, well fortified, and standing in a fruitful Country, from whence they might receive all necessaries, if any open force or violence should be used against them.

12. *Knox* in the mean time had retreated to his charge at *Geneva*, not thinking fit to tempt that danger by an unseasonable return, which he had so narrowly escaped at his being there. He onely waited opportunity to go back with safety, and would not stir, though frequently sollicited by his Friends in *Scotland*. In so much, that means was made to *Calvin* by especial Letters, to re-ingage him in the Cause: Which Letters were brought to him in the Month of *November*, *Anno* 1558. And that it may appear what influence *Calvin* had upon all the counsels and designes of the Congregation, he is advertised from time to time of their successes, of the estate of their Affairs, whether good or bad; in so much, that when the Queen Regent had fed them with some flattering hopes, *Calvin* is forthwith made acquainted with their happiness in it. And who but he must be desired to write unto her? that by his *Grave counsel and exhortation*, she might be *animated* to go forward constantly in promoting the Gospel. But though these Letters came to *Calvin* in the Month of *November*, yet we finde not *Knox* in *Scotland* till the *May* next following, when those of his party had possessed themselves of the Town of *Perth:* though he loved *Calvin* well, and the Gospel better, yet all that a man hath he will give for his life; and *Knox* was dearer to himself then either of them. But unto *Perth* he comes at last, on the fifth of *May*. In the chief Church whereof he preached such a thundring Sermon against the *Adoration of Images*, and the advancing of them in places of Gods publick Worship, as suddenly beat down all the Images and Religious Houses within the Precincts of that Town. For presently after the end of

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the Sermon, when almoſt all the reſt of the people were gone home to dinner, ſome few which remained in the Church pulled down a glorious Tabernacle which ſtood on the Altar, broke it in pieces, and defaced the Images which they found therein. Which being diſpatched, they did the like execution on all the reſt in that Church; and were ſo nimble at their work, that they had made a clear riddance of them, before the tenth man in the Town was advertiſed of it. The news hereof cauſeth the *Raſcal Multitude* (ſo my Author calls them) to reſort in great numbers to the Church. But becauſe they found that all was done before they came, they fell with great fury on the Monaſtery of *Carthuſian* Monks, and the Houſes of the Preaching and *Franciſcan* Fryars, beginning with the Images firſt, but after ſpoyling them of all their proviſions, Bedding, and Furniture of Houſhold, which was given for a prey unto the poor. And in the ruinating of theſe Houſes, they continued with much force and eagerneſs, ſo that within the compaſs of two days, they had left nothing ſtanding of thoſe goodly Edifices but the outward Walls.

13. It was reported that the Queen was ſo inraged when ſhe heard the news, that ſhe vowed utterly to deſtroy the Town, Man, Woman and Childe, to conſume the ſame with fire, and after, to ſow Salt upon it, in ſigne of perpetual deſolation. And it is poſſible ſhe might have been as good as her word, if the Earl of *Glencarne*, the Lords *Uchiltrie* and *Boyd*, the young Sheriff of *Air*, and many other men of eminent Quality, attended by two thouſand five hundred Horſe and Foot, had not come very opportunely to the aid of their Brethren. *Perth* being thus preſerved from the threatned danger, but forced to receive a Garriſon of the Queens appointment; *Knox* leaves the Town, and goes in company with the Earl of *Argaile*, and the Lord *James Steward*, toward the City of St. *Andrews*. In the way to which, he preached at a Town called *Craile*, inveighs moſt bitterly againſt ſuch *French* Forces as had been ſent thither under the Command of *Monſieur d' Offelle*; exhorting his Auditors in fine to joyn together as one man, till all ſtrangers were expulſed the Kingdom; and either to prepare themſelves to live like men, or to dye victorious. Which exhortation ſo prevailed upon moſt of the hearers, that immediately they betook themſelves to the pulling down of Altars and Images; and finally, deſtroyed all Monuments of Superſtition and Idolatry which they found in the Town. The like they did the next day at a place called *Anſtruther*. From thence they march unto St. *Andrews*, in the Pariſh-Church whereof *Knox* preached upon our Saviours caſting the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, and with his wonted *Rhetorick* ſo inflamed the people, that they committed the like outrages there as before at *Perth*, deſtroying Images, and pulling down the Houſes of the *Black* and *Gray-fryars* with the like diſpatch. This happened upon the 11 of

June

June. And becauſe it could not be ſuppoſed but that the Queen would make ſome uſe of her *French* Forces to Chaſtiſe the chief Ring-leaders of that Sedition; the Brethren of the Congregation flock ſo faſt unto them, that before *Tueſday* night, no fewer then three thouſand able men from the parts adjoyning were come to *Cooper* to their aid. By the acceſſion of which ſtrength, they firſt ſecured themſelves by a Capitulation from any danger by the *French*, and then proceeded to the removing of the Queens Garriſon out of *Perth*, which they alſo effected. Freed from which yoke, ſome of the Towns-men joyning themſelves with thoſe of *Dundee*, make an aſſault upon the Monaſtery of *Scone*, famous of long time for the Coronation of the Kings of *Scotland*; and for that cauſe more ſumptuouſly adorned, and more richly furniſhed then any other in the Kingdom. And though the Noblemen, and even *Knox* himſelf, endeavoured to appeaſe the people, and to ſtop their fury, that ſo the place might be preſerved; yet all endeavours proved in vain, or were coldly followed. So that in fine, after ſome ſpoyl made in defacing of Images, and digging up great quantity of hidden goods which were buried there, to be preſerved in expectation of a better day; they committed the whole Houſe to the Mercie of Fire; the flame whereof gave griet to ſome, and joy to others of St. *Johnſtones*, ſcituate not above a Mile from that famous Abby.

14. They had no ſooner plaid this prize, but ſome of the Chiefs of them were advertiſed that Queen Regent had a purpoſe of putting ſome *French* Forces into *Sterling*, the better to cut off all intercourſe and mutual ſuccours which thoſe of the Congregation on each ſide of the *Fryth* might otherwiſe have of one another. For the preventing of which miſchief, the Earl of *Argile* and the Lord *James Steward* were diſpatched away: Whoſe coming ſo inflamed the zeal of the furious multitude, that they pulled down all the Monaſteries which were in the Town; demoliſhed all the Altars, and defaced all the Images in the Churches of it. The Abbey of *Cambuskenneth*, near adjoyning to it, was then ruined alſo: Which good ſucceſs encouraged them to go on to *Edenborough*, that the like Reformation might be made in the capital City. Taking *Linlithgow* in their way, they committed the like ſpoyl there, as before at *Sterling*; but were prevented of the glory which they chiefly aimed at in the Saccage of *Edenborough*. Upon the news of their approach, though their whole Train exceeded not three hundred perſons, the Queen Regent with great fear retires to *Dunbar*; and the Lord *Seaton* being then Proveſt of the Town, ſtaid not long behind. But he was ſcarce gone out of the City, when the *Raſcal Rabble* fell on the Religious Houſes, deſtroyed the Covents of the *Black* and *Gray fryars*, with all the other Monaſteries about the Town, and ſhared amongſt them all the goods which they found in thoſe Houſes: In which they

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made such quick dispatch, that they had finished that part of the Reformation, before the two Lords and their attendants could come in to help them.

15. The Queen Regent neither able to endure these outrages, nor of sufficient power to prevent or punish them, conceived it most expedient to allay these humours for the present by some gentle Lenitive, that she might hope the better to extinguish them in the time to come: which when she had endeavoured, but with no effect, she caused a Proclamation to be published in the name of the King and Queen; in which it was declared, *That she perceived a seditious Tumult to be raised by a part of the Lieges, who named themselves the* Congregation, *and under pretence of Religion had taken Arms; That by the advice of the Lords of the Council, for satisfying every mans Conscience, and pacifying the present troubles, she had made offer to call a Parliament in* January *then following (but would call it sooner if they pleased) for establishing an Universal Order in Affairs of Religion; That in the mean time every man should be suffered to live at liberty, using their own Consciences without trouble until further order; That those who called themselves of the* Congregation, *rejecting all reasonable offers, had made it manifest by their actions, that they did not so much seek for satisfaction in point of Religion, as the subversion of the Crown. For proof whereof, she instanced in some secret intelligence which they had in* England, *seizing the Irons of the Mint, and Coyning Money, that being one of the principal Jewels of the Royal Diadem. In which regard she straightly willeth and commandeth all manner of persons (not being Inhabitants of the City) to depart from* Edenborough *within six hours after publication thereof, and live obedient to her Authority, except they would be holden and reputed Traytors.*

16. This Proclamation they encountred with another, which they published in their own names for satisfaction of the people, some of which had begun to shrink from them at the noise of the former. And therein they made known to all whom it may concern, *That such crimes as they were charged with, never entred into their hearts; That they had no other intention then to banish Idolatry, to advance true Religion, and to defend the Preachers of it; That they were ready to continue in all duty toward their Soveraign, and her Mother there Regent, provided they might have the free exercise of their own Religion. In reference to their medling with the Irons of the Mint, and the Coyning of Money, they justified themselves, as being most of them Councellors born, and doing nothing in it but for the good of the people.* To which effect they writ their Letters also to the Regent her self, whom they assured in the close, that if she would make use of her authority for the abolishing of Idolatry and Superstitious abuses which agreed not with the Word of God, she should finde them as obedient as any Subjects within the Realm. Which in plain truth was neither more nor less then this,

this, that if they might not have their wills in the point of Religion, ſhe was to look for no obedience from them in other matters: whereof they gave ſufficient proof by their ſtaying in *Edenborough*, her command to the contrary, notwithſtanding; by preſſing more then ever for a toleration, and adding this over and above to their former demands, that ſuch *French* Forces as remained in *Scotland* might be disbanded and ſent back to their native Country. In the firſt of which demands they were ſo unreaſonable, that when the Queen offered them the exerciſe of their own Religion, upon condition that when ſhe had occaſion to make uſe of any of their Churches for her own Devotions, ſuch exerciſe might be ſuſpended, and the Maſs onely uſed in that conjuncture; they would by no means yeild unto it: And they refuſed to yeild unto it for this Reaſon onely, becauſe it would be in her power, by removing from one place unto another, to leave them without any certain Exerciſe of their Religion, which in effect was utterly to overthrow it. And hereto they were pleaſed to add, that, as they could not hinder her from exerciſing any Religion which ſhe had a minde to (but this was more then they would ſtand to in their better Fortunes) ſo could they not agree that the Miniſters of Chriſt ſhould be ſilenced upon any occaſion, and much leſs, that the true Worſhip of God ſhould give place to Idolatry. A point to which they ſtood ſo ſtifly, that when the Queen Regent had reſetled her Court at *Edenborough*, ſhe could neither prevail ſo far upon the Magiſtrates of that City, as either to let her have the Church of St. *Gyles* to be appropriated onely to the uſe of the Maſs, or that the Maſs might be ſaid in it at ſuch vacant times in which they made no uſe of it for themſelves or their Miniſters.

17. But in their other demands for ſending the *French* Souldiers out of *Scotland*, they were not like to finde any ſuch compliance as had been offered in the former. *Henry* the Third of *France* dyed about that time, and left the Crown to *Francis* the Second, Married not long before to the Queen of *Scots*; the preſervation of whoſe power and prerogative Royal muſt be his concernment. And he declared himſelf ſo ſenſible of thoſe indignities which had been lately put upon her, as to proteſt, that he would rather ſpend the Crown of *France*, then not be revenged of the ſeditious Tumults raiſed in *Scotland*: in purſuance of which reſolution, he ſends over a *French* Captain, called *Octavian*, who brought with him a whole Regiment of Souldiers, great ſums of money, and all proviſions neceſſary to maintain a War. Followed not long after with four Companies more, which made up twenty Enſigns compleat, together with four Ships of War, both to defend the Town of *Leith*, and command the Haven. Incouraged with whoſe coming, the Queen Regent did not onely fortifie that Town, but put a ſtrong Garriſon of the *French* into it; which gave a new grievance unto

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those of the *Congregation*; the Trade and Town of *Edenborough* being like by this means to be brought under her command, and to rest wholly in a manner at her devotion. The breach made wider on the one side by the taking of the Fort of *Boughty Crag* into the hands of those of the *Congregation*; which was pretended to be done, for fear lest otherwise it might have been seized on by the *French*; and on the other side, by the coming of two thousand *French* Souldiers out of *France*, under pretence of being a Convoy to the Bishop of *Amiens*, and some other persons, sent thither to dispute (as it was given out) with the *Scotish* Ministers. Which great accession of *French* Forces so amazed the Lords of the *Congregation*, that they excited the whole Kingdom by a publick Writing to arm against them; requiring all those which were, or desired to be accounted for natural Scotch-men, to judge betwixt the Queen and them, and not abstract the just and dutiful support from their Native Country in so needful a time; assuring them, that whosoever did otherwise, should be esteemed betrayers of their Country to the power of strangers.

18. And that the people might not cool in the midst of this heat, they draw their Forces together, and march toward *Edenborough* on the 18 of *October*; upon the news whereof, the Queen Regent put her self into *Leith* as the safer place, and leaves them Masters of the City: From whence they send a Letter to her, requiring in a peremptory and imperious manner, that the fortifications about *Leith* be forthwith slighted, the Forts about the same to be demolished, and all strange Souldiers to be immediately removed: Which if she not pleased to do, they must bethink themselves of some such other remedies as they thought most necessary. But when their Messenger returned unsatisfied, and that *Lyon* King at Arms was sent presently after him, commanding them amongst other things to remove from *Edenborough*, they then resolve for putting that in execution which had been long before in deliberation; that is to say, the deposing of the Queen Regent from the publick Government. But first, they must consult with their Ghostly Fathers, that by their countenance and authority, they might more certainly prevail upon all such persons as seemed unsatisfied in the point. *Willock* and *Knox* are chosen above all the rest to resolve this doubt, if at the least any of them doubted of it, which may well be questioned. They were both Factors for *Geneva*, and therefore both obliged to advance her interest. *Willock* declares, that albeit God had appointed Magistrates onely to be his Lieutenants on Earth, honouring them with his own title, and calling them Gods; yet did he never so establish any, but that for just causes they might be deprived. Which having proved by some Examples out of holy Scripture, he thereupon inferred, that since the Queen Regent had denyed her chief Duty to the Subjects of this Realm, which was to preserve them from invasion of Strangers, and to

ſuffer the Word of God to be freely preached: ſeeing alſo ſhe was a maintainer of ſuperſtition, and deſpiſed the counſel of the Nobility; he did think they might juſtly deprive her from all Regiment and Authority over them. *Knox* goes to work more cautiouſly, but comes home at laſt: For having firſt approved whatſoever had been ſaid by *Willock*, he adds this to it, That the iniquity of the Queen Regent ought not to withdraw their hearts from the obedience due to their Soveraign; nor did he wiſh that any ſuch ſentence againſt her ſhould be pronounced, but that when ſhe ſhould change her courſe, and ſubmit her ſelf to good counſels, there ſhould be place left unto her of regreſs to the ſame honours from which for juſt cauſe ſhe ought to be deprived.

19. So ſaid the Oracle: and as the Oracle decreed, ſo the ſentence paſſed; for preſently upon this judgement in the caſe, a publick Inſtrument is drawn up, in which the moſt part of the paſſages in the courſe of her Government were cenſured as grievances and oppreſſions on the Subjects of *Scotland*, to the violating of the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the Subjects, and the enſlaving of them to the power and domination of ſtrangers. In which reſpect, they declare her to be fallen from the publick Government; diſcharge all Officers and others from yeilding any obedience to her; ſubſcribing this Inſtrument with their hands, requiring it to be publiſhed in all the Head-Boroughs of the Kingdom, and cauſing it to be proclaimed with ſound of Trumpet. Thus they began with the Queen Regent; but we ſhall ſee them end with the Queen her ſelf, their annoynted Soveraign. This Inſtrument bears date on the 23 of *October*, a memorable day for many notable occurrences which have hapned on it in our Britiſh Stories. Of all theſe doings, they advertiſed her by expreſs Letters, ſent back by the ſame Herald who had brought her laſt meſſage to them; and having ſo done, they reſolve immediately to try their fortune upon *Leith* in the way of *Scalada*. But the worſt was, the Souldiers would not fight without preſent money, and money they had none to pay them on ſo ſhort a warning. Somewhat was raiſed by way of Contribution, but would not ſatisfie. And thereupon it was adviſed, that the Lords and other great men ſhould bring in their Plate, and cauſe it to be preſently melted, to content the Souldiers. But they who had ſo long made a gain of Godlineſs, did not love Godlineſs ſo well, as not to value and prefer their gain before it. And therefore ſome had ſo contrived it, that the Irons of the *Mint* were miſſing; and by that handſome fraud they preſerved their Plate.

20. It was not to be thought that the *Scots* durſt have been ſo bold in the preſent buſineſs, if they had not been encouraged underhand from ſome Friends in *England*; which the Queen Regent well obſerved, and preſt it on them in her Declaration, as before was noted. To which particular, though

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the Confederates made no reply in their Anti-remonſtrance at that time, yet afterwards they both acknowledged and defended their intelligence with the Engliſh Nation. For in a ſubſequent Declaration, *They acknowledge plainly, that many Meſſages had paſt betwixt them, and that they had craved ſome ſupport from thence; but that it was onely to maintain Religion, and ſuppreſs Idolatry. And they conceived that in ſo doing, they had done nothing which might make them ſubject unto any juſt cenſure; it being lawful for them, where their own power failed, to ſeek aſſiſtance from their Neighbours.* And now or never was the time to make uſe of ſuch helps, their Contribution falling ſhort, and the Plate not coming to the Mint, as had been projected. In which extremity it was adviſed to try ſome ſecret Friends at *Barwick*, eſpecially Sir *Ralph Sudlieur* and Sir *James Crofts*; by whoſe encouragement it may be thought they had gone ſo far, that now there was no going back without manifeſt ruine. By the aſſiſtance of theſe men, they are furniſhed with four thouſand Crowns in ready Money. But the Queen Regent had advertiſement of the negotiation, and intercepts it by the way. The news of this ill Fortune makes the Souldiers deſperate; ſome of them ſecretly ſteal away, others refuſe to venture upon any ſervice; ſo that the Lords and others of the chief Confederates are put upon a neceſſity of forſaking *Edenborough*. The *French* immediately take poſſeſſion of it, compel the Miniſters, and moſt of thoſe who profeſt the Reformed Religion, to deſert their dwellings; reſtore the Maſs, and reconcile with many Ceremonies the chief Church of the City (I mean that dedicated unto St. *Gyles*) as having been prophaned by Heretical Preachings. But the abandoning of *Edenborough* proved the ruine of *Glaſgow*. To which Duke *Hamilton* repairing, he cauſed all the Images and Altars to be pulled down, and made himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle; out of which, upon the noiſe of the Biſhops coming with ſome Bands of *French*, he withdraws again, and quits the Town unto the Victor. No way now left to ſave their perſons from the Law, their Eſtates from forfeiture, their Country from the *French*, and their Religion from the Pope, but to caſt themſelves upon the favour of the Queen of *England*. And to that courſe as the Lord *James* did moſt incline, and *Knox* moſt preached for, ſo there might be ſome probable Reaſons which might aſſure them of not failing of their expectations.

21. No ſooner was Queen *Mary* of *England* dead, but *Mary* the young Queen of *Scots*, not long before Married to the *Daulphin* of *France*, takes on her ſelf the name and title of Queen of *England*; the Arms whereof ſhe quarters upon all her Plate, ſome of her Coyn, and upon no ſmall part of her Houſhold-Furniture. Which though ſhe did not (as ſhe did afterwards alledge) of her own accord, but as ſhe was overruled in it by the perſwaſion of her Husband, and the Au-

thority (which was not in her to dispute) of the King his Father; yet Queen *Elizabeth* looked upon it as a publick opposition to her own Pretensions, an open disallowing of her Title to the Crown of this Realm. She had good reason to presume that they by whose Authority and Counsel she was devested of her Title, would leave no means untryed, nor no stone unmoved, by the rouling whereof she might be tumbled out of her Government, and deprived also of her Kingdom. Which jealousie so justly setled, received no small increase, from the putting over of so many *French*, distributing them into so many Garrisons, but more especially, by their fortifying of the Town of *Leith*; at which Gate all the strengths of *France* might enter when occasion served: And then how easie a passage might they have into *England?* divided only by small Rivers in some places, and in some other places not divided at all. But that which most assured her of their ill intentions, was the great preparations lately made by the Marquis of *Elbœuf* one of the Brothers of the Queen Regent, and consequently Uncle to the Queen of *Scots*. For though he was so distressed by tempests, that eighteen Ensignes were cast away on the Coast of *Holland*, and the rest forced for the present to return into *France*; yet afterwards, with one thousand Foot, and some remainders of his Horse, he recovered *Leith*, and joyned himself unto the rest of that Nation, who were there disposed of. Of all which passages and provocations, the Chief Confederates of the Congregation were so well informed, as might assure them that Queen *Elizabeth* would be easily moved for her own security to aid them in expelling the *French*; and then the preservation of Religion, and the securing of themselves, their Estates and Families, would come in of course.

1560. 22. It was upon this Reason of State, and not for any quarrel about Religion, that Queen *Elizabeth* put her self into Arms, and lent the *Scots* a helping hand to remove the *French*. And by the same she might have justified her self before all the World, if she had followed those advantages which were given her by it, and seized into her hands such Castles, Towns, and other places of importance within that Kingdom, as might give any opportunity to the *French-Scots* to infest her Territories. For when one Prince pretends a Title to the Crown of another, or otherwise makes preparations more then ordinary both by Land and Sea, and draws them together to some place, from whence he may invade the other whensoever he please; the other party is not bound to sit still till the War be brought to his own doors, but may lawfully keep it at a distance, as far off as he can, by carrying it into the Enemies Country, and getting into his power all their strong Passes, Holds, and other Fortresses, by which he may be hindred from approaching nearer. But this can no way justifie or excuse the *Scots*, which are not to be reckoned for the less Rebels against their

their own undoubted Soveraign, for being ſubſervient in ſo juſt a War to the Queen of *England*; as neither the *Caldeans* or the wilde *Arabians* could be defended in their thieving, or *Nebuchadnezzar* juſtified in his pride and Tyranny, becauſe it pleaſed Almighty God for tryal of *Jobs* faith and patience to make uſe of the one; and of the other, for chaſtiſing his people *Iſrael*. The point being agitated with mature deliberation by the Councel of *England*, it was reſolved that the *French* were not to be ſuffered to grow ſtrong ſo near the Border; that the Queen could not otherwiſe provide for her own ſecurity, then by expelling them out of *Scotland*; and that it was not to be compaſſed at a leſs expence of bloud and Treaſure, then by making uſe of the *Scots* themſelves, who had ſo earneſtly ſupplicated for her aid and ſuccours. Commiſſioners are thereupon appointed to treat at *Barwick*: Betwixt whom, and the Agents for the Lords of the Congregation, all things in reference to the War are agreed upon: The ſum and reſult whereof was this, That the Engliſh with a puiſſant Army entred into *Scotland*, reduced the whole War to the Siege of *Leith*, and brought the *French* in ſhort time into ſuch extremities, that they were forced in concluſion to abandon *Scotland*, and leave that Country wholly in a manner to the Congregation.

23. Theſe were the grounds, and this the iſſue of thoſe counſels, which proved ſo glorious and ſucceſsful unto Queen *Elizabeth* in all the time of her long Reign: For by giving this ſeaſonable Aid to thoſe of the Congregation in their greateſt need, and by feeding ſome of the Chiefs amongſt them with ſmall annual Penſions, ſhe made her ſelf ſo abſolute, and of ſuch Authority over all the Nation, that neither the Queen Regent, nor the Queen her ſelf, nor King *James* her ſon, nor any of their Predeceſſors, were of equal power, nor had the like Command upon them. The Church was alſo for a while a great gainer by it; the *Scots* had hitherto made uſe of the Engliſh Liturgie in Gods publick Worſhip; the fancie of extemporary Prayers not being then taken up amongſt them, as is affirmed by *Knox* himſelf in his Scottiſh Hiſtory. But now upon the ſence of ſo great a benefit, and out of a deſire to unite the Nations in the moſt conſtant bonds of friendſhip, they binde themſelves by their ſubſcription to adhere unto it: For which I have no worſe a Witneſs then their own *Buchanan*. And that they might approach as near unto it in the Form of Government as the preſent condition of the times would bear, as they placed ſeveral Miniſters for their ſeveral Churches, (as *Knox* in *Edenborough*, *Goodman* at St. *Andrews*, *Aeriot* at *Aberdeen*, &c.) ſo they ordained certain Superintendants for their Miniſters; all the Epiſcopal Sees being at that time filled with Popiſh Prelates. And happy it had been for both, had they continued ſtill in ſo good a poſture; and that the *Presbyterian* humour had not ſo far obliterated all remembrance of their

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old affections, as in the end to prosecute both the Liturgie and Episcopacie to an extermination. And there accrued a further benefit by it to the *Scots* themselves; that is to say, the confirmation of the Faith which they so contended for by Act of Parliament: for by difficulties of Agreement between the Commissioners authorized on all sides to attone the differences, it was consented to by those for the Queen of *Scots*, that the Estates of the Realm should convene and hold a Parliament in the *August* following, and that the said Convention should be as lawful in all respects, as if it should be summoned by the particular and express command of the Kings themselves. According to which Article they hold a Parliament, and therein pass an Act for the ratification of the Faith and Doctrine, as it was then drawn up into the Form of a Confession by some of their Ministers. But because this Confession did receive a more plenary Confirmation in the first Parliament of King *James*, we shall refer all further speech of it till we come to that. They also passed therein other Acts to their great advantage; first for abolishing the Popes Authority; the second for repealing all former Statutes which were made and maintained of that which they called Idolatry; and the third against the saying or hearing of Mass.

24. It was conditioned in the Articles of the late agreement, that the Queen of *Scots* should send Commissioners to their present Parliament, that the results thereof might have the force and effect of Laws; but she intended not for her part to give their Acts the countenance of Supreme Authority; and the Chief-leading-men of the Congregation did not much regard it, as thinking themselves in a capacity to manage their own business without any such countenance: For though they had addressed themselves to the King and Queen for confirmation of such Acts as had passed in this Parliament; yet they declared that what they did was rather to express their obedience to them, then to beg of them any strength to their Religion. They had already cast the Rider, and were resolved that neither King nor Queen should back them for the time to come. The Queen Regent wearied and worn out with such horrid insolencies, departed this life at *Edenborough* on the 10 of *June*; and none was nominated to succeed with like Authority: The *French* Forces were imbarked on the 16 of *July*, except some few which were permitted to remain in the Castle of *Dunbar*, and the Isle of *Inchkeeth*; so few, that they seemed rather to be left for keeping possession of the Kingdom in the name of the Queen, then either to awe the Country, or command obedience. And that they might be free from the like fears for the times ensuing, *Francis* the Second dyeth on the 5 of *December*, leaving the Queen of *Scots* a desolate and friendless Widdow, assisted onely by her Uncles of the House of *Guise*, who though they were able to do much in *France*, could do little out of it.

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This put the *Scots* (I mean the leading *Scots* of the *Congregation*) into such a stomack, that they resolved to steer their course by another compass, and not to Sail onely by such Winds as should blow from *England*. They knew full well that the breach between the two Queens was not reconcileable, and that their own Queen would be always kept so low by the power of *England*, that they might trample on her as they pleased, now they had her under. And though at first they had imbraced the Common-prayer-Book of the Church of *England*, and afterwards confirmed the use of it by a solemn Subscription; yet when they found themselves delivered from all fear of the *French* by the death of their King, and the breach growing in that Kingdom upon that occasion; they then began to tack about, and to discover their affections to the Church of *Geneva*. *Knox* had before devised a new book of Discipline, contrived for the most part after *Calvins* platform, and a new Form of Common-prayer was digested also, more consonant to his infallible judgement then the English Liturgie. But hitherto they had both lain dormant, because they stood in need of such help from *England*, as could not be presumed on with so great a confidence, if they had openly declared any dissent or disaffection to the publick Forms which were established in that Church. Now their estate is so much bettered by the death of the King, the sad condition of their Queen, and the assurances which they had from the Court of *England* (from whence the Earls of *Morton* and *Glencarne* were returned with comfort) that they resolve to perfect what they had begun; to prosecute the desolation of Religious Houses, and the spoyl of Churches; to introduce their new Forms, and suspend the old. For compassing of which end, they summoned a Convention of the Estates to be held in *January*.

25. Now in this Book of Discipline they take upon them to innovate in most things formerly observed and practised in the Church of Christ, and in some things which themselves had setled, as the ground-work of the Reformation. They take upon them to discharge the accustomed Fasts, and abrogate all the ancient Festivals, not sparing those which did relate particularly unto Christ our Saviour, as his Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, *&c.* They condemned the use of the Cross in Baptism, give way to the introduction of the New Order of *Geneva*, for ministring the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and commend sitting for the most proper and convenient gesture to be used at it. They require that all Churches not being Parochial should be forthwith demolished; declare all Forms of Gods publick Worship, which are not prescribed in his Word, to be meer Idolatry, and that none ought to administer the holy Sacraments, but such as are qualified for preaching. They appoint the Catechism of *Geneva* to be taught in their Schools, Ordained three Universities to be made and continued in that

Kingdom;

Kingdom, with Salaries proportioned to the Professors in all Arts and Sciences, and time assigned for being graduated in the same. They decree also in the same, that Tythes should be no longer paid to the *Romish* Clergy, but that they shall be taken up by Deacons and Treasurers, by them to be imployed for maintainance of the poor, the Ministers, and the said Universities. They complained very sensibly of the Tyranny of Lay-Patrons and Impropriators in exacting their Tythes, in which they are said to be more cruel and unmerciful then the Popish Priests; and therefore take upon them to determine, as in point of Law, what Commodities shall be Tythable, what not; and declare also that all Leases and Alienations which formerly had been made of Tythes, should be utterly void.

26. Touching the Ministration of the Word and Sacraments, and the performance of other Divine Offices, it is therein ordered, That Common-prayers (by which they mean the new Form of their own devising) be said every day in the greater Towns, except it be upon the days of publick Preaching; but then to be forborn, that the Preachers own Prayer before and after Sermon may not be despised or disrespected: That Baptism be Administred onely upon the Sundays, and other days of publick Preaching, for the better beating down of that gross Opinion of the Papists (so they pleas'd to call it) concerning the necessity of it: That the first Sundays of *March*, *June*, *September* and *December* should be from thenceforth set apart for the holy Communion, the better to avoid the superstitious receiving of it at the Feast of *Easter*: That all persons exercise themselves in singing *Psalms*, to the end they may the better perform that service in the Congregation: That no singing of *Psalms*, no reading of Scriptures should be used at burials: That no Funeral-Sermon shall be preached, by which any difference may be made between the rich and the poor; and that no dead body for the same cause shall be buried in Churches: That Propheſyings and Interpreting of the holy Scriptures shall be used at certain times and places, according to the custom of the Church of *Corinth*: That in every Church there shall be one Bell to call the people together, one Pulpit for the Word, and a Bason for Baptism: And that the Minister may the better attend these Duties, it is ordered that he shall not haunt the Court, nor be of the Council, nor bear charge in any Civil Affairs, except it be to assist the Parliament when the same is called.

27. Concerning Ecclesiastical persons, their Function, Calling, Maintainance and Authority, it was ordered in the said Book of Discipline, That Ministers shall from thenceforth be elected by the Congregation where they are to preach: that having made tryal of their Gifts, and being approved of by the Church where they are to Preach, they shall be admitted to their charge, but without any imposition of hands as in other Churches:

Churches: That some convenient pension be assigned to every Minister for the term of life (except he deserve to be deprived) with some provision to be made after his decease for his Wife and Children: That the bounds of the former Dioceses being contracted or enlarged, there shall be ten or twelve Superintendents appointed in the place of the former Bishops, who are to have the visitation of all the Ministers and Churches in their several bounds, to fix their dwellings in the chief Towns or Cities within the same, and to be chosen by the Burgesses of the said Towns or Cities, together with the suffrages of the Ministers of their several Circuits; and more particularly, that the County or Province of *Lothaine* shall be abstracted from the Diocese of St. *Andrews*, and have a Superintendent of its own, who was to keep his Residence in the City of *Edenborough* (which afterwards in the year 1633 was erected by King *Charles* into a Bishops See, and *Lothaine* assigned him for his Diocese, as was here devised:) That for the better maintainance of the Ministers and Superintendents, as also for defraying of all other publick charges which concerned the Churches, the lands belonging unto the Bishops, as also to all Cathedral and Conventual Churches, and to the Houses of Monks and Fryars, shall be set apart, not otherwise to be imployed: That in all Churches there be two Elders annually chosen to be associate with the Ministers in the Cognizance of all Ecclesiastical Causes, and in the Censures of the Church: That the said Elders shall have power not onely to admonish, but correct their Ministers, if occasion be; but not to proceed to deprivation without the allowance and consent of the Superintendent; and that the Deacons shall be joyned as Assistants in judgement with the Elders and Ministers: That no man presume to eat or drink, or otherwise to converse familiarly with excommunicate persons, except those of his own Family onely: That their Children should not be Baptised till they came unto the years of discretion: And that all Murtherers, and other Malefactors punishable by death according to the Laws of the Land, though they be pardoned for the same by the supreme Magistrates, shall notwithstanding be esteemed as excommunicate persons, and not received into the Church without such satisfaction and submission as is required of other notorious offenders by the Rules of the Discipline. It appears also by this Book, that there was one standing Supreme Council for ordering the Affairs of the Church, and by which all publick grievances were to be redressed; but of what persons it consisted, and in what place it was held, is not mentioned in it.

28. This Book being tendered to the consideration of the Convention of Estates, was by them rejected; whether it were because they could not make such a manifest separation from the Polity of the Church of *England*, or that it concerned them more particularly in their own proper interest, in regard of the Church-lands & Tythes which they had amongst them, or perhaps

for both. Certain it is, that ſome of them paſt it over by no better Title then that of ſome *devout Imaginations*, which could not be reduced to practice. This ſo offended *Knox* and others, who had drawn it up (if any other but *Knox* onely had a hand therein) that they ſpared not bitterly to revile them for their coldneſs in it, taxing them for their carnal liberty, their love unto their worldly Commodities, and their corrupt imaginations: Some of them are affirmed to have been licentious; ſome greedily to have griped the poſſeſſions of the Church, and others to be ſo intent upon the getting of Chriſts Coat, that they would not ſtay till he was crucified. Of the Lord *Erskin* who refuſed to ſubſcribe to the Book, it is ſaid particularly, that he had a very evil woman to his Wife; and that if the Schools, the poor, and the Miniſtry of the Church had their own, his Kitchin would have lacked two parts of that which he then poſſeſſed. Of all of them it was admired, that for ſuch a long continuance they could hear the threatnings of God againſt Thieves and Robbers, and that knowing themſelves to be guilty of thoſe things which were moſt rebuked, they ſhould never have any remorſe of Conſcience, nor intend the reſtoring of thoſe things which they had ſo ſtolen. For ſo it was (if they may be believed that ſaid it) that none in all the Realm were more unmerciful to the poor Miniſters, then they that had invaded and poſſeſſed themſelves of the greateſt Rents of right belonging unto the Church, and therein verified as well the old Proverb, *That the belly hath no ears at all*, as a new obſervation of their own deviſing, *That nothing would ſuffice a wretch.* Such were the diſcontents and evaporations of theſe zealous men, when they were croſſed in any thing which concerned them in their power or profit.

1561. 30. But in another of their projects they had better Fortune. They had ſollicited the Convention of Eſtates for demoliſhing of all Monuments of Superſtition and Idolatry, in which number they accounted all Cathedral Churches, as well as Monaſteries and other Religious Houſes; which they inſiſted on the rather, becauſe it was perceived, and perhaps given out, that the Papiſts would again erect their old Idolatry, and take upon them a command (as before they did) upon the Conſciences of the people; that ſo as well the great men of the Realm, as ſuch whom God of his Mercy (ſo they tell us) had ſubjected to them, ſhould be compelled to obey their lawleſs appetites. In this, ſome hopes were given them that they ſhould be ſatisfied, but nothing done in execution of the ſame, till the *May* next following: And poſſibly enough it might have been delayed to a longer time, if the noiſe and expectation of the Queens return had not ſpurred it on: For either fearing, or not knowing what might happen to them, if ſhe ſhould interpoſe her power to preſerve thoſe places, whoſe demoliſhing they ſo much deſired; they introduce that Diſcipline by little and little, which they could

could not settle all at once. They begin first planting Churches, and nominating Superintendents for their several Circuits; they superinduce their own Ministers over the heads of the old incumbents; establish their Presbyteries, divide them into several Classes, and hold their general Assemblies without any leave desired of the Queen or Council. They proceed next to execute all sorts of Ecclesiastical Censures, and arrogate Authority to their selves and their Elders to Excommunicate all such as they found unconformable to their new devices. For the first tryal of their power, they convent one *Sanderson*, who had been accused to them for Adultery, whom they condemned to be carted, and publickly exposed unto the scorn of Boys and Children. An uproar had been made in *Edenborough* about the chusing of a *Robbinhood* (or a *Whitson-Lord*) in which some few of the precisier sort opposed all the rest; and for this crime they excommunicate the whole multitude; wherein they shewed themselves to be very unskilful in the Canon-law, in which they might have found, that neither the Supreme Magistrate, nor any great multitudes of people are to be subject to that Censure. They proceed afterwards to the appointing of solemn Fasts, and make choice of Sunday for the day; which since that time hath been made use of for those Fasts, more then any other: and in this point they shewed themselves directly contrary to the practice of the Primitive Church, in which it was accounted a great impiety to keep any Fast upon that day, either private or publick. They Interdict the Bishops from exercising any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in their several Dioceses; and openly quarrel with their Queen, for giving a Commission to the Archbishop of St. *Andrews* to perform some Acts which seemed to them to savour of Episcopal power. Having attained unto this height, they maintain an open correspondence with some Forreign Churches, give audience to the Agents of *Berne*, *Basil* and *Geneva*; from whom they received the sum of their Confessions, and signified their consent with them in all particulars, except Festivals onely, which they had universally abolished throughout the Kingdom; and finally, they take upon them to write unto the Bishops of *England*, whom they admonished not to vex or suspend their Brethren for not conforming to the Rules of the Church, especially in refusing the Cap and Surplice, which they call frequently by the name of *trifles*, *vain trifles*, and the old *badges of idolatry*. All which they did, and more, in pursuit of their Discipline, though never authorized by Law, or confirmed by the Queen, nor justified by the Convention of Estates, though it consisted for the most part of their own Professors. A Petition is directed to the Lords of secret Council, from the *Assemblies of the Church*, in which their Lordships are sollicited to dispatch the business. But not content with that which they had formerly moved, it was demanded also that some severe course might be taken against the Sayers and Hearers of

Masse; that fit provision should be made for their Superintendents, Preachers, and other Ministers; and that they should not be compellable to pay their Tythes as formerly to the Popish Clergy, with other particulars of that nature. And that they might not trifle in it as they had done hitherto, the Petition carried in it more threats and menaces, then words of humble supplication as became Petitioners. For therein it said expresly, That before those Tyrants and dumb Dogs shou'd have Empire over them, and over such as God had subjected unto them, they were fully determined to hazard both life, and whatsoever they had received of God in Temporal things; that therefore they besought their Lordships to take such order, that the Petitioners (if they may be called so) might have no occasion to take the Sword of just defence into their hands, which they had so willingly resigned, after the Victory obtained, into those of their Lordships; that so doing, their Lordships should perceive they would not onely be obedient unto them in all things lawful, but ready at all times to bring all such under their obedience, as should at any time rebel against their Authority; and finally, that those enemies of God might assure themselves, that they would no no longer suffer Pride and Idolatry; and that if their Lordships would not take some order in the premises, they would then proceed against them of their own Authority after such a manner, that they should neither do what they list, nor live upon the sweat of the brows of such as were in no sort debtors to them.

31. On the receipt of this Petition, an Order presently is made by the Lords of the Council, for granting all which was desired; and had more been desired, they had granted more: so formidable were the Brethren grown to the opposite party. Nor was it granted in words onely which took no effect, but execution caused to be done upon it, and warrants to that purpose issued to the Earls of *Arrane*, *Arguile* and *Glencarne*, the Lord *James Steward*, *&c.* Whereupon followed a pitiful devastation of Churches and Church-buildings in all parts of the Realm; no difference made, but all Religious Edifices of what sort soever, were either terribly defaced, or utterly ruinated; the holy Vessels, and whatsoever else could be turned into money, as Lead, Bells, Timber, Glass, *&c.* was publickly exposed to sale; the very Sepulchres of the dead not spared; the Registers of the Church, and the Libraries thereunto belonging, defaced, and thrown into the fire. Whatsoever had escaped the former tumults, is now made subject to destruction; so much the worse, because the violence and sacrilegious actings of these Church-robbers had now the countenance of Law. And to this work of spoyl and rapine, men of all Ranks and Orders were observed to put their helping hands; men of most Note and Quality being forward in it, in hope of getting to themselves the most part of the booty; those of the poorer sort, in hope of being gratified for their pains there-

in

in by their Lords and Patrons. Both sorts encouraged to it by the Zealous madness of some of their seditious Preachers, who frequently cryed out, that the places where Idols had been worshipped, ought by the Law of God to be destroyed; that the sparing of them was the reserving of things execrable; and that the Commandment given to *Israel* for destroying the places where the *Canaanites* did worship their false Gods, was a just warrant to the people for doing the like. By which encouragements, the madness of the people was transported beyond the bounds which they had first prescribed unto it. In the beginning of the heats, they designed onely the destruction of Religious Houses, for fear the Monks and Fryars might otherwise be restored in time to their former dwellings: But they proceeded to the demolition of Cathedral Churches, and ended in the ruine of Parochial also; the Chancels whereof were sure to be levelled in all places, though the Isles and bodies of them might be spared in some.

32. Such was the entertainment which the *Scots* prepared for their Queens coming over. Who taking no delight in *France*, where every thing renewed the memory of her great loss, was easily intreated to return to her native Kingdom. Her coming much desired by those of the Popish party, in hope that by her power and presence they might be suffered at the least to enjoy the private Exercise of their Religion, if not a publick approbation and allowance of it. Sollicited as earnestly by those of the *Knoxian* interest, upon a confidence that they should be better able to deal with her when she was in their power, assisted onely by the Counsels of a broken Clergy, then if she should remain in *France*, from whence by her Alliances and powerful Kindred she might create more mischief to them then she could at home. On the 19 day of *August* she arrives in *Scotland*, accompanied by her Uncles the Duke of *Aumale*, the Marquess of *Elbœuf*, and the Lord grand Pryor, with other Noble-men of *France*. The time of her arrival was obscured with such Fogs and Mists, that the Sun was not seen to shine in two days before, nor in two days after. Which though it made her passage safe from the Ships of *England*, which were designed to intercept her, yet was it looked upon by most men as a sad presage of those uncomfortable times which she found amongst them. Against Sunday, being the 24, there were great preparations made for celebrating Mass in the Chappel-Royal of *Holyrood*-House. At which the Brethren of the Congregation were so highly offended, that some of them cryed out aloud, so as all might hear them, That *the Idolatrous Priests should dye the death according to Gods Law*; others affirming with less noise, but with no less confidence, *That they could not abide, that the Land which God by his power had purged of Idolatry, should in their sight be polluted with the same again.* And questionless some great mischief must have followed on it, if the

Lord

Lord *James Steward* (to preſerve the honour of his Nation in the eye of the *French*) had not kept the door: which he did under a pretence that none of the *Scottiſh* Nation ſhould be preſent at the hearing of Maſs, contrary to the Laws and Statutes made in that behalf; but in plain truth, to hinder them by the power and reputation which he had amongſt them, from thronging in tumultuouſly to diſturb the buſineſs.

33. For remedy whereof for the time to come, an Order was iſſued the next day by the Lords of the Council, and Authorized by the Queen, in which it was declared, that no manner of perſon ſhould privately or openly take in hand to alter or innovate any thing in the State of Religion which the Queen found publickly and univerſally received at her Majeſties arrival in that Realm, or attempt any thing againſt the ſame upon pain of death. But then it was required withal, that none of the Leiges take in hand to trouble or moleſt any of her Majeſties Domeſtick Servants, or any other perſons which had accompanied her out of *France* at the time then preſent, for any cauſe whatſoever, in word, deed, or countenance; and that upon the pain of death, as the other was. But notwithſtanding the equality of ſo juſt an Order, the Earl of *Arrane* in the name of the reſt of the Congregation profeſſed openly on the ſame day at the Croſs in *Edenborough*, *That no protection ſhould be given to the Queens Domeſticks, or to any other perſon that came out of* France, *either to violate the Laws of the Realm, or offend Gods Majeſty, more then was given to any other ſubjects.* And this he did, as he there affirmed, becauſe Gods Law had pronounced death to the Idolater, and the Laws of the Realm had appointed puniſhment for the ſayers and hearers of Maſs; from which he would have none exempted, till ſome Law were publickly made in Parliament, and ſuch as was agreeable to the Word of God, to annul the former. The like diſtemper had poſſeſt all the reſt of the Lords at their firſt coming to the Town to attend her Majeſty to congratulate her ſafe arrival; but they cooled all of them by degrees, when they conſidered the unreaſonableneſs of the Proteſtation, in denying that Liberty of Conſcience to their Soveraign Queen, which every one of them ſo much deſired to enjoy for himſelf: Onely the Earl *Arrane* held it out to the laſt. He had before given himſelf ſome hopes of marrying the Queen, and ſent her a rich Ring immediately on the death of the King her Husband; but finding no return agreeable to his expectation, he ſuffered himſelf to be as much tranſported to the other extreme, according to the natural Genius of the *Presbyterians*; who never yet knew any mean in their loves or hatred.

34. *John Knox* makes good the Pulpit in the chief Church at *Edenborough* on the Sunday following, in which he bitterly inveighed againſt Idolatry, ſhewing what Plagues and Puniſhments God had inflicted for the ſame upon ſeveral Nations. And then he

he adds, that one Mass was more fearful to him, then ten thousand armed Enemies were landed in any part of the Realm on purpose to suppress their whole Religion; that in God there was strength to resist and confound whole multitudes, if unfeignedly they depended on him, of which they had such good experience in their former troubles; but that if they joyned hands with Idolatry, they should be deprived of the comfortable presence and assistance of Almighty God. A Conference hereupon ensued betwixt him and the Queen, at the hearing whereof there was none present but the Lord *James Steward*, besides two Gentlemen which stood at the end of the Room. In the beginning whereof, she charged him with raising Sedition in that Kingdom, putting her own Subjects into Arms against her, writing a Book against the Regiment of Women; and in the end, descended to some points of Religion. To all which *Knox* returned such answers, or else so favourably reports them to his own advantage (for we must take the whole story as it comes from his pen) that he is made to go away with as easie a victory, as when the Knight of the Boot encounters with some Dwarf or Pigmy, in the old *Romances*. All that the Queen got by it from the mouth of this Adversary, was, that he found in her *a proud minde, a crafty wit*, and an *obdurate heart against God and his Truth*. And in this Character he thought himself confirmed by her following actions: For spending the rest of the Summer in visiting some of the chief Towns of her Kingdom, she carried the Mass with her into all places wheresoever she came; and at her coming back, gave order for setting out the Mass with more solemnity on *Allhallows* day, then at any time or place before. Of this the Ministers complain to such of the Nobility as were then Resident in the City, but finde not such an eagerness in them as in former times. For now some of them make a doubt *whether the Subjects might use force for suppressing the Idolatry of their Prince*; which heretofore had passed in the affirmative as a truth infallible. A Conference is thereupon appointed between some of the Lords, and such of the Ministers as appeared most Zealous against the Mass; the Lords disputing for the Queen, and urging that it was not lawful to deprive her of that in which she placed so great a part of her Religion. The contrary was maintained by *Knox*, and the rest of the Ministers; who seeing that they could not carry it, as before, by their own Authority, desired that the deciding of the point might be referred to the godly Brethren of *Geneva*; of whose concurring in opinion with them, they were well assured. And though the drawing up of the point, and the Inditing of the Letter, being committed unto *Ledington* the principal Secretary, was not dispatched with such post haste as their Zeal required; yet they shewed plainly by insisting on that proposition, both from whose mouth they had received the Doctrines of making Soveraign Princes subject to the lusts of the people, and

from

from whose hands they did expect the defence thereof.

35. A general Assembly being indicted by them about that time, or not long after, a question is made by some of the Court-Lords, whether such Assemblies might be holden by them without the Queens notice and consent. To which it was answered, that the Assembly neither was, nor could be held without her notice, because she understood that there was a Reformed Church within the Realm, by the Orders whereof they had appointed times for their publick Conventions. But as to her allowance of it, it was then objected, that if the Liberty of the Church should stand upon the Queens allowance or disallowance, they were assured that they should not onely want Assemblies, but the preaching of the Word it self; for if the freedom of Assemblies was taken away, the Gospel in effect must be also suppressed, which could not long subsist without them. The putting in of the demurrer concerning the Authority in calling and holding their Assemblies, prompted them to present the Book of Discipline to her Majesties view, and to sollicite her by all the Friends and means they could for her Royal-Assent: But finding no hope of compassing their desires for that Book in general, it was thought best to try their Fortune in the pursuit of some particulars contained in it. And to that end it was propounded to the Lords of the Council, that Idolatry might be suppressed, the Churches planted with true Ministers, and that certain provision should be made for them according to equity and good Conscience. The Ministers till that time had lived for the most part upon such Benevolences as were raised for them on the people; the Patrimony of the Church being seized into the hands of private persons, and alienated in long Leases by the Popish Clergy. The Revenue of the Crown was small when it was at the best, exceedingly impaired since the death of King *James* the Fifth, and not sufficient to defray the necessary charge and expence of the Court. To satisfie all parties, it was ordered by the Lords of the Council, that the third part of all the Rents of Ecclesiastical Benefices should be taken up for the use of the Queen; that the other two parts should remain to the Clergy, or to such as held them in their Right; and that the Queen, out of the part assigned to her, should maintain the Ministers. This Order bears date at *Edenborough, December* 20, but gave no satisfaction to the Ministers or their Sollicitors, who challenged the whole Patrimony, by the Rules of the Discipline, to belong onely to themselves. *Knox* amongst others so disliked it, that he affirmed openly in the Pulpit of *Edenborough*, *That the Spirit of God was not the Author of that Order, by which two parts* of the Church-Rents *were given to the Devil, and the third part was to be divided between God and the Devil*; adding withal, *that in short time the Devil would have three parts of the third*, and that a fourth part onely should be left to God.

36. But

36. But notwithstanding these seditious and uncharitable surmises of their hot-headed Preachers, a Commission is granted by the Queen to certain of her Officers, and other persons of Quality, not onely to receive the said third part, but out of it to assigne such yearly stipends to their Ministers as to them seemed meet. They were all such as did profess the Reformed Religion, and therefore could not but be thought to be well-affected to the Ministers maintainance; to some of which they allowed one hundred Marks by the year, unto some three hundred; insomuch, that it was said by *Ledington* principal Secretary of Estate, that when the Ministers were paid the Stipends assigned unto them, the rest would hardly finde the Queen a new pair of Shooes. But on the other side, the Ministers vehemently exclaimed against these assignments; and openly profest it to be very unreasonable, that such dumb Dogs and Idle-bellies as the Popish Clergy should have a thousand Marks *per annum*; and that themselves (good men) who spent their whole time in preaching the Gospel, should be put off with two or three hundred. They railed with no less bitterness against the Laird of *Pittarow*, who was appointed by the Queen for their pay-Master-General; and used to say in common Speech, that the good Laird of *Pittarow*, Comptroller of her Majesties Houshold, was a Zealous Professor of Jesus Christ; but that the pay-Master or Comptroller would fall to the Devil. And for the Queen, so far they were from acknowledging the receipt of any favour from her, in the true payment of their Stipends, that they disputed openly against that Title which she pretended to the thirds, out of which she paid them. By some it was affirmed, that no such part had appertained to any of her Predecessors in a thousand years; by others, that she had no better Title thereunto (whether she kept them to her self, or divided them amongst her Servants) then had the Souldiers by whom Christ was crucified to divide his Garments.

37. It hapned not long after these debates, that upon the receiving of some good news from her Friends in *France*, the Queen appeared to be very merry, betook her self to dancing, and continued in that recreation till after midnight. The news whereof being brought to *Knox*, who had his Spies upon her at all times to observe her actions; the Pulpit must needs ring of it, or else all was marred: He chuseth for his Text these words of the second *Psalm, viz. And now understand O ye Kings, and be learned ye that judge the earth.* Discoursing on which Text, he began to tax the ignorance, the vanity, and the despight of Princes against all Vertue, and against all those in whom hatred of Vice and love of Vertue appeared. Report is made unto the Queen, and this report begets a second Conference betwixt her and *Knox*, in which she must come off with as little credit as she did in the first. *Knox* tells her in plain terms, that it is oftentimes the just recompence that God gives the stubborn of 1562.

the World, that becauſe they will not hear God ſpeaking to the comfort of the Penitent, and for the amendment of the wicked, they are oft compelled to hear the falſe reports of others to their great diſpleaſure. To which immediately he ſubjoyned, that it could not chuſe but come to the Ears of *Herod*, that our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt had called him *Fox*; but that the men who told him of it, did not alſo tell him what an odious act he had committed before God, in cauſing *John* the Baptiſt to be beheaded, to recompence the dancing of an Harlots Daughter. The Queen deſired (after much other talk between them) that if he heard any thing of her which diſtaſted him, he would repair to her in private, and ſhe would willingly hear what he had to ſay. To which he anſwered with as little reverence and modeſty as to all the reſt, that he was appointed by God to rebuke the vices and ſins of all, but not to go to every one in particular to make known their offences; that if ſhe pleaſed to frequent the publick Sermons, ſhe might then know what he liked or diſliked, as well in her ſelf as any others; but that to wait at her Chamber-door, or elſewhere, and then to have no further liberty then to whiſper in her ear what he had to ſay, or to tell her what others did ſpeak of her, was neither agreeable to his vocation, nor could ſtand with his Conſcience.

38. At *Midſummer* they held a general Aſſembly, and there agreed upon the Form of a Petition to be preſented to the Queen in the name of the Kirk; the ſubſtance of it was for aboliſhing the Maſs, and other ſuperſtitious Rites of the *Romiſh* Religion; for inflicting ſome puniſhment againſt Blaſphemie, Adultery, contempt of the Word, the Profanation of Sacraments, and other like vices condemned by the Word of God, whereof the Laws of the Realm did not take any hold; for referring all actions of Divorce to the Churches judgement, or at the leaſt to men of good knowledge and converſation; for excluding all Popiſh Church-men from holding any place in Council or Seſſion; and finally, for the increaſe and more aſſured payment of the Miniſters Stipends, but more particularly for appropriating the Glebes and Houſes unto them alone. This was the ſum of their deſires, but couched in ſuch irreverent, coarſe, and bitter expreſſions, and thoſe expreſſions juſtified with ſuch animoſities, that *Lethington* had much ado to prevail upon them for putting it into a more dutiful and civil Language. All which the Queen knew well enough, and therefore would afford them no better anſwer, but that ſhe would do nothing to the prejudice of that Religion which ſhe then profeſſed; and that ſhe hoped to have Maſs reſtored, before the end of the year, in all parts of the Kingdom. Which being ſo ſaid, or ſo reported, gave *Knox* occaſion in his preachings to the Gentry of *Kyle* and *Galloway* (to which he was commiſſioned by the ſaid Aſſembly) to forewarn ſome of them of the dangers which would ſhortly follow;

follow; and thereupon earneſtly to exhort them to take ſuch order, that they might be obedient unto Authority, and yet not ſuffer the Enemies of Gods Truth to have the upper-hand. And they, who underſtood his meaning at half a word, aſſembled themſelves together on the 4 of *September*, at the Town of *Air*, where they entred into a common Bond, ſubſcribed by the Earl of *Glencarne*, the Lords *Boyd* and *Uchiltry*, with one hundred and thirty more of Note and Quality, beſides the Provoſt and Burgeſſes of the Town of *Air*, which made forty more. The tenour of which Bond was this that followeth.

39. *We whoſe names are under written, do promiſe in the preſence of God, and in the preſence of his Son our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that we, and every one of us, ſhall and will maintain the Preaching of his holy Evangel, now of his mercy offered and granted to this Realm; and alſo will maintain the Miniſters of the ſame againſt all perſons, Power and Authority, that will oppoſe themſelves to the Doctrine propoſed, and by us received. And further, with the ſame ſolemnity we proteſt and promiſe that every one of us ſhall aſſiſt another, yea, and the whole Body of the Proteſtants within this Realm, in all lawful and juſt occaſions, againſt all perſons; ſo that whoſoever ſhall hurt, moleſt, or trouble any of our bodies, ſhall be reputed enemies to the whole, except that the offender will be content to ſubmit himſelf to the Government of the Church now eſtabliſhed amongſt us. And this we do, as we deſire to be accepted and favoured of the Lord Jeſus, and accepted worthy of credit and honeſty in the preſence of the Godly.*

40. And in purſuance of this Bond, they ſeize upon ſome Prieſts, and give notice to others, that they would not trouble themſelves of complaining to the Queen or Council, but would execute the puniſhment appointed to Idolaters in the Law of God, as they ſaw occaſion, whenſoever they ſhould be apprehended. At which the Queen was much offended; but there was no remedy. All ſhe could do, was once again to ſend for *Knox*, and to deſire him ſo to deal with the Barons, and other Gentlemen of the *Weſt*, that they would not puniſh any man for the cauſe of Religion, as they had reſolved. To which he anſwered with as little reverence as at other times, That if her Majeſty would puniſh Malefactors according to the Laws, he durſt aſſure her, that ſhe ſhould finde peace and quietneſs at the hand of thoſe who profeſſed the Lord *Jeſus* in that Kingdom: That if ſhe thought or had a purpoſe to illude the Laws, there were ſome who would not fail to let the Papiſts underſtand, that they ſhould not be ſuffered without puniſhment to offend their God. Which ſaid, he went about to prove in a long diſcourſe, that others were by God intruſted

with the Sword of Juſtice, beſides Kings and Princes; which Kings and Princes, if they failed in the right uſe of it, and drew it not againſt Offenders, they muſt not look to finde obedience from the reſt of the Subjects.

41. It is not to be doubted, but that every underſtanding Reader will be able to collect out of all the premiſes, both of what Judgement *Knox* and his Brethren were, touching the Soveraignty of Kings, or rather the Supreme Power inveſted naturally in the people of a State or Nation; as alſo from what Fountain they derived their Doctrine, and to whoſe ſentence onely they reſolved to ſubmit the ſame. But we muſt make a clearer demonſtration of it, before we can proceed to the reſt of our Hiſtory; that ſo it may appear upon what ground, and under the pretence of what Authority ſo many Tumults and Diſcords were acted on the Stage of *Scotland* by the *Knoxian* Brethren. It pleaſed the Queen to hold a Conference with this man, in the purſuit whereof they fell upon the point of reſiſting Princes by the Sword, the lawfulneſs whereof was denyed by her, but maintained by him. The Queen demands whether Subjects having power may reſiſt their Princes: *Yea, (Madam)* anſwered *Knox*; *if Princes do exceed their bounds, and do againſt that wherefore they ſhould be obeyed, there is no doubt but that they may be reſiſted even by power. For* (ſaid he) *there is neither greater honour, nor greater obedience to be given to Kings and Princes, then God hath commanded to be given unto our Fathers and Mothers; and yet it may ſo happen, that the Father may be ſtricken with a Phrenſie, and in ſome fit attempt the ſlaying of his Children. In which caſe, if the Children joyn themſelves together, apprehend their Father, take the Sword out of his hand, and keep him in Priſon till his Phrenſie be over-paſt; it is not to be thought that God will be offended with them for their actings in it.* And thereupon he doth infer, that ſo it is with ſuch Princes alſo, as out of a blind Zeal would murther the Children of God which are ſubject to them. And therefore to take the Sword from them, to binde their hands, and to caſt them into Priſon, till that they may be brought to a more ſober minde, is not diſobedience againſt them, but rather is to be accounted for a juſt obedience, becauſe it agrees with the Word of God.

42. The ſame man preaching afterwards at one of their General Aſſemblies, made a diſtinction between the Ordinance of God, and the perſons placed by him in Authority; and then affirmed that men might lawfully and juſtly reſiſt the perſons, and not offend againſt the Ordinance of God. He added as a Corollary unto his diſcourſe, That Subjects were not bound to obey their Princes, if they Command unlawful things; but that they might reſiſt their Princes, and that they were not bound to ſuffer. For which being queſtioned by Secretary *Ledington* in the one, and deſired to declare himſelf further in the other point; he juſtified himſelf in both, affirming that he had long been

been of that opinion, and did ſo remain. A Queſtion hereupon ariſing about the puniſhment of Kings, if they were Idolaters; it was honeſtly affirmed by *Ledington*, That there was no Commandment given in that caſe to puniſh Kings, and that the people had no power to be judges over them, but muſt leave them unto God alone, who would either puniſh them by death, impriſonment, war, or ſome other Plagues. Againſt which *Knox* replyed with his wonted confidence, that to affirm that the people, or a part of the people may not execute Gods Judgments againſt their King being an offender, the Lord *Ledington* could have no other Warrant, except his own imaginations, and the opinion of ſuch, as rather feared to diſpleaſe their Princes, then offend their God. Againſt which when *Ledington* objected the Authority of ſome eminent Proteſtants; *Knox* anſwered, that they ſpake of Chriſtians ſubject to Tyrants and Infidels, ſo diſperſed, that they had no other force but onely to cry unto God for their deliverance: That ſuch indeed ſhould hazard any further then thoſe godly men willed them, he would not haſtily be of counſel. But that his Argument had another ground, and that he ſpake of a people aſſembled in one Body of a Commonwealth, unto whom God had given ſufficient force, not onely to reſiſt, but alſo to ſuppreſs all kinde of open Idolatry; and ſuch a people again he affirmed were bound to keep their Land clean and unpolluted: that God required one thing of *Abraham* and his Seed, when he and they were ſtrangers in the Land of *Egypt*, and that another thing was required of them when they were delivered from that bondage, and put into the actual Poſſeſſion of the Land of *Canaan*.

43. Finally, that the Application might come home to the point in hand, it was reſolved by this learned and judicious Caſuiſt, that when they could hardly finde ten in any one part of *Scotland*, who rightly underſtood Gods Truth, it had been fooliſhneſs to have craved the ſuppreſſion of Idolatry either from the Nobility or the common ſubject, becauſe it had been nothing elſe but the betraying of the ſilly Sheep for a prey to the Wolves. *But now* (ſaith he) *that God hath multiplyed knowledge, and hath given the victory unto Truth in the hands of his Servants, if you ſhould ſuffer the Land again to be defiled, you and your Prince ſhould drink the cup of Gods indignation; the Queen, for her continuing obſtinate in open Idolatry, in this great light of the Goſpel; and you, for permiſſion of it, and countenancing her in the ſame. For my aſſertion is* (ſaith he) *that Kings have no priviledge more then hath the people to offend Gods Majeſty; and if ſo be they do, they are no more exempted from the puniſhment of the Law, then is any other ſubject; yea, and that ſubjects may not onely lawfully oppoſe themſelves unto their Kings, whenſoever they do any thing that expreſly oppugnes Gods Commandments, but alſo that they may execute Judgement upon them according to Gods Laws; ſo that if the King be a murtherer,*

Murtherer, Adulterer, or an Idolater, he ſhould ſuffer according to Gods Law, not as a King, but as an Offender. Now that *Knox* did not ſpeak all this as his private judgement, but as it was the judgement of *Calvin*, and the reſt of the *Genevian* Doctors, whom he chiefly followed, appears by this paſſage in the ſtory. It was required that *Knox* ſhould write to *Calvin*, and to the Learned men in other Churches, to know their judgements in the Queſtion; to which he anſwered, that he was not onely fully reſolved in conſcience, but had already heard their judgements as well in that, as in all other things which he had affirmed in that Kingdom; that he came not to that Realm without their reſolution, and had for his aſſurance the hand-writing of many; and therefore if he ſhould now move the ſame queſtions again, he muſt either ſhew his own ignorance, or inconſtancie, or at leaſt forgetfulneſs.

44. Of the ſame Nature, and proceeding from the ſame Original, are thoſe dangerous paſſages ſo frequently diſperſed in moſt parts of his Hiſtory. By which the Reader is informed, *That Reformation of Religion doth belong to more then the Clergie and the King: That Noblemen ought to reform Religion, if the King will not: That Reformation of Religion belongeth to the Commonalty, who concurring with the Nobility, may compel the Biſhops to ceaſe from their Tyranny, and bridle the cruel Beaſts (the Prieſts:) That they may lawfully require of their King to have true Preachers; and if he be negligent, they juſtly may themſelves provide them, maintain them, defend them againſt all that do perſecute them, and may detain the profits of the Church-livings from the Popiſh Clergy: That God appointed the Nobility to bridle the inordinate appetite of Princes, who in ſo doing cannot be accounted as reſiſters of Authority; and that it is their duty to repreſs the rage and inſolency of Princes: That the Nobility and Commonalty ought to reform Religion; and in that caſe may remove from honours, and may puniſh ſuch as God hath condemned, of what eſtate, condition, or honour ſoever they be: That the puniſhment of ſuch crimes as touch the Majeſty of God, doth not appertain to Kings and chief Rulers onely, but alſo to the whole body of the people, and to every member of the ſame, as occaſion, vocation, or ability ſhall ſerve, to revenge the injury done againſt God: That Princes for juſt cauſes may be depoſed: That if Princes be Tyrants againſt God and his Truth, their ſubjects are freed from their Oaths of obedience: And finally, that it is neither Birth-right or propinquity of bloud which makes a King rule over a people that profeſs Jeſus Chriſt; but that it comes from ſome ſpecial and extraordinary diſpenſation of Almighty God.*

45. Such is the *plain Song*, ſuch the *Deſcant* of theſe *Sons of Thunder*; firſt *tuned* by the *Genevian* Doctors, by them commended unto *Knox*, and by *Knox* preached unto his Brethren the Kirk of *Scotland*. In which what countenance he received from

from *Goodman*, and how far he was justified, if not succeeded by the pen of *Buchanan*, we shall see hereafter. In the mean time the poor Queen must needs be in a very sorry ease, when not her people onely must be poysoned with this dangerous Doctrine, but that she must be baffled and affronted by each sawcy *Presbyter*, who could pretend unto a Ministry in the Church: Of which the dealing of this man gives us proof sufficient, who did not onely revile her person in the Pulpit, and traduce her Government, but openly pronounced her to be an Idolatress, and therefore to be punished by her Subjects as the Law required. Nothing more ordinary with him in his factious Sermons, then to call her a *Slave to Sathan*, and to tell the people that *Gods vengeance hanged over the Realm, by reason of her impiety*: which what else was it, but to inflame the hearts of the people, as well against the Queen, as all them that served her? For in his publick Prayers he commonly observed this Form, *viz. O Lord, if it be thy good pleasure, purge the Queens heart from the venom of Idolatry, and deliver her from the bondage and thraldom of Sathan, in the which she yet remains for lack of true Doctrine*, &c. *that in so doing, she may avoid the eternal damnation which is ordained for all obstinate and impenitent to thee, and that this Realm may also escape that plague and vengeance which inevitably follows Idolatry, maintained in this Kingdom against thy manifest Word, and the Light thereof set forth unto them.* Such in a word was the intemperancie of his spirit, his hatred of her person, or contempt of her Government, that he opposed and crossed her openly in all her courses, and for her sake, fell foul upon all men of more moderate counsels.

46. During the interval between the death of her Father, and her own coming back from *France*, there had been little shewn of a Court in *Scotland*, as not much before. But presently on her return, a greater bravery in Apparel was taken up by the Lords and Ladies, and such as waited near her person, then in former times; never more visibly, then when they waited on her in a pompous manner, as she went to the Parliament of this year. This gives great scandal to the Preachers, to none more then *Knox*. The Preachers boldly in their Pulpits (that I say not malapertly) declared against the superfluity of their Clothes, and against the rest of their Vanities; which they affirm'd should provoke Gods vengeance, not onely against those foolish Women, but the whole Realm; and especially against those that maintained them in that odious abusing all things which might have better been bestowed. A course is taken principally by their sollicitations, that certain Articles were agreed on, and proposed in Parliament, for regulating all excess in Apparel as a great enormity, the *Stinking pride of Women*, as *Knox* plainly calls it. Who being sent for to the Court upon the like occasion, could not but pass a scorn upon such

ſuch of the Ladies whom he found more gorgeouſly attired then agreed with his liking, by telling them what a pleaſant life it was they lived, if either it would always laſt, or that they might go to Heaven in all that gear. *But fie on that knave death* (quoth he) *that will come whether we will or not; and when he hath laid an arreſt, then foul worms will be buſie with this fleſh, be it never ſo fair and tender; and the ſilly ſoul I fear will be ſo feeble, that it can neither carry with it gold, garniſhing, furbiſhing, pearl, nor precious ſtones.* So Zealous was he for a Purity both in Church and State, as not to tolerate *ſoft Raiment*, though in *Princes Palaces*. The Queen had graced the Parliament with her preſence three days together; in one of which ſhe entertains them with a Speech, to the great ſatisfaction of all her good Subjects. *Knox* calls it by the name of a painted Oration, tells us in ſcorn that one might have heard amongſt her flatterers that it was *Vox Dianæ*, the voice of a Goddeſs, (for it could not be *Vox Dei*) and not of a woman; others (as he purſues the Jeer) crying out, *God ſave that ſweet face; was there ever Orator ſpake ſo properly and ſo ſweetly? &c.* And this as much diſpleaſed the Preachers, as the pride of the Ladies.

47. The Queen had gained the thirds of all Church-Rents by an Act of State, for the more honourable ſupport of her ſelf and her Family, upon condition of making ſome allowance out of it to defray the Miniſters: How *Knox* approved of this, hath been ſhewn before. We muſt now ſee how he had trained up *Goodman* (if they were not both rather trained up by the ſame great Maſter) to purſue the quarrel; and how far he was ſeconded by the reſt of the Brethren. In a general Aſſembly held this year, the buſineſs of the thirds was again reſumed by ſome Commiſſioners of the *Kirk*. To which no ſatisfactory anſwer being given by the Queen and her Council, it was ſaid by thoſe of the Aſſembly, If the Queen will not, we muſt; for both ſecond and third parts are rigorouſly taken from us and our tenants. *Knox* added, that if others would follow his counſel, the Guard and the Papiſts ſhould complain as long as their Miniſters. *Goodman* takes fire upon this ſtrain, and ſtarts a doubt about the Title which the Queen had unto the thirds, or the Papiſts to the other two parts of the Church-Rents. At which when he was put in minde by *Ledington* that he was a ſtranger, and therefore was to be no medler; he boldly anſwered, that though he was a ſtranger in the Civil Policie of that Realm, yet ſtranger he was none in the Church of God; the care whereof did appertain to him no leſs in *Scotland*, then if he were in the midſt of *England*, his own native Country. So little was there got by talking unto any of theſe powerful Zealots. At whoſe exhorbitances when the Lord *James Steward* (not long before made Earl of *Murray*) ſeemed to be offended, and otherwiſe had appeared more favourable

vourable to the Queen then agreed with their liking; *Knox*, who before adored him above all men living, discharged himself by Letter in a churlish manner from any further intermedling in his affairs; in which he *commits him to his own wit* (so the Letter words it) *and to the conduct of those men who would better please him*; and in the end thereof upbraids him, that his preferment never came by any complying with impiety, nor by the maintaining of pestilent Papists.

48. But to proceed to greater matters: the Queen began her Summers Progress, and left a Priest behinde in *Halyrood*-house, to execute Divine-Offices in the Chappel to the rest of her Family. Some of the Citizens of *Edenborough* were observed to repair thither at the time of Mass; whereof the Preachers make complaint, and stir the people in their Sermons to such a fury, that they flock in great multitudes to the Palace, violently force open the Chappel-doors, seize upon such as they found there, and commit them to Prison, the Priest escaping with much difficulty by a privy Postern. The news of this disorder is carried post to the Queen, who thereupon gives order to the Provost of *Edenborough* to seize upon the persons of *Andrew Armstrong*, or *Patrick Cranston*, (the Chief-Ringleaders of the tumult) that they might undergo the Law at a time appointed, for fore-thought Felony, in making a violent invasion into the Queens Palace, and for spoliation of the same. This puts the Brethren into a heat, and *Knox* is ordered by the consent of the rest of the Ministers, to give notice unto all the Church of the present danger, that they might meet together as one man to prevent the mischief. In the close of which Letter he lets them know what hopes he had, that neither flattery nor fear would make them so far to decline from Christ Jesus, as that against their publick Promise, and solemn Bond, they would leave their dear Brethren in so just a cause. It was about the beginning of *August* that the tumult hapned, and the beginning of *October* that the Letter was written. A Copy of it comes into the hands of the Lords of the Council; by whom the writing of it was declared to be treason, to the great rejoycing of the Queen, who hoped on this occasion to revenge her self upon him for his former insolencies. But it fell out quite contrary to her expectation. *Knox* is commanded to appear before the Lords of the Council, and he comes accordingly; but comes accompanied with such a train of godly Brethren, that they did not onely fill the open part of the Court, but thronged up stairs, and prest unto the doors of the Council. This makes the man so confident, as to stand out stoutly against the Queen and her Council, affirming that the convocating of the people in so just a Cause, was no offence against the Law; and boldly telling them, that they who had inflamed the Queen against those poor men, were the Sons of the Devil; and therefore that it was no marvail if they obeyed the desires of their

Father, who was a Murtherer from the beginning. Moved with which confidence, or rather terrified with the clamours of the Rascal Rabble, even ready to break in upon them, the whole Nobility then present, absolved him of all the crimes objected to him, not without some praise to God for his modesty, and for his plain and sensible answers, as himself reports it.

1564. 49. Worse fared it with the Queen, and those of her Religion in another adventure, then it did in this. At the ministring of the Communion in *Edenborough* on the first of *April*, the Brethren are advertised that the Papists were busie at their Mass; some of which taking one of the Bayliffs with them, laid hands upon the Priest, the Master of the House, and two or three of the Assistants; all whom they carryed to the *Tole-booth* or *Common-hall*: The Priest they re-invest with his Massing-Garments; set him upon the Market-cross, unto which they tye him, holding a Chalice in his hand, which is tyed to it also, and there exposed him for the space of an hour to be pelted by the boys with rotten Eggs. The next day he is accused and convicted in a course of Law, by which he might have suffered death, but that the Law had never been confirmed by the King or Queen. So that instead of all other punishments which they had no just power to inflict upon him, he was placed in the same manner on the Market-cross, the Common-hang-man standing by, and there exposed to the same insolencies for the space of three or four hours, as the day before. Some Tumult might have followed on it, but that the Provost with some *Halberdiers* dispersed the multitude, and brought the poor Priest off with safety. Of this the Queen complains, but without any Remedy: Instead of other satisfaction, an Article is drawn up by the Commissioners of the next Assembly, to be presented to the Parliament then sitting at *Edenborough*; in which it was desired, *That the Papistical and blasphemous Mass, with all the Papistical Idolatry, and Papal Jurisdiction, be universally suppress't, and abolished throughout this Realm, not onely in the subjects, but the Queens own person*, &c. of which more hereafter. It was not long since nothing was more preached amongst them, then the great tyranny of the Prelates, and the unmerciful dealing of such others as were in Authority, in not permitting them to have the liberty of Conscience in their own Religion; which now they denyed unto their Queen.

50. But the affront which grieved her most, was the perverse, but most ridiculous opposition which they made to her Marriage: she had been desired for a Wife by *Anthony* of *Bourbon* King of *Navar*, *Lewis* Prince of *Conde*, Arch-duke *Charles*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and one of the younger Sons of the King of *Sweden*. But Queen *Elizabeth*, who endeavoured to keep her low, diswaded her from all Alliances of that high strain, perswaded her to Marry with some Noble Person of *England*,

for

for the better eſtabliſhment of her Succeſſion in the Crown of this Realm; and not obſcurely pointed to her the Earl of *Leiceſter*: Which being made known to the Lady *Margaret* Counteſs of *Lenox*, Daughter of *Margaret* Queen of *Scots*; and Grand-childe to King *Henry* the Seventh, from whom both Queens derived their Titles to this Crown; ſhe wrought upon the Queen of *Scots*, by ſome Court-Inſtruments, to accept her Eldeſt Son the Lord *Henry Steward* for her Husband. A Gentleman he was above all exception, of comely perſonage, and very plauſible behaviour, of Engliſh Birth and Education, and much about the ſame age with the Queen her ſelf. And to this Match ſhe was the more eaſily inclined, becauſe ſhe had been told of the King her Father, that he reſolved (if he had dyed without any Iſſue of his own) to declare the Earl of *Lenox* for his Heir Apparent, that ſo the Crown might be preſerved in the name of the *Stewarts*. But that which moſt prevailed upon her, was a fear ſhe had leſt the young Lord, being the next Heir unto her ſelf to the Crown of *England*, might Marry into ſome Family of power and puiſſance in that Kingdom; by means whereof he might prevent her of her hopes in the ſucceſſion; to which his being born in *England*, and her being an Alien and an Enemy, might give ſome advantage. Nor did it want ſome place in her conſideration, that the young Lord, and his Parents alſo, were of the ſame Religion with her, which they had conſtantly maintained, notwithſtanding all temptations to the contrary in the Court of *England*. To ſmooth the way to this great buſineſs, the Earl deſires leave of Queen *Elizabeth* to repair into *Scotland*, where he is graciouſly received, and in full Parliament reſtored unto his native Country, from whence he had been baniſhed two and twenty years. The young Lord follows not long after, and findes ſuch entertainment at the hands of that Queen, that report voiced him for her Husband before he could aſſure himſelf of his own affections. This proved no very pleaſing news to thoſe of the Congregation, who thought it more expedient to their Affairs, that the Queen ſhould not Marry at all; or at leaſt, not Marry any other Husband but ſuch as ſhould be recommended to her by the Queen of *England*, on whom their ſafety did depend. In which regard they are reſolved to oppoſe this Match, though otherwiſe they were aſſured that it would make the Queen grow leſs in reputation both at home and abroad, to Marry with one of her own ſubjects, of what blood ſoever.

51. And now comes *Knox* to play his prize, who more deſired that the Earl of *Leiceſter* (as one of his own Faction) ſhould eſpouſe the Queen, then the Earl deſired it for himſelf. If ſhe will Marry at all, let her make choice of one of the true Religion, for other Husband ſhe ſhould never have, if he could help it: And to this end he lays about him in a Sermon preached before the Parliament, at which the Nobility and Eſtates were then

assembled. And having roved sufficiently, as his custom was, at last he tells them in plain terms (desiring them to note the day, and take witness of it) *That whensoever the Nobility of* Scotland *who professe the Lord Jesus, should consent that an Infidel (and all Papists are Infidels,* saith he) *should be head to their Soveraign; they did, so far as in them lyes, banish Christ Jesus from this Realm, yea, and bring Gods judgements upon the Country, a plague upon themselves, and do small comfort to her self.* For which being questioned by the Queen in a private conference, he did not onely stand unto it, without the least qualifying or retracting of those harsh expressions; but must intitle them to God, as if they had been the immediate Inspirations of the holy Ghost: for in his Dialogue with the Queen, he affirmed expressly, that out of the preaching place few had occasion to be any way offended with him; but there (that is to say, in the Church or Pulpit) he was not Master of himself, but must obey him that commands him to speak plain, and flatter no flesh upon the face of the Earth. This insolent carriage of the man put the Queen into passion; insomuch, that one of her Pages (as *Knox* himself reports the story) could hardly finde Handkerchiefs enough to dry her eyes; with which the proud fellow shewed himself no further touched, then if he had seen the like tears from any one of his own Boys on a just correction.

52. Most men of moderate spirits seemed much offended at the former passage, when they heard it from him in the Pulpit, more when they heard of the affliction it had given the Queen. But it prevailed so far on the generality of the Congregation, that presently it became a matter of Dispute amongst them, *Whether the Queen might chuse to her self an Husband, or whether it were more fitting that the Estates of the Land should appoint one for her.* Some sober men affirmed in earnest, that the Queen was not to be barred that liberty which was granted to the meanest Subject. But the Chief leading-men of the Congregation had their own ends in it, for which they must pretend the safety of the Common-wealth. By whom it was affirmed as plainly, that in the Heir unto a Crown, the case was different, because, said they, such Heirs in assuming an Husband to themselves, did withal appoint a King to be over the Nation: And therefore that it was more fit, that the whole people should chuse a Husband to one Woman, then one Woman to elect a King to Rule over the whole people. Others that had the same designe, and were possibly of the same opinion, concerning the imposing of a Husband on her by the States of the Realm, disguised their purpose, by pretending another Reason to break off this Marriage: The Queen and the young Noble-man were too near of Kindred to be conjoyned in Marriage by the Laws of the Church; her Father and his Mother being born of the same *Venter*, as our Lawyers phrase it. But for this blow the

Queen

Queen did easily provide a Buckler, and dispatched one of her Ministers to the Court of *Rome* for a Dispensation. The other was not so well warded, but that it fell heavy at the last, and plunged her into all those miseries which ensued upon it.

53. But notwithstanding these obstructions, the Match went forwards in the Court, chiefly sollicited by one *David Risio*, born in *Piedmont*; who coming into *Scotland* in the company of an Ambassador from the Duke of *Savoy*, was there detained by the Queen, first in the place of a Musician, afterwards imployed in writing Letters to her Friends in *France*. By which he came to be acquainted with most of her secrets, and as her Secretary for the *French* Tongue to have a great hand in the managing of all Forreign transactions. This brought him into great envy with the *Scots*, proud in themselves, and not easie to be kept in fair terms, when they had no cause unto the contrary. But the preferring of this stranger was considered by them as a wrong to their Nation, as if not able to afford a sufficient man to perform that Office, to which the Educating of so many of them in the Court of *France* had made them no less fit and able then this Mungrel *Italian*. To all this *Risio* was no stranger, and therefore was to cast about how to save himself, and to preserve that Power and Reputation which he had acquired. Which to effect, he laboured by all means to promote the Match, that the young Lord being obliged unto him for so great a benefit, might stand the faster to him against all Court-factions, whensoever they should rise against him. And that it might appear to be his work onely, *Ledington* the chief Secretary is dispatched for *England*, partly to gain the Queens consent unto the Marriage, and partly to excuse the Earl of *Lenox* and his Son, for not returning to the Court as she had commanded. In the mean time he carries on the business with all care and diligence, to the end that the Match might be made up before his return. Which haste he made for these two Reason: first, lest the dissenting of that Queen, (whose influence he knew to be very great on the Kingdom of *Scotland*) might either beat it off, or at least retard it; the second, that the young Lord *Darnley*, for so they called him, might have the greater obligation to him for effecting the business; then if it had been done by that Queens consent. 1565.

54. To make all sure (as sure at least as humane Wisdom could project it) a Convention of the Estates is called in *May*, and the business of the Marriage is propounded to them. To which some yeilded absolutely without any condition, others upon condition that Religion might be kept indempnified; onely the Lord *Uchiltry*, one who adher'd to *Knox* in his greatest difficulties, maintained the Negative, affirming openly, that he would never admit a King of the Popish Religion. Encouraged by which general and free consent of the chief Nobility then present, the

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Lord *Darnly* not long after is made Baron of *Ardmonack*, created Earl of *Roſs* and Duke of *Rotheſay*, titles belonging to the eldeſt and the ſecond Sons of the Kings of *Scotland*. But on the other ſide, ſuch of the great Lords of the Congregation as were reſolved to work their own ends out of theſe preſent differences, did purpoſely abſent themſelves from that Convention, that is to ſay, the Earls of *Murray*, *Glencarne*, *Rothes*, *Arguile*, *&c.* together with Duke *Hamilton*, and his dependants, whom they had drawn into the Faction: and they convened at *Stirling* alſo, though not until the Queen and her retinue were departed from thence; and there it was reſolved by all means to oppoſe the Marriage, for the better avoiding of ſuch dangers and inconveniences which otherwiſe might enſue upon it. For whoſe encouragement, the Queen of *England* furniſhed them with ten thouſand pounds, that it might ſerve them for advance-money for the liſting of Souldiers, when an occaſion ſhould be offered to embroyl that Kingdom. Nor was *Knox* wanting for his part to advance the troubles, who by his popular declamations againſt the Match, had ſo incenſed the people of *Edenborough*, that they reſolved to put themſelves into a poſture of War, to elect Captains to command them, and to diſarm all thoſe who were ſuſpected to wiſh well unto it. But the Queen came upon them in ſo juſt a time, that the chief Leaders of the Faction were compelled to deſert the Town, and leave unto her mercy both their Goods and Families; to which they were reſtored not long after by her grace and clemency.

55. A general Aſſembly at the ſame time was held in *Edenborough*, who falſely thinking that the Queen in that conjuncture could deny them nothing, preſented their deſires unto her: In the firſt whereof it was demanded, *That the Papiſtical and blaſphemous Maſs, with all Popiſh Idolatry, and the Popes juriſdictions, ſhould be univerſally ſuppreſt and aboliſhed throughout the whole Realm, not onely amongſt the Subjects, but in the Queens Majeſties own Perſon and Family.* In the next place it was deſired, *That the true Religion formerly received ſhould be profeſſed by the Queen, as well as by the Subjects; and people of all ſorts bound to reſort upon the Sundays, at leaſt to the Prayers and Preachings, as in the former times to Maſs: That ſure proviſion ſhould be made for ſuſtentation of the Miniſtry, as well for the time preſent, as for the time to come; and their Livings aſſigned them in the places where they ſerved, or at leaſt in the parts next adjacent; and that they ſhould not be put to crave the ſame at the hands of any others: That all Benefices then vacant, and ſuch as had fallen void ſince* March 1558, *or ſhould happen thereafter to be void, ſhould be diſpoſed to perſons qualified for the Miniſtry, upon tryal and admiſſion by the Superintendent;* with many other demands of like weight and quality. To which the Queen returned this anſwer: firſt, *That*

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she could not be perswaded that there was any impiety in the Mass: That she had been always bred in the Religion of the Church of Rome, *which she esteemed to be agreeable to the Word of God, and therefore trusted that her subjects would not force her to do any thing against her conscience: That hitherto she never had, nor did intend hereafter to force any mans conscience, but to leave every one to the free exercise of that Religion which to him seemed best; which might sufficiently induce them to oblige her by the like indulgence.* She answered to the next: *That she did not think it reasonable to defraud her self of such a considerable part of the Royal Patrimony, as to put the Patronages of Benefices out of her own power; the publick necessities of the Crown being such, that they required a great part of the Church-Rents to defray the same:* Which notwithstanding, she delared, *that the necessities of the Crown being first supplyed, care should be taken for the sustentation of the Ministers in some reasonable and fit proportion, to be assigned out of the neerest and most commodious places to their several dwellings.* For all the rest, she was contented to refer her self to the following Parliament, to whose determinations in the particulars desired, she would be conformable.

56. Not doubting but this answer might sufficiently comply with all expectations, she proceeds to the Marriage, publickly solemnized in the midst of *July*, by the Dean of *Restalrig*, whom I conceive to be the Dean of her Majesties Chappel, in which that service was performed; and the next day the Bridegroom was solemnly proclaimed King by the sound of Trumpet; declared to be associated with her in the publick Government, and order given to have his name used in all Coyns and Instruments. But neither the impossibility of untying this knot, nor the gracious answer she had made to the Commissioners of the late Assembly, could hinder the Confederate Lords from breaking out into action. But first they published a Remonstrance (as the custom was) to abuse the people; in which it was made known to all whom it might concern, *That the Kingdom was openly wronged, the liberties thereof oppressed, and a King imposed upon the people without the consent of the Estates*; which they pretend to be a thing not practised in the former time, contrary to the Laws and received Customs of the Country: *And thereupon desired all good Subjects to take the matter into consideration, and to joyn with them in resisting those beginnings of Tyranny.* But few there were that would be taken with these Baits, or thought themselves in any danger by the present Marriage; which gave the Queen no power at home, and much less abroad. And that they might continue always in so good a posture, the young King was perswaded to shew himself at *Knoxes* Sermon; but received such an entertainment from that fiery and seditious spirit, as he little looked for.

for. For *Knox*, according to his cuſtom, neither regarding the Kings preſence, nor fearing what might follow on his alienating from the cauſe of the Kirk, fell amongſt other things to ſpeak of the Government of wicked Princes, who for the ſins of the people were ſent as Tyrants and Scourges to plague them; but more particularly, that people were never more ſcourged by God, then by advancing boys and Women to the Regal Throne. Which if it did diſpleaſe the King, and give offence to many Conſcientious and Religious men, can ſeem ſtrange to none.

57. In the mean time the diſcontented Lords depart from *Stirling* more diſcontented then they came, becauſe the people came not in to aid them, as they had expected. From *Stirling* they remove to *Paiſely*, and from thence to *Hamilton*, the Caſtle whereof they reſolved to Fortifie for their preſent defence. But they were followed ſo cloſe by the King and Queen, and ſo divided in opinion amongſt themſelves, that it ſeemed beſt to them to be gone, and try what Friends and Followers they could finde in *Edenborough*: but they found that place too hot for them alſo; the Captain of the Caſtle did ſo ply them with continual ſhot, that it was held unſafe for them to abide there longer. From thence therefore they betook themſelves to the Town of *Dumfreis*, not far from the City of *Carliſle* in *England*, into which they might eaſily eſcape, whatſoever happened, as in time they did. For the King leaving his old Father, the Earl of *Lenox*, to attend them there, march'd with his Forces into *Fife*, where the party of the Lords ſeemed moſt conſiderable; which Province they reduced to their obedience: ſome of the great Lords of it had forſook their dwellings, many were taken priſoners and put to Ranſome, and ſome of the chief Towns fined for their late diſloyalty: Which done, they march to *Edenborough*, and from thence followed to *Dumfreis*. On whoſe approach, the Lords, unable to defend themſelves againſt their Forces, put themſelves into *Carliſle*, where they are courteouſly received by the Earl of *Bedford*, who was then Lord-Warden of the Marches; from thence Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Glencarne* and *Rothes*, the Lord *Uchiltry*, the Commendator of *Kilvinning*, and divers others of good note, removed not long after to *New-caſtle*, that they might have the eaſier paſſage into *France* or *Germany*, if their occaſions ſo required. The Earl of *Murray* is diſpatched to the Court of *England*; but there he found ſo little comfort, at the leaſt in ſhew, as brought the Queen under a ſuſpition amongſt the *Scots*, either of deep diſſimulation, or of great inconſtancy. The news whereof did ſo diſtract and divide the reſt, that Duke *Hamilton* under-hand made his own peace with his injured Queen, and put himſelf into her power

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in the *December* following. The falling off of which great person so amazed the rest, that now they are resolved to follow all those desperate counsels, by which they might preserve themselves and destroy their enemies, though to the ruine of the King, the Queen, and their natural Country. But what they did in the pursuance of those counsels, must be reserved for the subject of another Book.

The end of the fourth Book.

AERIUS REDIVIVUS:

OR,

The History

Of the

PRESBYTERIANS.

LIB. V.

Containing

A further discovery of their dangerous Doctrines; their oppositions to Monarchical and Episcopal Government; their secret Practices and Conspiracies to advance their Discipline; together with their frequent Treasons and Rebellions in the pursuance of the same, from the year 1565, till the year 1585.

1. AMongst the many natural Children of King *James* the Fifth, none were more eminent and considerable in the course of these times, then *James* Pryor of St. *Andrews*, and *John* Pryor of *Coldingham*; neither of which were men in Orders, or trained up to Learning, or took any further charge upon them, then to receive the profit of their several places, which they enjoyed as Commendators, or Administrators, according to the ill custom of some Princes in *Germany*. *John* the less active of the two, but Father of a Son who created more mischief to King *James* the Sixth, then *James* the other Brother did to the present Queen: For having took to Wife a Daughter of the House of *Hepbourn*, Sister and next Heir of *James Hepbourn* Earl of *Bothwel* (of whom more anon) he was by

by her the Father of *Francis Stewart*, who ſucceeded in that Earldom on the death of his Unckle. But *James* the other Brother was a man of a more ſtirring ſpirit, dextrous in the diſpatch of his buſineſs, cunning in turning all things to his own advantage; a notable diſſembler of his love and hatred, and ſuch a Maſter in the art of inſinuation, that he knew how to work all parties to eſpouſe his intereſt. His preferments lay altogether in Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, deſigned unto him by his Father, or conferred upon him by his Siſter, or the King her Husband. But that all three conjured to the making of him, appears by the Kings Letter on the ſeventeenth day of *July*, upon this occaſion. At what time as the Marriage was ſolemnized between *Francis* then *Daulphin* of *France*, and the Queen of *Scots*; he went thither to attend thoſe tryumphs, where he became a Suiter to the Queen his Siſter, that ſome further Character or Mark of Honour might be ſet upon him then the name of Pryor. But the Queen having been advertiſed by ſome other Friends, that he was of an aſpiring minde, and enterpriſing nature, and of a ſpirit too great for a private Fortune, thought it not good to make him more conſiderable in the eye of the people then he was already; and ſo diſmiſt him for the preſent.

2. The fruſtrating of theſe hopes ſo exceedingly vexed him (as certainly ſome are as much diſquieted with the loſs of what they never had, as others with the ruine of a preſent poſſeſſion) that the next year he joyned himſelf to thoſe of the Congregation, took *Knox* into his moſt immediate and particular care, and went along with him hand in hand in defacing the Churches of St. *Andrews*, *Stirling*, *Lithgow*, *Edenborough*, and indeed what not? And for ſo doing, he received two ſharp and chiding Letters from the King and Queen, upbraiding him with former Benefits received from each, and threatning ſevere puniſhment, if he returned not immediately to his due obedience. Which notwithſtanding, he continues in his former courſes, applies himſelf unto the Queen and Council of *England*, and lays the plot for driving the French Forces out of *Scotland*: Which done, he cauſed the Parliament of 1560. to be held at *Edenborough*, procures ſome Acts to paſs for baniſhing the Popes Supremacie, repealed all former Statutes which were made in maintainance of that Religion, and ratifies the Confeſſion of the Kirk of *Scotland* in ſuch form and manner as it was afterwards confirmed in the firſt Parliament of King *James* the Sixth. Upon the death of *Francis* the young *French* King, he goes over again. And after ſome condolements betwixt him and the Queen, intimates both to her and the Princes of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, how ill the rugged and untractable nature of the *Scots* would ſort with one, who had been uſed to the compliances and affabilities of the Court of *France*; adviſeth that ſome principal perſon of the Realm of *Scotland* might be

named for Regent; and in a manner recommends himself to them as the fittest man. But the worst was, that his Mother had been heard to brag amongst some of her Gossips, that her Son was the lawful Issue of King *James* the Fifth; to whose desires she had never yeilded, but on promise of Marriage. This was enough to cross him in his present aims, and not to trust him with a power by which he might be able to effect his purposes, if he had any such aspirings. And so he was dismist again, without further honour then the carrying back of a Commission to some Lords in *Scotland*, by which they were impowered to manage the affairs of that Kingdom till the Queens return.

3. This second disappointment adds more Fewel to the former flame; and he resolves to give the Queen as little comfort of that Crown, as if it were a Crown of Thorns, as indeed it proved. For taking *England* in his way, he applies himself to some of the Lords of the Council, to whom he represents the dangers which must needs ensue to Queen *Elizabeth*, if *Mary* his own Queen were suffered to return into her Country, and thereby lay all passages open to the powers of *France*, where she had still a very strong and prevailing party. But when he found that she had fortunately escaped the Ships of *England*, that the Subjects from all parts had went away extremely satisfied with her gratious carriage, he resolved to make one in the *Hosanna*, as afterwards he was the Chief in the *Crucifige*; he applies himself unto the Queens humour with all art and industry, and really performed to her many signal services, in gratifying her with the free exercise of her own Religion; in which, by reason of his great Authority with the Congregation, he was best able to oblige both her self and her servants. By this means he became so great in the eyes of the Court, that the Queen seemed to be governed wholly by him: and that he might continue always in so good a posture, she first conferred upon him the Earldom of *Murray*, and after married him to a Daughter of *Keith*, Earl-Marshal of *Scotland*. Being thus honoured and allyed, his next care was to remove all impediments which he found in the way to his aspiring. The Ancient and Potent Family of the *Gourdons* he suppressed and ruined, though after it reflourished in its ancient glory: But his main business was to oppress the *Hamiltons*, as the next Heirs unto the Crown in the common opinion; the Chief whereof (whom the *French* King had created Duke of *Chasteau-Herald*, a Town in *Poitou*) he had so discountenanced, that he was forced to leave the Court, and suffer his eldest Son the Earl of *Arrane* to be kept in prison, under pretence of some distemper in his brain. When any great Prince sought the Queen in Marriage, he used to tell her, that the *Scots* would never brook the power of a stranger; and that whensoever that Crown had fallen into the hands of a Daughter, as it did to her, a Husband was chosen for her

her by the Estates of the Kingdom, of their own Language, Laws and Parentage. But when this would not serve his turn to break off the Marriage with the young Lord *Darnley*, none seemed more forward then himself to promote that Match which he perceived he could not hinder: Besides, he knew that the Gentleman was very young, of no great insight in business, mainly addicted to his pleasures, and utterly unexperienced in the affairs of that Kingdom; so that he need not fear the weakning of his power by such a King, who desired not to take the Government upon him. And in this point he agreed well enough with *David Rissio*, though on different ends. But when he found the Queen so passionately affected to this second Husband; that all Graces and Court-favours were to pass by him; that he had not the Queens ear so advantagiously as before he had; and that she had revoked some Grants which were made to him and others, during her minority, as against the Law; he thought it most expedient to the furthering of his own concernments, to peece himself more nearly with the Earls of *Morton*, *Glencarne*, *Arguile* and *Rothes*, the Lords *Ruthen*, *Uchiltry*, *&c.* whom he knew to be zealously affected to the Reformation, and no way pleased with the Queens Marriage to a person of the other Religion. By whom it was resolved, that *Morton* and *Ruthen* should remain in the Court, as well to give as to receive intelligence of all proceedings: The others 1565.
were to take up Arms, and to raise the people, under pretence of the Queens Marriage to a man of the Popish Religion, not taking with her the consent of the Queen of *England*. But being too weak to keep the Field, they first put themselves into *Carlisle*, and afterwards into *New-castle*, as before was said; and being in this manner fled the Kingdom, they are all proclaimed Traytors to the Queen; a peremptory day appointed to a publick Tryal; on which if they appeared not at the Bar of Justice, they were to undergo the sentence of a condemnation.

4. And now their Agents in the Court begin to bustle: the King was soon perceived to be a meer outside-man, of no deep reach into Affairs, and easily wrought on; which first induced the Queen to set the less value on him; nor was it long before some of their Court-Females whispered into her ears, that she was much neglected by him, that he spent more of his time in Hawking and Hunting, and perhaps in more unfit divertisements (if *Knox* speak him rightly) then he did in her company; and therefore that it would be requisite to lure him in, before he was too much on the Wing, and beyond her call. On these suggestions, she gave order to her Secretaries, and other Officers, to place his name last in all publick Acts, and in such Coyns as were new stamped to leave it out. This happened as they would have wished: For hereupon Earl *Morton* closeth with the King, insinuates unto him how unfit it was that he

should

ſhould be ſubiect to his Wife; that it was the duty of women to obey, and of men to govern; and therefore that he might do well to ſet the Crown on his own head, and take that power into his hands which belonged unto him. When they perceived that his ears lay open to the like temptations, they then began to buz into them, that *Riſio* was grown too powerful for him in the Court, that he out-vied him in the bravery both of Clothes and Horſes, and that this could proceed from no other ground then the Queens affection, which was ſuſpected by wiſe men to be ſomewhat greater then might ſtand with honour. And now the day draws on apace, on which Earl *Murray* and the reſt were to make their appearance; and therefore ſomewhat muſt be done to put the Court into ſuch confuſion, and the City of *Edenborough* into ſuch diſorder, that they might all appear without fear or danger of any legal proſecution to be made againſt him. The day deſigned for their appearance, was the twelfth day of *March*; and on the day before, ſay ſome, (or third day before, as others) the Conſpirators go unto the King, ſeemed to accuſe him of delay, tell him that now or never was the time to revenge his injuries, for that he ſhould now finde the fellow in the Queens private Chamber, without any force to make reſiſtance. So in they ruſh, finde *David* ſitting at the Queens Table, the Counteſs of *Arguile* onely between them. *Ruthen* commands him to ariſe, and to go with him, telling him that the place in which he ſate did no way beſeem him. The poor fellow runs unto the Queen for protection, and claſps his arms about her middle; which the King forcibly unfaſteneth, and puts him to the power of his mortal enemies, by whom he was dragged down the Stairs, and ſtabbed in ſo many places (fifty three, ſaith *Knox*) that his whole body ſeemed to be like a piece of Cut-work. Which barbarous Murther *Knox* proclaims for an act of juſtice, calls it a *juſt puniſhment* on that *Pultron and vile Knave* David, for *abuſing the Common-wealth, and his other villanies*; and heavily complains, that the *Chief Actors* in the ſame (which he extols for a *juſt act, and moſt worthy of all praiſe*, p. 96.) *were ſo unworthily left by the reſt of their Brethren, and forced to ſuffer the bitterneſs of exile and baniſhment.*

5. The Queen was then grown great with Childe, and being affrighted at the ſuddenneſs of this execution, and the fear of ſome treaſonable attempt againſt her perſon, was in no ſmall danger of miſcarrying. The Court was full of Tumult, and the noiſe thereof ſo alarmed the Town, that the people flocked thither in great multitudes to know the matter; to whom the King ſignified out of a Window, that the Queen was ſafe; which ſomewhat appeaſed them for the preſent: But notwithſtanding, both the Court and City were in ſuch diſtraction, that when the Earl of *Murray* and the reſt of the Confederates tendred their appearance, and offered themſelves unto the tryal

of

of the Law, there was no information made againſt them, nor any one ſufficiently inſtructed for the proſecution. Which being obſerved, they addreſs themſelves to the Parliament Houſe, and there take inſtruments to teſtifie upon Record, that they were ready to anſwer whatſoever could be charged upon them; but none there to proſecute. And here the Scene begins to change: *Morton* and *Ruthen*, and the reſt of their accomplices, betake themſelves to *New-caſtle*, as the ſafeſt Sanctuary; and *Murray* ſtaid behinde to negotiate for them. And he applyed himſelf ſo dextrouſly in his negotiation, that firſt he endears himſelf to the Queen his Siſter, by cauſing her Guards to be again reſtored unto her, which had been taken from her at the time of the murther. She on the other ſide, to ſhew how much ſhe valued the affection of ſo dear a Brother, was eaſily intreated that *Morton*, *Lindeſay*, and the reſt who remained at *New-caſtle*, ſhould be permitted to return; but ſo, that it ſhould rather ſeem to be done upon the earneſt ſollicitations of the Earls of *Huntley* and *Arguile*, then at his requeſt. The King in the mean time findes his errour, and earneſtly ſupplicates unto her for a reconcilement; aſſuring her, that he had never fallen on that deſperate action, but as he was forcibly thruſt upon it by *Morton* and *Murray*. And that he might regain his reputation in the ſight of the people, he openly proteſted his innocency at the Croſs in *Edenborough* by ſound of Trumpet, and publickly averred, that his conſent had gone no further with the Murtherers, then for the recalling of the baniſhed Lords which were fled into *England*. The young Prince was not ſo well ſtudied in the School of miſchief, as to have learned that there is no ſafety in committing one act of wickedneſs, but by proceeding to another; or at the leaſt, by ſtanding ſtoutly unto that which was firſt committed, that ſo his confidence might in time be took for innocencie. A leſſon which the reſt of the Confederates had took out long ſince, and were now upon the point to practice it upon himſelf.

6. For by this piece of oſtentation and impertinencie, the King gained nothing on the people, and loſt himſelf exceedingly amongſt the Peers; for as none of the common ſort did believe him to be the more innocent of the wicked murther, becauſe he waſhed his hands of it in the ſight of the multitude; ſo the great men which had the guiding of the Faction, diſdained him as a weak and impotent perſon, not to be truſted in affairs of his own concernment: nor did he ediſie better with the Queen, then he did with the Subjects; who was ſo far from ſuffering any hearty reconciliation to be made between them, that ſhe expreſt more favour unto *Murray* then in former times. Which ſo exaſperated the neglected and forſaken Prince, that he reſolved on ſending *Murray* after *Riſio*; with which he makes the Queen acquainted, in hopes ſhe would approve of it as an excellent ſervice; but ſhe diſſwades him from the fact, and tells 1566.

Murray

Murray of it; knowing full well, that which ſoever of the two miſcarried in it, ſhe ſhould either looſe an hated Friend, or a dangerous Enemy. *Murray* communicates the Affair with *Merton*, and the reſt of his Friends. By whom it is agreed, that they ſhould take into their Friendſhip the Earle of *Bothwel*, a man of an audacious ſpirit, apt for any miſchief; but otherwiſe of approved valour, and of a known fidelity to the Queen in her greateſt dangers. He had before ſome quarrels with the Earl of *Murray*, of whoſe deſigns he was not diſtruſtful without cauſe; and therefore laboured both by force and practice, either to make him leſs or nothing. But *Murray* was too hard for him at the weapon of Wit, and was ſo much too powerful for him, both in Court and Conſiſtory, that he was forced to quit the Kingdom, and retire to *France*. Returning at ſuch time as *Murray* and the reſt of the Confederates were compelled to take ſanctuary at *New-caſtle*, he grew into great favour with the Queen, whoſe diſcontents againſt the King he knew how to nouriſh; which made his friendſhip the more acceptable, and his aſſiſtance the more uſeful in the following Tragedy. Thus *Herod* and *Pilate* are made friends, and the poor King muſt fall a *peace offering* for their Redintegration.

7. But firſt they would expect the iſſue of the Queens delivery, by the ſucceſs whereof, the principal conſpirators were reſolved to ſteer their courſe. On the 19 day of *July*, ſhe is delivered of a Son in the Caſtle of *Edenborough*, to the general joy of all the Kingdom, and the particular comfort of the chief Governours of Affairs for the Congregation. There was no more uſe now of a King or Queen, when God had given them a young Prince to ſit upon the Throne of his Fathers; in whoſe minority they might put themſelves into ſuch a poſture, that he ſhould never be able to act much againſt them when he came to age. And now they deal with *Bothwel* more effectually then before they did, incourage him to remove the King by ſome means or other, to ſeparate himſelf from his own Wife, (a Daughter of the Houſe of *Huntley*) and Eſpouſe the Queen. Let him but act the firſt part, as moſt proper for him, and they would eaſily finde a way to bring on the reſt. For the performance whereof, and to ſtand to him in it againſt all the world, they bound themſelves ſeverally and joyntly under Hand and Seal. In which moſt wicked practice they had all theſe ends: firſt, the diſpatching of the King; next, the confounding of *Bothwel*, whom they feared and hated; thirdly, the weakning of the Queen both in power and credit, and conſequently the drawing of all Affairs to their own diſpoſing. *Bothwel* in order to the plot makes uſe of *Ledington* to prompt the Queen to a Divorce, which he conceived might eaſily be effected in the Court of *Rome*; and is himſelf as diligent upon all occaſions to work upon the Queens diſpleaſures, and

make

make the breach wider betwixt her and her Husband. The greatneſs of which breach was before ſo viſible, that nothing was more commonly known, nor generally complained of amongſt the people: But never was it made ſo eminently notorious in the eye of Strangers, as at the Chriſtening of the young Prince in *December* following. At which time ſhe would neither ſuffer the Ambaſſadors of *France* or *England* to give him a viſit, nor permit him to ſhew himſelf amongſt them at the Chriſtening Banquet. From *Stirling*, where the Prince was Chriſtened, he departs for *Glaſco*, to finde ſome comfort from his Father. To which place he was brought not without much difficulty: for falling ſick upon the way, it appeared plainly by ſome ſymptoms that he had been poyſoned, the terrible effects whereof he felt in all the parts of his body with unſpeakable torments: But ſtrength of Nature, Youth and Phyſick did ſo work together, that he began to be in a good way of recovery, to the great grief of thoſe who had laid the plot: Some other way muſt now be taken to effect the buſineſs, and none more expedient then to perſwade the Queen to ſee him, to flatter him with ſome hopes of her former favour, and bring him back with her to *Edenborough*; which was done accordingly. At *Edenborough* he was lodged at a private houſe, on the outſide of the Town, (an houſe unſeemly for a King, as *Knox* confeſſeth) and therefore the fitter for their purpoſe: where, on the 9 of *February* at night, the poor Prince was ſtrangled, his dead body laid in an Orchard near adjoyning, with one of his Servants lying by it, whom they alſo murthered; and the houſe moſt ridiculouſly blown up with powder, as if that blow could have been given without mangling and breaking the two bodies in a thouſand pieces.

8. The infamy of this horrid murther is generally caſt upon the Queen, by the arts of thoſe whom it concerned to make her odious with all honeſt men; nor did there want ſome ſtrong preſumptions which might induce them to believe that ſhe was of the counſel in the fact; and with the good Brethren of the Congregation, every preſumption was a proof, and every weak proof was thought ſufficient to convict her of it. But that which moſt confirmed them in their ſuſpitions, was her affection unto *Bothwel*, whom ſhe firſt makes Duke of *Orkney*, and on the 15 of *May* is married to him in the Chappel of *Halyrood*-houſe, according to the form obſerved by thoſe of the Congregation. But againſt theſe preſumptions there were ſtronger evidences: *Bothwel* being compelled not long after to flee into *Denmark*, did there moſt conſtantly profeſs, both living and dying, that the Queen was innocent. *Morton* affirmed the ſame at his execution above twelve years after, relating that when *Bothwel* dealt with him about the murther, and that he ſhewed himſelf unwilling to conſent unto it without the Queens Warrant and Allowance; *Bothwel* made anſwer, that they muſt not give themſelves

ſelves any hope of that, but that the buſineſs muſt be done without her privity. But that which ſeems to make moſt for her juſtification, was the confeſſion of *Hepbourne*, *Dagliſh*, and others of *Bothwels* ſervants, who were condemned for murdering the young King; and being brought unto the Gallows, they proteſted before God and his holy Angels, that *Bothwel* had never told them of any other Authors of ſo lewd a counſel, but onely the two Earls of *Morton* and *Murray*. In the mean time the common infamy prevailed, and none is made more guilty of it then this wretched Queen, who had been drawn to give conſent to her marriage with *Bothwel*, by the ſollicitation and advice of thoſe very men, who afterwards condemned her for it. In order to whoſe ends, *Buchanan* publiſhes a moſt
1567. peſtilent and malicious Libel, which he called, *The defection*, wherein he publickly traduced her for living an adulterous life with *David Riſio*, and afterward with *Bothwel* himſelf; that to precipitate her unlawful marriage with him, ſhe had contrived the death of the King her husband, projected a Divorce between *Bothwel* and his former Wife, contrary to the Laws both of God and Man. Which Libel being printed and diſperſed abroad, obtained ſo much credit with moſt ſorts of people, that few made queſtion of the truth of the accuſations. Moſt true it is, that *Buchanan* is reported by King *James* himſelf to have confeſſed with great grief at the time of his death, how falſly and injuriouſly he had dealt with her in that ſcandalous Pamphlet: but this confeſſion came too late, and was known to few, and therefore proved too weak a remedy for the former miſchief.

9. He publiſhed at the ſame time alſo that ſeditious Pamphlet, which he entituled, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*. In which he laboured to make proof, that the Supreme power of the *Scottiſh* Nation was in the body of the people, no otherwiſe in the King but by delegation; and therefore that it was in the peoples power, not onely to control and cenſure, but alſo to depoſe and condemn their Kings, if they found them faulty. The man was learned for his time, but a better Poet then Hiſtorian, and yet a better Hiſtorian then he was a States-man. For being of the *Genevian* Leven, he fitted all his State-maximes unto *Calvins* Principles, and may be thought in many points to out-go his Maſter. Now in this Pamphlet we may finde theſe Aphoriſms laid down for undoubted truths, which no *true Scot* muſt dare to queſtion, unleſs he would be thought to betrary his Country; that is to ſay, *That the people is better then the King, and of greater Authority: That the people have right to beſtow the Crown at their pleaſure: That the making of the Laws doth belong to the people, and Kings are but Maſters of the Rolls: That they have the ſame power over the King, that the King hath over any one man: That it were good that rewards were appointed by the people for ſuch as ſhould kill Tyrants, as*

commonly

there is for thoſe that have killed either Wolves or Bears, or have taken their Whelps: That the people may arraign their Princes; that the Miniſters may excommunicate their King; and that whoſoever is by Excommunication caſt into Hell, is made thereby unworthy to live on earth.

10. And that he might make ſure work of it, he takes upon him to reply upon all Objections, which ſober and more knowing men had found out to the contrary. For whereas it had been objected, *That cuſtom was againſt ſuch dealing with Princes: That* Jeremiah *commanded obedience to* Nebuchadnezzar: *That God placed Tyrants ſometimes for puniſhment of his people: That the Jews dealt not ſo with any of their Princes; and that there was no example to be found in Scripture, to ſhew that ſubjects may ſo uſe their Governours, as is there pretended:* To all theſe he returns his particular anſwers; and in this ſort he anſwereth to them, that is to ſay, *That there is nothing more dangerous to be followed then a common cuſtom: That the example is but ſingular, and concludeth nothing: That as God placed Tyrants to puniſh the people, ſo he appoints private men to kill them: That the Kings of the Jews were not elected by the people, and therefore might not deal with them, as they might in* Scotland, *where Kings depend wholly on the peoples Election: And finally, that there were ſundry good and wholeſome Laws in divers Countries, of which there is no example in holy Scripture.* And whereas others had objected, *That by St.* Pauls *Doctrine we are bound to pray for Kings and Princes:* The Argument is evaded by this handſome ſhift, *That we are bound to pray for thoſe whom we ought to puniſh.* But theſe are onely velitations, certain preparatory skirmiſhes to the grand encounter; the main battail followeth. For finally, the principal objection is, *That St.* Paul *hath commanded every ſoul to be ſubject to the higher Powers; and that St.* Peter *hath required us to ſubmit our ſelves to every Ordinance of man, whether it be unto the King as to the Supreme, or unto ſuch as be in Authority by and under him.* And hereunto they frame their Anſwer in ſuch a manner, as if they knew Gods minde better then the Apoſtles did, or that of the Apoſtles better then they did themſelves.

11. The anſwer is, that the Apoſtles writ this in the Churches infancy, when there were not many Chriſtians, few of them rich and of ability to make reſiſtance: *As if* (ſaid he) *a man ſhould write to ſuch Chriſtians as are under the* Turk, *in ſubſtance poor, in courage feeble, in ſtrength unarmed, in number few, and generally ſubject unto all kinde of injuries; would he not write as the Apoſtles did? who did reſpect the men they writ to, their words not being to be extended to the body or people of the Common-wealth. For imagine* (ſaith he) *that either of the Apoſtles were now alive, and lived where both the Kings and people did profeſs Chriſtianity, and that there were ſuch Kings as would have their wills to ſtand for laws, as cared neither for God nor*

Man; *as beſtowed the Churches Revenues upon Jeſters and Raſcals, and ſuch as gibed at thoſe who did profeſs the more ſincere Religion*; *what would they write of ſuch to the Church? Surely except they would diſſent from themſelves, they would ſay, That they accounted no ſuch for Magiſtrates*; *they would forbid all men from ſpeaking unto them, and from keeping their company*; *they would leave them to their ſubjects to be puniſhed*; *nor would they blame them if they accounted not ſuch men for their Kings, with whom they could have no ſociety by the Laws of God*. So excellent a proficient did this man ſhew himſelf in the Schools of *Calvin*, that he might worthily have challenged the place of Divinity-Reader in *Geneva* it ſelf.

12. To put theſe Principles into practice, a Bond is made at *Stirling* by ſome of the chief Lords of the Congregation, pretended for the preſervation of the Infant-Prince; but aiming alſo at the puniſhment of *Bothwel*, and the reſt of the Murtherers. The firſt that entred into this Combination; were the Earls of *Athol*, *Argile*, *Morton*, *Marre* and *Glencarne*, with the Lords *Lindſay* and *boyd*; to which were added not long after, the Lords *Hume* and *Ruthen*, (this *Ruthen* being the Son of him who had acted in the Murther of *David Riſio*) together with the Lairds of *Drumlanrig*, *Tulibardin*, *Seffourd* and *Grange*, men of great power and influence on their ſeveral Countries; beſides many others of good note. The Earl *Murray* having laid the plot, obtained the Queens leave to retire into *France* till the times were quieter, committing to the Queen the Government of his whole Eſtate; that ſo if his deſigne miſcarried, as it poſſibly might, he might come off without the leaſt hazard of eſtate or honour. Of this conſpiracie the Queen receives advertiſement, and preſently prepares for Arms, under pretence of rectifying ſome abuſes about the Borders. The Confederates were not much behind; and having got together a conſiderable power, made an attempt on *Borthwick* Caſtle, where the Queen and *Bothwel* then remained. But not being ſtrong enough to carry the place at the firſt attempt, *Bothwel* eſcaped unto *Dunbar*, whom the Queen followed ſhortly after in mans apparel. Miſſing their prey, the Confederates march toward *Edenborough* with their little army, and make themſelves Maſters of the Town. But underſtanding that the Queens Forces were upon their march, they betook themſelves unto the field, gained the advantage of the ground, and thereby gave her ſuch a diffidence of her good ſucceſs, that having entertained them with a long parley, till *Bothwel* was gone off in ſafety, ſhe put her ſelf into their hands without ſtriking a blow.

13. With this great prey the Confederates returned to *Edenborough* in the middle of *June*; and the next day order her to be ſent as Priſoner to *Lochlevin*-houſe, under the conduct of the Lords *Ruthen* and *Lindſay*, by whom ſhe was delivered in a very plain and ſorry attire to the cuſtody of *Murray*'s Mother, who domineered

domineered over the unfortunate Lady with contempt enough. The next day after her commitment, the Earl of *Glencarne* passeth to the Chappel in *Halyrood* house, where he defaceth all the Vestments, breaks down the Altar, and destroys the Images. For which though he was highly magnified by *Knox*, and the rest of the Preachers; yet many of the chief Confederates were offended at it, as being done without their consent, when a great storm was gathering towards them, by the conjunction of some other of the principal Lords on the Queens behalf. To reconcile this party to them, and prevent the Rupture, *Knox* with some other of their Preachers are dispatched away with Letters of Credence, and instructions for attoning the difference. But they effected nothing to the benefit of them that sent them, and not much neither to their own, though they had some concernments of self-interest besides the publick, which they made tender of to their considerations. A general Assembly at the same time was held in *Edenborough*, with which upon the coming back of these Commissioners, it was thought necessary to ingratiate themselves by all means imaginable. And thereupon it was agreed, that the Acts of Parliament made in the year 1560, for the suppressing of Popery, should be confirmed in the next Parliament then following; that the assignation of the Shires for the Ministers maintainance, should be duly put in execution, till the whole Patrimony of the Church might be invested in them in due form of Law; which was conditioned to be done (if it could not be done sooner) in that Parliament also. Some other points of huge concernment to the Church were then also moved; but they were onely promised, without any performance. It was also then agreed between them, that all Noblemen, Barons, and other Professors should imploy their whole Forces, Strength and Power, for the punishment of all and whatsoever persons that should be tryed and found guilty of that horrible Murther of late committed on the King: And further, that all the Kings and Princes which should succeed in following times to the Crown of that Realm, should be bound by Oath before their Inauguration, to maintain the true Religion of Christ, professed then presently in that Kingdom. Thus the Confederates and the Kirk are united together; and hard it is to say, whether of the two were least excusable before God and man. But they followed the light of their own principles, and thought that an excuse sufficient, without fear of either.

14. The news of these proceedings alarms all Christendom, and presently Ambassadors are dispatched from *France* and *England* to mediate with the Confederates (they must not be called Rebels) for the Queens Delivery. *Throgmarton* for the Queen of *England* presseth hard upon it, and shewed himself exceeding earnest and industrious in pursuance of it. But *Knox* and self-interest prevailed more amongst them, then all intercessions

ceſſions whatſoever, there being nothing more inſiſted upon by that fiery ſpirit, then that ſhe was to be deprived of her Authority and Life together. And this he thundred from the Pulpit with as great a confidence, as if he had received his Doctrine at Mount *Sinai* from the hands of God, at the giving of the Law to *Moſes*. Nor was *Throgmorton* thought to be ſo Zealous on the other ſide, as he outwardly ſeemed. For he well knew how much it might concern his Queen in her perſonal ſafety, and the whole Realm of *England* in its peace and happineſs, that the poor Queen ſhould be continued in the ſame (or a worſe) condition, to which theſe wretched men had brought her. And therefore it was much ſuſpected by moſt knowing men, that ſecretly he did more thruſt on her deprivation with one hand, then he ſeemed to hinder it with both. Wherewith incouraged, or otherwiſe being too far gone to retire with ſafety, *Lindſay* and *Ruthen* are diſpatched to *Lochlevin*-houſe, to move her for a reſignation of the Crown to her Infant-Son. Which when ſhe would by no means yeild to, a Letter is ſent to her from *Throgmorton* to perſwade her to it; aſſuring her, that whatſoever was done by her under that conſtraint, would be void in Law. This firſt began to work her to that reſolution. But nothing more prevailed upon her, then the rough carriage of the two Lords which firſt made the motion. By whom ſhe was threatned in plain terms, that if ſhe did not forthwith yeild unto the deſires of her people, they would queſtion her for incontinent living, the murther of the King, her tyranny, and the manifeſt violation of the Laws of the Land, in ſome ſecret tranſactions with the *French*. Terrified wherewith, without ſo much as reading what they offered to her, ſhe ſets her hand to three ſeveral Inſtruments; In the firſt of which, ſhe gave over the Kingdom to her young Son, at that time little more then a twelve Month old; in the ſecond, ſhe conſtituted *Murray* Vice-Roy during his minority; and in the third, in caſe that *Murray* ſhould refuſe it, ſhe ſubſtitutes Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Lenox*, *Arguile*, *Athol*, *Morton*, *Glencarne* and *Marre*; all but the two firſt being ſworn-Servants unto *Murray*, and the two firſt made uſe of onely to diſcharge the matter.

15. Thus furniſhed and impowered, the Lords return in triumph to their fellows at *Edenborough*, with the ſound of a Trumpet; and preſently it was reſolved to Crown the Infant-King with as much ſpeed as might be, for fear of all ſuch alterations as might otherwiſe happen. And thereunto they ſpurred on with ſuch precipitation, that whereas they extorted thoſe ſubſcriptions from her on St. *Jame*'s day, being the 25 of *July*, the Coronation was diſpatched on the 29. The Sermon, for the greater grace of the matter, muſt be preached by *Knox*; but the ſuperſtitious part and ceremony of it was left to be performed by the Biſhop of *Orkney*, another of the natural Sons of *James* the Fifth, aſſiſted by two Superintendents of the Con-

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gregation. And that all things might come as near as might be to the Ancient Forms, the Earl of *Morton* and the Lord *Humes* took Oath for the King, that he ſhould maintain the Religion which was then received, and miniſter Juſtice equally to all the Subjects. Of which particular the King made afterwards an eſpecial uſe, in juſtifying the uſe of God-fathers and God-mothers at the Baptizing of Infants, when it was queſtioned in the Conference at *Hampton-court*. Scarce fifteen days were paſt from the Coronation, when *Murray* ſhewed himſelf in *Scotland*, as if he had dropt down from Heaven for the good of the Nation; but he had took *England* in his way, and made himſelf ſo ſure a party in that Court, that he was neither affraid to accept the Regencie in ſuch a dangerous point of time, nor to expoſtulate bitterly with his own Queen for her former actions: not now the ſame man as before in the time of her glories. For the firſt handſelling of his Government, he calls a Parliament, and therein ratifies the Acts of 1560 for ſuppreſſing Popery, as had been promiſed to the laſt general Aſſembly; and then proceeds to the Arraignment of *Hepbourne*, *Hay* and *Dagliſh* for the horrible murther of the King: by each of which it was confeſſed at their execution, that *Bothwel* was preſent at the murther, and that he had aſſured them at their firſt ſngaging that moſt of the Noble-men in the Realm (*Murray* and *Morton* amongſt others) were conſenting to it.

16. And now or never muſt the Kirk begin to bear up bravely: In which if they ſhould fail, let *Knox* bear the blame for want of well-tutoring them in the Catechiſm of their own Authority. They found themſelves ſo neceſſary to this new Eſtabliſhment, that it could not well ſubſiſt without them; and they reſolved to make the proudeſt he that was, to feel the dint of their ſpirit. A general Aſſembly was convened not long after the Parliament, by which the Biſhop of *Orknay* was convented and depoſed from his Function, for joyning the Queen in Marriage to the Earl of *Bothwel*, though he proceeded by the Form of their own deviſing. And by the ſame the Counteſs of *Arguile* was ordained (after citation on their part, and appearance on hers) to give ſatisfaction to the Kirk, for being preſent at the Baptiſm of the Infant-King, becauſe performed according to the Rites of the Church of *Rome*: the ſatisfaction to be made in *Stirling* where ſhe had offended, upon a Sunday after Sermon; the more particular time and manner of it, to be preſcribed by the Superintendent of *Lothian*. And this was pretty handſome for the firſt beginning, according whereunto it was thought fit by the Chief Leaders to run on till they came to the end of the Race; of which in general King *James* hath given us this deſcription in a Declaration of his publiſhed not long after the ſurpriſing of his perſon by the Earl of *Gowry* 1582, where we finde it thus: The Biſhops having imbraced the Goſpel, it was at firſt agreed even by the Brethren, with the conſent of

Regent,

Regent, that *the Bishops estate should be maintained and authorized.* This endured for sundry years; but then there was no remedy, the Calling it self of *Bishops* was at least become *Antichristian*, and down they must of necessity: whereupon *they commanded the Bishops (by their own Authority) to leave their Offices and Jurisdiction.* They decreed in their Assemblies, That *Bishops should have no vote in Parliament*; and that done, they desired of the King that such Commissioners as they should send to the Parliament and Council, might from thenceforth be authorized *in the Bishops places for the Estate.* They *also directed their Commissioners to the Kings Majesty*, commanding him and the Council, under pain of the Censures of the Church (Excommunication they meant) *to appoint no Bishops in time to come, because they* (the Brethren) *had concluded that State to be unlawful.* And that it might appear to those of the suffering party, that they had not acted all these things without better Authority then what they had given unto themselves; they dispatched their Letters unto *Beza*, who had succeeded at *Geneva* in the Chair of *Calvin*; from whence they were encouraged and perswaded to go on in that course, and *a* never readmit that plague (he means thereby the Bishops) to have place in that Church, although it might flatter them with a shew of retaining unity.

a *Ne unquam illum pestem admittant, quamvis unitatis retinendæ specie blandiatur,* Ep. 79. 1568.

17. But all this was not done at once, though laid here together, to shew how answerable their proceedings were to their first beginnings. To cool which heats, and put some Water in their Wine, the Queen by practising on her Keepers escapes the Prison, and puts her self into *Hamilton* Castle; to which not onely the dependants of that powerful Family, but many great Lords, and divers others, did with great cheerfulness repair unto her with their several followers. Earl *Murray* was at *Stirling* when this news came to him; and it concerned him to bestir himself with all celerity, before the Queens power was grown too great to be disputed. He therefore calls together such of his Friends and their adherents as were near unto him, and with them gives battail to the Queen, who in this little time had got together a small Army of four thousand men. The honour of the day attends the Regent, who with the loss of one man onely bought an easie Victory; which might have proved more bloudy to the conquered Army, (for they lost but three hundred in the fight) if he had not commanded back his Souldiers from the execution. The Queen was placed upon a Hill to behold the battail. But when she saw the issue of it, she posted with all speed to the Port of *Kerbright*, took Ship for *England*, and landed most unfortunately (as it after proved) at *Wickington* in the County of *Cumberland*. From thence she dispatched her Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, full of Complaints, and passionate bewailings of her wretched fortune; desires admittance to her presence, and that she might be taken into her protection; sending withal a Ring which

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that Queen had given her, to be an everlasting token of that love and amity which was to be maintained between them. But she soon found how miserably she had deceived her self in her Expectations. *Murray* was grown too strong for her in the Court of *England*; and others which regarded little what became of him, were glad of her misfortunes in relation to their own security; which could not better be consulted, then by keeping a good Guard upon her, now they had her there. And so in stead of sending for her to the Court, the Queen gives order by Sir *Francis Knollis* (whom she sent of purpose) to remove the distressed Lady to *Carlisle*, as the safer place, until the equity of her cause might be fully known. She hath now took possession of the Realm which she had laid claim to, but shall pay dearly for the purchase; the Crown whereof shall come at last to her Posterity, though it did not fall upon her person.

18. Now that the equity of her cause might be understood, the Regent is required by Letters from the Court of *England* to desist from any further prosecution of the vanquished party, till that Queen were perfectly informed in all particulars touching these Affairs. Which notwithstanding, he thought fit to make use of his Fortune, summoned a Parliament, in which some few of each sort, noble and ignoble, were proscribed for the present; by the terrour whereof many of the rest submitted, and they which would not were reduced by force of Arms. *Elizabeth* not well pleased with these proceedings, requires that some Commissioners might be sent from *Scotland* to render an account to her, or to her Commissioners, of the severity and hard dealing which they had shewed unto their Queen. And hereunto he was necessitated to conform, as the case then stood: The *French* being totally made against him, the *Spaniards* more displeased then they, and no help to be had from any, but the English onely. At *York* Commissioners attend from each part in the end of *September*. From Queen *Elizabeth*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas* Earl of *Sussex*, and Sir *Ralph Sadlier* Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*. For the unfortunate Queen of *Scots*, *John Lesly* Bishop of *Ross*, the Lords *Levington*, *Boyd*, *&c.* And for the Infant-King, besides the Regent himself, there appeared the Earl of *Morton*, the Lord *Lindsay*, and certain others. After such protestations made on both sides as seemed expedient for preserving the Authority of the several Crowns, an Oath is took by the Commissioners to proceed in the business according to the Rules of Justice and Equity. The Commissioners from the Infant-King present a Declaration of their proceedings in the former troubles; to which an answer is returned by those of the other side. *Elizabeth* desiring to be better satisfied in some particulars, requires the Commissioners of both sides, some of them at the least, to repair unto her; where after much sending and proving (as the saying is) there was nothing done which might redound unto the benefit of the Queen of *Scots*.

19. For whilſt theſe matters were in agitation in the Court of *England*, Letters of hers were intercepted, written by her to thoſe which continued of her party in the Realm of *Scotland*. In which Letters ſhe complained, *that the Queen of* England *had not kept promiſe with her; but yet deſired them to be of good heart, becauſe ſhe was aſſured of aid by ſome other means, and hoped to be with them in a ſhort time.* Which Letters being firſt ſent to *Murray*, and by him ſhewed to Queen *Elizabeth*, prevailed ſo much for his advantage, that he was not onely diſmiſſed with favour, but waited on by her command throug every County by the Sheriffs and Gentry, till he came to *Berwick*; from whence he paſſed ſafely unto *Edenborough*, where he was welcomed with great joy by his Friends and Followers. Nothing elſe memorable in this Treaty which concerns our Hiſtory, but that when *Murray* and the reſt of the *Scots* Commiſſioners were commanded by Queen *Elizabeth* to give a reaſon of their proceedings againſt that Queen, they juſtified themſelves by the Authority of *Calvin*: by which they did endeavour to prove, (as my Author hath it) *That the* Popular Magiſtrates *are appointed and made to moderate, and keep in order the exceſs and unrulineſs of Kings; and that it was lawful for them to put the Kings, that be evil and wicked, into priſon, and alſo to deprive them of their Kingdoms.* Which Doctrine, how it reliſhed with Queen *Elizabeth*, may be judged by any that knows with what a Soveraign power ſhe diſpoſed of all things in her own Dominions, without fear of rendring an account to ſuch Popular Magiſtrates, as *Calvins* Doctrine might encourage to require it of her. But *Calvin* found more Friends in *Scotland*, then in all the world; there being no Kingdom, Principality, or other ſtate, which had herein followed *Calvins* Doctrine, in the imprioning, depoſing, and expelling their own natural Prince, till the *Scots* firſt led the way unto it in this ſad Example.

20. Between the laſt Parliament in *Scotland*, and the Regents journey into *England*, a general Aſſembly of the Kirk was held at *Edenborough*. In which they entred into conſideration of ſome diſorders which had before been tolerated in the ſaid Aſſembly, and were thought fit to be redreſſed. For remedy whereof, it was enacted, *That none ſhould be admitted to have voice in theſe Aſſemblies, but Superintendents, Viſitors of Churches, Commiſſioners of Shires and Univerſities; together with ſuch other Miniſters, to be elected or approved by the Superintendents, as were of knowledge and ability to diſpute and reaſon of ſuch Matters as were there propounded.* It was ordained alſo, *That all Papiſts which continued obſtinate after lawful admonition, ſhould be Excommunicated; as alſo, that the committers of Murther, Inceſt, Adultery, and other ſuch hainous crimes, ſhould not be admitted to make ſatisfaction by any particulur Church, till they did firſt appear in the habit of penitents before the general Aſſembly,*

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and there receive their Order in it. It was also condescended to, upon the humble Supplication of the Bishop of *Orkney*, that he should be restored unto his place, from which they had deposed him, for his acting in the Queens Marriage: Which favour they were pleased to extend unto him, upon this Condition, That for removing of the scandal, he should in his first Sermon acknowledge the fault which he had committed; and crave pardon of God, the Kirk, and the State, whom he had offended. But their main business was to alter the Book of Discipline, especially in that part of it which related to the Superinterdents, whom though they countenanced for the present by the former Sanction, till they had put themselves in a better posture; yet they resolve to bring them by degrees to a lower station, and to lay them level with the rest. In reference whereunto, the Regent is sollicited by their Petition, that certain Lords of secret Council might be appointed to confer with some of the said Assembly, touching the P lity and Jurisdiction of the Kirk, and to assign some time and place to that effect, that it might be done before the next Session of Parliament. To which Petition they received no answer, till the *July* following: But there came no great matter of it, by reason of the Regents death, which soon after hapned.

21. For so it was, that after his return from *England*, he became more feared by some, and obeyed by others, then he had been formerly; which made him stand more highly upon terms of Honor and Advantage, when Queen *Elizabeth* had propounded some Conditions to him in favour of the Queen of *Scots*, whose cause appearing desperate in the eyes of most who wished well to her, they laboured to make their own peace, and procure his Friendship. Duke *Hamilton*, amongst the rest, negotiated for a Reconcilement, and came to *Edenborough* to that purpose; but unadvisedly interposing some delays in the business, because he would not act apart from the rest of the Queens Adherents, he was sent Prisoner to the Castle. This puts the whole Clan of the *Hamiltons* into such displeasures (being otherwise no good friends to the Race of the *Stewarts*) that they resolved upon his death; compassed not long after by *James Hamilton*, whose life he had spared once when he had it in his power. At *Lithgoe*, on the 23 of *January*, he was shot by this *Hamilton* into the belly; of which wound he dyed, the Murtherer escaping safely into *France*. His death much sorrowed for by all that were affected to the Infant-King, of whom he had shewed himself to be very tender; which might have wiped away the imputation of his former aspirings, if the Kings death could have opened his way unto the Crown, before he had made sure of the *Hamiltons*, who pretended to it. But none did more lament his death, then his Friends of the Kirk; who in a General Assembly which they held soon after, decreed, *That the Murtherer should be Excommunicated in all the chief Boroughs of the Realm*; and, *That whosoever else should happen to be afterwards convicted of the Crime, should be*

proceeded againſt in the ſame ſort alſo. And yet they were not ſo intent upon the proſecution of the Murtherers, as not to be careful of themſelves and their own Concernments. They had before addreſſed their deſires unto the Regent, that remedy might be provided againſt chopping and changing of Benefices, diminution of Rentals, and ſetting of Tythes into long Leaſes, to the defrauding of Miniſters and their Succeſſors; That they who poſſeſſed pluralities of Benefices, ſhould leave all but one; and, That the Juriſdiction of the Kirk, might be made ſeparate and diſtinct from that of the Civil Courts. But now they take the benefit of the preſent diſtractions, to diſcharge the thirds aſſigned unto them from all other Incumbrances then the payment of Five thouſand Marks yearly for the Kings ſupport; which being reduced to Engliſh money, would not amount unto the ſum of Three hundred pound; and ſeems to be no better, then the ſticking up a feather (in the ancient By-word) when the Gooſe was ſtollen.

22. As touching the diſtractions which emboldened them to this Adventure, they did moſt miſerably afflict the whole State of that Kingdom. The Queen of Scots had granted a Commiſſion to Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Huntley* and *Arguile*, to govern that Realm in her Name, and by her Authority; in which they were oppoſed by thoſe, who for their own ſecurity, more then any thing elſe, profeſſed their obedience to the King. Great ſpoils and Rapines hereupon enſued upon either ſide; but the Kings party had the worſt; as having neither hands enough to make good their intereſt, nor any head to order and direct thoſe few hands they had. At laſt the Earl of *Suſſex*, with ſome Souldiers, came toward the borders, ſupplied them with ſuch Forces as enabled them to drive the Lords of the Queens Faction out of all the South; and thereby gave them ſome encouragement to nominate the old Earl of *Lenox* for their Lord-Lieutenant, till the Queens pleaſure in it might be further known. And in this Broyl the Kirk muſt needs act ſomewhat alſo; For finding that their party was too weak to compel their Oppoſites to obedience by the Mouth of the Sword, they are reſolved to try what they can do by the Sword of the Mouth: And to that end, they ſend their Agents to the Duke of *Chaſteau-Harald*, the Earls of *Arguile*, *Eglington*, *Caſſels* and *Cranford*, the Lords *Boyde* and *Ogilby*, and others, Barons and Gentlemen of name and quality; whom they require to return to the Kings obedience, and ordain Certification to be made unto them, that if they did otherwiſe, the Spiritual Sword of Excommunication ſhould be drawn againſt them. By which, though they effected nothing which advanced the cauſe, yet they ſhewed their affections, and openly declared thereby to which ſide they inclined, if they were left unto themſeves. And for a further evidence of their inclinations, they were ſo temperate at that time, or ſo obſequious to the Lords, whoſe cauſe they favoured, that they deſiſted from cenſuring a ſeditious

cus Sermon, upon an Intimation ſent from the Lords of the Council, that the Sermon contained ſome matter of Treaſon, and therefore that the Cognizance of it belonged unto themſelves and the Secular Judges.

23. The Confuſions ſtill encreaſe amongſt them; the Queen of *England* ſeeming to intend nothing more, then to ballance the one ſide by the other, that betwixt both ſhe might preſerve her ſelf in ſafety. But in the end, ſhe yields unto the importunity of thoſe who appeared in favour of the King, aſſures them of her aid and ſuccours when their needs required, and recommends the Earl of *Lenox* as the fitteſt man to take the Regency upon him. The Breach now widens more then ever: The Lords commiſſionated by the Queen are poſſeſt of *Edenborough*, and having the Caſtle to their Friend, call a Parliament thither; as the new Regent doth the like at *Stirling*; and each pretends to have preheminence above the other. The one, becauſe it was aſſembled in the Regal City; the other, becauſe they had the Kings Perſon for their countenance in it. Nothing more memorable in that at *Edenborough*, then that the Queens extorted Reſignation was declared *null* and void in Law; and nothing ſo remarkable in the other, as that the Young King made a Speech unto them (which had been put into his mouth) at their firſt ſetting down. In each they forfeit the Eſtates of the oppoſite party; and by Authority of each, deſtroy the Countrey in all places in an hoſtile manner. The Miniſters had their parts alſo in theſe common ſufferings; compelled in all ſuch places where the Queen prevailed, to recommend her in their Prayers by her Name or Titles, or otherwiſe to leave the Pulpit unto ſuch as would. In all things elſe the Kirk had the felicity to remain in quiet; care being taken by both parties for the Preſervation of Religion, though in all other things, at an extream difference amongſt themſelves. But the new Regent did not long enjoy his Office, of which he reaped no fruit, but cares and ſorrows. A ſudden Enterprize is made on *Stirling* by one of the *Hamiltons*, on the third of *September*, at what time both the Parliament and Aſſembly were there convened: And he ſucceeded ſo well in it, as to be brought privately into the Town, to ſeize on all the Noblemen in their ſeveral Lodgings, and amongſt others, to poſſeſs themſelves of the Regents perſon: But being forced to leave the place, and quit their Priſoners, the Regent was unfortunately kill'd by one of *Hamiltons* Souldiers, together with the Gentleman himſelf unto whom he had yielded. The Earl of *Marre* is on the fifth of the ſame moneth proclaimed his Succeſſor: His Succeſſor indeed, not onely in his cares and ſorrows, but in the ſhortneſs of his Rule; for having in vain attempted *Edenborough* in the very beginning of his Regency, he was able to effect as little in moſt places elſe, more then the waſting of the Country, as he did *Edenborough*. 1570. 1571. 1572.

24. The Subjects in the mean time were in ill condition, and the King worſe: They had already drawn their Swords againſt their Queen

Queen, first forced her to resign the Crown, and afterwards drove her out of the Kingdom. And now it is high time to let the young King know what he was to trust to; to which end, they command a piece of Silver of the value of Five shillings to be coyned, and made currant in that Kingdom; on the one side whereof, was the Arms of *Scotland*, with the Name and Title of the King, in the usual manner; on the other side, was stamped an Armed Hand, grasping a naked Sword, with this Inscription; *viz. Si bene, pro me; si male, contra me:* By which the people were informed, that if the King should govern them no otherwise then he ought to do, they should then use the Sword for his preservation; but if he governed them amiss, and transgressed their Laws, they should then turn the point against him. Which words being said to have been used by the Emperor *Trajan*, in his delivering of the Sword unto one of his Courtiers, when he made him Captain of his Guard, have since been used by some of our Presbyterian Zealots, for justifying the Authority of inferior Officers, in censuring the actions, and punishing the persons of the Supreme Magistrate. It was in the year 1552, that this learned piece of Coyn was minted; but whether before or after the death of the Earl of *Marre*, I am not able to say: for he having but ill success in the course of his Government, contracted such a grief of heart, that he departed this life on the eighth of *October*, when he had held that Office a little more then a year; followed about seven weeks after by that great Incendiary *John Knox*, who dyed at *Edenborough* on the 27 of *November*; leaving the State imbroyled in those disorders, which by his fire and fury had been first occasioned.

25. *Morton* succeeds the Earl of *Marre* in this broken Government, when the affairs of the young King seemed to be at the worse; but he had so good fortune in it, as by degrees to settle the whole Realm in some Form of peace: He understood so well the estate of the Countrey, as to assure himself, that till the Castle of *Edenborough* was brought under his power, he should never be able to suppress that party, whose stubborn standing out (as it was interpreted) did so offend the Queen of *England*,
1573. that she gave order unto *Drury*, then Marshal of *Berwick*, to pass with some considerable Forces into *Scotland* for his present assistance. With these Auxiliaries he lays siege to the Castle; battering it, and reduceth it to such extremity, that they were compelled to yield to mercy. Of which, though many of them tasted, yet *Grange* himself, who first or last had held the place against all the four Regents, together with one of his Brothers, and two Goldsmiths of *Edenborough*, were hanged at the Market-Cross of that City. By which surrender of the Castle, the Queens Faction was so broke in pieces, that it was never able to make head
1574. again; all of them labouring to procure their own peace by some Composition. For now the Regent being at leisure to enquire after the miscarriages of the years preceding, he sends his *Justices*

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in Eyre into all parts of the Countrey, who exerciſed their Commiſſions with ſufficient Rigour; people of all ſorts being forced to compound, and redeem themſelves, by paying ſuch ſums of money as by theſe Juſtices were impoſed. Some of the Merchants alſo were called in queſtion, under colour of Tranſporting Coyn; fined in great ſums, or elſe committed to the Caſtle of *Blackneſs*, till they gave ſatisfaction. By which proceedings he incurred the cenſure of a covetous man, though he had other ends in it then his own enricking. For by theſe rigorous exactions, he did not onely puniſh ſuch as had been moſt active in the late diſtempers, but terrified them from the like attempts againſt the preſent Government for the times enſuing. To ſuch Confuſions and Diſorders, ſuch miſerable Rapines, Spoils and Devaſtations, ſuch horrible Murthers and Aſſaſſinates, was this poor Realm expoſed for ſeven years together, by following the *Genevian* Doctrines of Diſobedience which *Knox* had preached, and *Buchanan* in his Seditious Pamphlets had diſperſed amongſt them. Not to ſay any thing of that indeleable reproach and infamy, which the whole Nation had incurred in the eye of Chriſtendom, for their barbarous dealings towards a Queen, who had ſo graciouſly indulged unto them the exerciſe of that Religion which ſhe found amongſt them, without diſturbance unto any.

26. Which matters being thus laid together, we muſt proceed to ſuch affairs as concern the Kirk, abſtracted from the troubles and commotions in the Civil State. In reference whereunto, we may pleaſe to know, that after divers Sollicitations made by former Aſſemblies, for ſetling a Polity in the Church, certain Commiſſioners were appointed to adviſe upon it. The Earl of *Marre* then Regent, nominated for the Lords of the Council, the Earl of *Morton* Chancellor, the Lord *Ruthen* Treaſurer, the Titular Abbot of *Dumferling* principal Secretary of Eſtate in the place of *Ledington*, *Mackgil* chief Regiſter, *Bullenden* the then Juſtice Clerk, and *Colen Campbel* of *Glenarchy*. The Aſſembly then ſitting at *Leith*, named for the Kirk, *John Ereskin* of *Dun* Superintendent of *Angus*, *John Winram*, Superintendent of *Fife*, *Andrew Hay* Commiſſioner of *Cladiſdale*, *David Lindeſay* Commiſſioner of the Weſt, *Robert Pont* Commiſſioner of *Orknay*, and Mr. *John Craige* one of the Miniſters of *Edenborough*. The Scots were then under ſome neceſſity of holding fair quarter with the Engliſh; and therefore to conform (as near as conveniently they might) to the Government of it in the outward Polity of the Church. Upon which reaſon, and the prevalency of the Court-Commiſſioners, thoſe of the Kirk did condeſcend unto theſe Concluſions; and condeſcended the more eaſily, becauſe *Knox* was abſent, detained by ſickneſs from attending any publick buſineſs. Now theſe Concluſions were as followeth; 1. *That the Archbiſhopricks and Biſhopricks preſently void, or ſhould happen hereafter to be void, ſhould be diſpoſed to the moſt qualified*

of

of the Miniſtry: 2. That the Spiritual Juriſdictions ſhould be exerciſed by the Biſhops in their ſeveral Dioceſſes: 3. That all Abbots, Pryors, and other inferiour Prelates, who ſhould happen to be preſented to Benefices, ſhould be tryed by the Biſhop and Superintendent of the bounds, concerning their qualification and aptneſs to give voice for the Church in Parliament; and upon their Collation be admitted to the Benefice, and not otherwiſe: 4. That the nomination of fit perſons for every Archbiſhoprick and Biſhoprick ſhould be made by the King or Regent, and the Election by the Chapters of the Cathedrals. And becauſe divers perſons were poſſeſſed of places in ſome of the ſaid Chapters, which did bear no Office in the Church; It was ordered, *That a particular nomination of Miniſters in every Dioceſs ſhould be made, to ſupply their rooms until their Benefices in the ſaid Churches ſhould fall void: 5. That all Benefices of Cure under Prelacies, ſhould be diſpoſed to actual Miniſters, and no others: 6. That the Miniſters ſhould receive Ordination from the Biſhop of the Dioceſs; and where no Biſhop was then placed, from the Superintendent of the bounds: 7. That the Biſhops and Superintendents at the Ordination of the Miniſters, ſhould exact of them an Oath for acknowledging his Majeſties Authority, and for obedience to their Ordinary in all things lawful, according to a Form then condeſcended.* Order was alſo taken for diſpoſing of Proveſtries, Colledge charges, Chaplanaries, and divers other particulars moſt profitable for the Church; which were all ordained to ſtand in force until the Kings minority, or till the States of the Realm ſhould determine otherwiſe. How happy had it been for the Iſles of *Britain*, if the Kirk had ſtood to theſe Concluſions, and not unravelled all the Web to advance a Faction, as they after did?

1572. 27. For in the next general Aſſembly held in *Auguſt* at the Town of *Perth*, where theſe concluſions were reported to the reſt of the Brethren, ſome of them took offence at one thing, ſome at another: ſome took exception at the Title of *Archbiſhop* and *Dean*; and others at the name of *Archdeacon*, *Chancellor* and *Chapter*, not found in the *Genevian* Bibles, and otherwiſe Popiſh, and offenſive to the ears of good Chriſtians. To ſatisfie whoſe queazie ſtomacks, ſome of the Lay-Commiſſioners had prepared this Lenitive; that is to ſay, That by uſing of theſe Titles, they meant not to allow of any Popiſh Superſtition in the leaſt degree; and were content they ſhould be changed to others which might ſeem leſs ſcandalous. And thereupon it was propoſed, that the name of *Biſhop* ſhould be uſed for *Archbiſhop*, that the *Chapter* ſhould be called the *Biſhops Aſſembly*, and the *Dean* the Moderator of it. But as for the Titles of *Archdeacon*, *Chancellor*, *Abbot*, and *Pryor*, it was ordered that ſome ſhould he appointed to conſider how far theſe Functions did extend, and give their opinion to the next Aſſembly for the changing of them, with ſuch others, as ſhould be thought moſt agreeable to the

the Word of God, and the Polity of the best Reformed Churches. Which brings into my minde the fancy of some people in the Desarts of *Affrick*, who having been terribly wasted with Tygers, and not able otherwise to destroy them, passed a Decree that none should thenceforth call them Tygers; and then all was well. But notwithstanding all this care, and these qualifications, the conclusions could not be admitted, but with this Protestation, that they received those Articles for an interim onely, till a more perfect Order might be attained at the hands of the King, the Regent, or the States of the Realm. And it was well that they admitted them so far: For presently upon the rising of this Assembly, Mr. *John Douglass*, Provost of the new Colledge in St. *Andrews*, was preferred to the Archbishoprick of that See; Mr. *James Boyd* to the Archbishoprick of *Glasco*; Mr. *James Paton* to the Bishoprick of *Dunkeld*; and Mr. *Andrew Grahame* to the See of *Dumblane*; the rest to be disposed of afterwards as occasion served.

28. But long it was not that they held in so good a Posture. 1573.
Morton succeeding in the Regencie to the Earl of *Marre*, entred into a consideration of the injury which was done the King by the invading of his Thirds, and giving onely an allowance yearly of five thousand Marks. These he brings back unto the Crown, upon assurance that the Pensions of the Ministers should be better answered then in former times, and to be payable from thenceforth by the Parish in which they served. But no sooner had he gained his purpose, when to improve the Kings Revenue, and to increase the Thirds, he appointed to one Minister two or three Churches, in which he was to preach by turns; and where he did not preach, to appoint a Reader. Which Reader for the most part was allowed but twenty or forty pounds yearly; each pound being valued at no more then one shilling eight pence of our English money. And in the payment of these Pensions, they found their condition made worse then before it was: for, whereas, they could boldly go to the Superintendents, and make their poor Estates known unto them, from whom they were sure to receive some relief and comfort; they were now forced to dance attendance at the Court, for getting warrants for the payment of the sums assigned, and supplicating for such augmentations as were seldom granted. And when the Kirk desired to be restored unto the Thirds, as was also promised in case the assignations were not duly paid, it was at last told them in plain terms, *That since the Surplus of the Thirds belonged to the King, it was fitter the Regent and Council should modifie the Stipends of Ministers, then that the Kirk should have the appointment and designation of a Surplus.* Nor did the Superintendents speed much better, if not worse, when they addressed themselves to any of the Court-Officers for the receiving the Pensions assigned unto them; which being greater then the others, came more coldly in. And if they pressed

at any time with more importunity then was thought convenient, it was told them that the Kirk had now no uſe of their ſervices, in regard that Biſhops were reſtored in ſome places to their Juriſdictions.

29. And now the Diſcipline begins to alter, from a mixed to a plain Presbytery. Before the confirming of Epiſcopacie by the late concluſions, the Government of the Kirk had been by Superintendents, aſſiſted by Commiſſioners for the Countries, as they called them then. The Commiſſioners changed, or new Elected at every general Aſſembly; the Superintendents ſetled for term of life. To them it appertained to approve and admit the Miniſters; they preſided in all Synods, and directed all Church-cenſures within their bounds; neither was any Excommunication pronounced without their Warrant. To them it alſo was referred to proportion the Stipends of all Miniſters; to appoint the Collectors of the Thirds, (as long as they were choſen by the general Aſſembly) to make payment of them, after ſuch form and manner as to them ſeemed beſt; and to diſpoſe of the Surpluſage, if any were, toward the charges of the State. And to this *Knox* conſented with the greater readineſs, becauſe in an unſetled Church, the Miniſters were not thought of parts ſufficient to be truſted with a power of Juriſdiction; and partly becauſe ſuch men as were firſt deſigned for Superintendents, were for the moſt part poſſeſſed of ſome fair Eſtate, whereby they were not onely able to ſupport themſelves, but to afford relief and comfort to the poor Miniſters. But when theſe men grew old or dyed, and that the entertaining of the Reformed Religion in all parts of the Realm had given incouragement to men of Parts and Learning to enter into the Miniſtry, they then began more univerſally to put in practice, thoſe reſtrictions with which the Superintendents had been fettered, and the power of the Miniſters extended by the Book of *Diſcipline*, according to the Rules whereof the Miniſter and Elders of every Church, with the aſſiſtance of their Deacons, if occaſion were, were not alone enabled to exerciſe moſt part of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction over their ſeveral Congregations, but alſo to joyn themſelves with the chief Burgeſſes of the greater Towns for cenſuring and depoſing their own Superintendents. In which reſpect the Government may be ſaid to be a mixt, not a plain Presbytery, as before was noted; though in effect, Presbytery was the more predominant, becauſe the Superintendents by the Book of Diſcipline were to be ſubject to the Cenſures of their own Presbyteries.

30. But theſe Presbyteries, and the whole power aſcribed unto them by the Book of Diſcipline, were in a way to have been cruſhed by the late concluſions, when they flew out again upon occaſion of the hard dealing of the Earl of *Morton*, in putting them beſides their *Thirds*. And then withal, becauſe the putting of ſome Miniſters into Biſhops Sees, had been uſed by him

for

for a pretence to defraud the Superintendents of their wonted means, the Bishops were inhibited by the general Assembly which next followed, from exercising any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction within the bounds which they had formerly assigned to their Superintendents, without their consent and approbation. Which opportunity was both espied and taken by *Andrew Melvin*, for making such an innovation in the Form of Government, as came most near unto the Pattern of *Geneva*, where he had studied for a time, and came back thence more skilful in Tongues and Languages then any other part of Learning. And being hot and eager upon any business which he took in hand, emulous of *Knoxes* greatness, and hoping to be Chronicled for his equal in the Reformation; he entertained all such as resorted to him, with the continual commendations of that Discipline which he found at *Geneva*, where the Presbyteries carried all, without acknowledging any Bishop or Superintendent in power above them. Having by this means much insinuated into divers Ministers, he dealt with one *John Drury*, one of the Preachers of *Edenborough*, to propound a question in the general Assembly which was then convened, touching the lawfulness of the Episcopal Function, and the Authority of Chapters in their Election. Which question being put according as he had directed, he first commends the Speakers Zeal (as if he had been unacquainted with the motion) and then proceeds to a long and well framed discourse, touching the flourishing Estate of the Church of *Geneva*, and the opinions of those great and eminent men, *Calvin* then dead, and *Theodore Beza* then alive, in the point of Church-Government. After which premises, he fell upon this conclusion, *That none ought to bear any Office in the Church of Christ, whose titles were not found in the holy Scripture: That though the name of* Bishop *did occur in Scripture, yet was it not to be taken in that sence in which it was commonly understood: That no Superiority was allowed by Christ amongst the Ministers of the Church; all of them being of the same degree, and having the same power in all Sacred Matters: That the corruptions crept into the Estate of* Bishops *were so great and many, that if they should not be removed, Religion would not long remain in Purity.* And so referred the whole matter to their consideration. 1572.

31. The Game being thus started and pursued by so good a Huntsman, it was thought fit by the Assembly, to commend the chase thereof to six chosen Members, who were to make report of their diligence to the rest of the Brethren. Of which, though *Melvin* took a care to be named for one, and made use of all his wit and cunning to bring the rest of the Referrees to his own opinion, yet he prevailed no further at that time, then under colour of a mannerly declining of the point in hand, to lay some further restrictions upon the Bishops in the exercise of their Power and Jurisdictions, then had been formerly imposed. The sum

of their report was to this effect; *Viz. That they did not hold it expedient to answer the Questions propounded for the present; but if any Bishop was chosen, that had not qualities required by the Word of God, he should be tryed by the General Assembly: That they judged the name of a Bishop, to be common to all Ministers who had the charge of a particular flock; and that by the Word of God, his chief function consisted in the Preaching of the Word, the Ministration of the Sacraments, and the exercise of Ecclesiastical Discipline with the consent of the Elders: That from amongst the Ministry, some one might be chosen to oversee and visit such reasonable bounds besides his own flock, as the General Assembly should appoint: That the Minister so elected, might in those bounds appoint Preachers, with the advice of the Ministers of that Province, and the consent of the flock which should be admitted; and that he might suspend Ministers from the exercise of their Office, upon reasonable causes, with the consent of the Ministers of the bounds.* This was the sum of the Report; and that thus much might be reported to begin the game with, great care was took by *Melvin* and his Adherents, that neither any of the Bishops nor Superintendents which were then present in the Assembly (being eight in number) were either nominated to debate the points proposed, nor called to be present at the Conference. But somewhat further must be done, now their hand was in: And therefore, that the rest might see what they were to trust to, if this world went on, they deposed *James Patton* Bishop of *Dunkelden* from his place and dignity, without consulting the Lord-Regent, or any of the secret Council in so great a business.

32. The next Assembly makes some alteration in propounding the question, and gives it out with a particular reference to their own concernment, in this manner following; that is to say, *Whether the Bishops, as they were in* Scotland, *had their Function warranted by the Word of God?* But the determining of this question was declined as formerly. Onely it was conceived expedient for a further preparative, both to approve the opinions of the Referrees in the former Meeting, and to add this now unto the rest, *That the Bishops should take to themselves the service of some one Church within their Dioceses, and nominate the particular flock whereof they would accept the charge.* News of which last addition being brought to the Regent, he required by a special Message, either to stand to the Conclusions before mentioned, which were made at *Leith*, or else devise some other Form of Church-Government which they would abide. And this fell out as *Melvin* and his Tribe would have it: For after this, there was nothing done in the Assemblies for two years together, but hammering, forming and reforming a new Book of Discipline, to be a standing Rule for ever to the Kirk of *Scotland*. But possible it is, that the design might have been brought to perfection sooner, if the Regent had not thought himself affronted by them, in the person of his Chaplain Mr. *Patrick Adamson*, whom he had

recommended

recommended to the See of S. *Andrews*. For the Election being purposely delayed by the Dean and Chapter, till the sitting of the next Assembly; *Adamson* then present, was interrogated whether he would submit himself unto the tryal, and undertake that Office upon such conditions as the Assembly should prescribe. To which he answered, That he was commanded by the Regent not to accept thereof upon any other terms, then such as had been formerly agreed upon between the Commissioners of the Kirk and the Lords of the Council. On this refusal, they inhibit the Chapter from proceeding in the said Election; though afterwards, for fear of the displeasure of so great a man, their command therein was disobeyed, and the party chosen. Which so provoked those meek and humble-spirited men, that at their next Meeting they discharged him from the exercise of all Jurisdiction, till by some General Assembly he were lawfully licensed. And this did so exasperate the Regent on the other side, that he resolved to hinder them from making any further Innovation in the Churches Polity as long as he continued in his place and power.

33. But the Regent having somewhat imprudently dismissed himself of the Government, and put it into the hands of the King, in the beginning of *March*, *An.* 1577, they then conceived they had as good an opportunity as could be desired to advance their Discipline, which had been hammering ever since in the Forge of their Fancies. And when it hapned (as it was not long before it did) they usher in the Design with this following Preamble; viz. *The General Assembly of the Kirk finding universal corruption of the whole Estates of the body of this Realm the great coldness and slackness in Religion in the greatest part of the Professors of the same, with the daily increase of all kind of fearful sins and enormities; as, Incests, Adulteries, Murthers (committed in* Edenborough *and* Stirling) *cursed Sacriledge, ungodly Sedition and Division within the bowels of the Realm, with all manner of disordered and ungodly living; which justly hath provoked our God, although long-suffering and patient, to stretch out his arm in his anger to correct and visit the iniquity of the Land; and namely, by the present penury, famine and hunger, joyned with the Civil and Intestine Seditions: Whereunto doubtless greater judgements must succeed, if these his corrections work no Reformation and amendment in mens hearts: Seeing also the bloody exclusions of the cruel counsels of that Roman Beast, tending to extermine and raze from the face of all* Europe, *the true light of the blessed Word of Salvation: For these causes, and that God of his mercy would bless the Kings Highness, and his Regiment, and make him to have a happy and prosperous Government, as also to put in his Highness heart, and in the hearts of his Noble Estates of Parliament, not onely to make and establish good politick Laws for the Weal and good Government of the Realm, but also to set and establish such a Polity and Discipline in the Kirk, as is craved in*

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the Word of God, and is contained and penned already to be presented to his Highness and Council; that in the one and in the other God may have his due praise, and the age to come an example of upright and Godly dealing. Which Act of the Assembly pass'd on the 24 of *April* 1578

34. The Discipline must be of most excellent use, which could afford a present remedy to so many mischiefs; and yet as excellent as it was, it could obtain no Ratification at that time of the King or Parliament; which therefore they resolve to put in practise by the strength of their party, without insisting any further on the leave of either. In which respect, it will not be unnecessary to take a brief view of such particulars in which they differ from the Ancient Government of the Church of Christ, or the Government of the Church of *England* then by Law established; or finally, from the former Book of Discipline which themselves had justified. Now by this Book it is declared, *That none that bear Office in the Church of Christ, ought to have Dominion over it, or be called* Lords: *That the Civil Magistrates are so far from having any power to Preach, administer the Sacraments, or execute the Censures of the Church,* that they ought not to prescribe any Rule how it should be done: *and that as Ministers are subject to the judgement and punishment of Magistrates in External things, if they offend; so ought the Magistrates submit themselves to the Discipline of the Church, if they transgress in matter of Conscience and Religion: That the Ministers of the Church ought to govern the same by mutual consent of Brethren, and equality of power, according to their several Functions: That there are onely four ordinary Office bearers in the Church; that is to say, The Pastor, Minister or Bishop; the Doctor, the Elder, and the Deacon; and that no more ought to be received in the Word of God; and therefore that all ambitious Titles invented in the Kingdom of Antichrist and his usurped Hierarchy, which are not of these four sorts, together with the Offices depending thereupon (that is to say,* Archbishops, Patriarchs, Chancellours, Deans, Archdeacons, &c.) *ought in one word to be rejected: That all which bear Office in the Church, are to be elected by the Eldership, and consent of the Congregation to whom the person presented is appointed, and no otherwise: That the Ordination of the person so elected, is to be performed with Fasting, Prayer, and the Imposition of the hands of the Eldership* (Remember that *Imposition of hands* was totally rejected in the former Book:) *That all Office-bearers in the Church should have their own particular flocks, amongst whom they ought to exercise their charge, and keep their residence.*

35. But more particularly it declares, *That it is the Office of the Pastor, Bishop or Minister, to preach the Word of God, and to administer the Sacraments in that particular Congregation unto which he is called: and it belongs unto them, after lawful proceeding of the Eldership, to pronounce the sentence of binding and loosing; as also, to solemnize Marriage between persons contracted,*

ed, being by the ſaid Elderſhip thereunto required: That it is the Office of the Doctor, ſimply to open the mind of the Spirit of God in the Scriptures, without making any ſuch application as the Miniſter uſeth; and that this Doctor being an Elder, ought to aſſiſt the Paſtor in the Government of the Church, by reaſon that the Interpretation of the Word, which is the onely Judge in Eccleſiaſtical matters, is to him committed: That it is the Office of the Elder (that is to ſay, The Lay-Elder, for ſo they mean) both privately and publickly, to watch with all diligence over the flock committed to them, that no corruptions of Religion or manners grow amongſt them; as alſo to aſſiſt the Paſtor or Miniſter in examining thoſe that come to the Lords Table, in viſiting the ſick, in admoniſhing all men of their duties according to the Rule of the Word; and in holding Aſſemblies with the Paſtors and Doctors, for eſtabliſhing good order in the Church, the Acts whereof he is to put in execution: That it is the Office of the Deacon to collect and diſtribute the goods of the Church, at the appointment of the Elders, amongſt which he is to have no voyce in the common Conſiſtory; contrary to the Rules of the former Book: *That all Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies have a power lawfully to convene together for that effect: That it is in the power of the Elderſhip to appoint Viſitors for their Churches within their bounds; and that this power belongs not to any ſingle perſon, be he Biſhop or otherwiſe: That every three, four or more Pariſhes, may have an Elderſhip to themſelves; but ſo, that the Elders be choſen out of each in a fit proportion: That it is the Office of theſe Elderſhips to enquire of naughty and unruly Members, and to bring them into the way again, either by Admonition, and threatning of Gods Judgements, or by Correction, even to the very Cenſure of Excommunication; as alſo to admoniſh, cenſure, and (if the caſe require) to depoſe their Paſtor, if he be found guilty of any of thoſe grievous crimes (among which* Dancing *goes for one) which belongs to their cognizance: The Errors committed by the Elderſhip, to be corrected by Provincial Aſſemblies, and thoſe in the Provincials by the General. The maintainance and aſſiſting of which Diſcipline, and the inflicting of Civil puniſhments upon ſuch as do not obey the ſame, without confounding one Juriſdiction with another, is made to be the chief Office of Kings and Princes. And that this Diſcipline might be executed without interruption, it was required that the Name and Office of Biſhops, as it then was, and had been formerly exerciſed in the Church of* Scotland; *as alſo the Names and Offices of Commendators, Abbots, Priors, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Chancellors, Archdeacons,* &c. *ſhould from thenceforth be utterly aboliſhed, and of no effect.* Which points, and all the reſt therein contained, being granted to them, all right of Patronages deſtroyed, that popular Elections may proceed in all their Churches, and finally, the whole Patrimony of the Church in Lands, Tythes or Houſes, permitted to the diſtribution of the Deacons in every Elderſhip, they then conceive that ſuch a right Reformation may be made as God requires.

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36. This Book of Diſcipline being preſented to the King in Parliament, and the approving of the ſame deferred to a further time; they took this not for a delay, but a plain denyal; and therefore it was agreed in the next general Aſſembly (as before is ſaid) to put the ſame in execution by their own Authority, without expecting any further confirmation of it from the King or Council. Which that they might effect without fear of diſturbance, they firſt diſcharge the Biſhops and Superintendents from intermedling in Affairs which concerned Religion, but onely in their own particular Churches; that ſo their Elderſhips (according to this new eſtabliſhment) might grow up and flouriſh. And then they took upon them, with their own adherents, to exerciſe all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, without reſpect to Prince or Prelate; they altered the Laws according to their own appetite; they aſſembled the Kings Subjects, and injoyned Eccleſiaſtical pains unto them; they made Decrees, and put the ſame in execution; they preſcribed Laws to the King and State; they apppointed Faſts throughout the whole Realm, eſpecially when ſome of their Faction were to move any great enterpriſe; they uſed very traytorous, ſeditious and contumelious words in the Pulpits, Schools, and otherwiſe, to the diſdain and reproach of the King; and being called to anſwer the ſame, they utterly diſclaimed the Kings Authority, ſaying he was an incompetent Judge, and that matters of the Pulpit ought to be exempted from the judgement and correction of Princes. And finally, they did not onely animate ſome of thoſe that adhered unto them, to ſeize upon the Kings perſon, and uſurp his power; but juſtified the ſame in one of their general Aſſemblies held at *Edenborough* for a lawful Act; ordaining all thoſe to be excommunicated which did not ſubſcribe unto the ſame. This we take up by *whole-ſale* now, but ſhall return it by *retail* in that which follows.

37. And firſt they begin with Mr *James Boyd*, Archbiſhop of *Glaſco*, a man of a mild and quiet nature, and therefore the more like to be conformable to their commands; requiring him to ſubmit himſelf to the Aſſembly, and to ſuffer the corruptions of the Epiſcopal Order to be reformed in his perſon. To which proud intimation of their will and pleaſure, he returned this Anſwer, which, for the modeſty or piety thereof, deſerves to be continued to perpetual memory. *I underſtand* (ſaith he) *the name, Office and Reverence given to a Biſhop to be lawful, and allowed by the Scriptures of God; and being elected by the Church and King to be Biſhop of* Glaſco, *I eſteem my Office and Calling lawful, and ſhall endeavour with all my power to perform the duties required, ſubmitting my ſelf to the judgement of the Church, if I ſhall be tryed to offend; ſo as nothing be required of me, but the performance of thoſe duties which the Apoſtle preſcribeth.* Finding him not ſo tractable as they had expected, they Commiſſionate certain of their Members to require his ſubſcription to

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the Act made at *Stirling*, for reformation of the State Episcopal; by which it was agreed, that every Bishop should take charge of some flock in particular. And this they prest upon him with such heat and violence, that they never left prosecuting the poor man, till they had brought him to his Grave. By none more violently pursued then by *Andrew Melvin*, whom he had brought to *Glasco*, and made Principal of the Colledge there, gave him a free access to his House and Table, or otherwise very liberally provided for him. But *Scots* and *Presbyterians* are not won by favours, nor obliged by Benefits. For *Melvin* so disguised his nature, that when he was in private with him at his Table or elsewhere, he would use him with all reverence imaginable, giving him the title of his *Lordship*, with all the other honours which pertained unto him; but in all particular Meetings, whatsoever they were, he would onely call him Mr. *Boyd*; and otherwise carried himself most despitefully towards him.

38. Their rough and peremptory dealing with this Reverend Prelate, discouraged all the rest from coming any more to their Assemblies: Which hapned as they could have wished. For thereupon they agree amongst themselves upon certain Articles, which every Bishop must subscribe, or else quit his place; that is to say, 1. *That they should be content to be Ministers and Pastors of a flock:* 2. *That they should not usurp any criminal jurisdiction;* 3. *That they should not vote in Parliament in the name of the Church, unless they had a Commission from the general Assembly:* 4. *That they should not take up for maintaining their ambition, the Rents which might maintain many Pastors, Schools and Poor, but content themselves with a reasonable portion for discharge of their Offices:* 5. *That they should not claim the title of Temporal Lords, nor usurp any Civil Jurisdiction, whereby they might be drawn from their charge:* 6. *That they should not Empire over Presbyteries, but be subject to the same:* 7. *That they should not usurp the power of Presbyteries, nor take upon them to visit any bounds that were not committed to them by the Church:* 8. *That if any more corruptions should afterwards be tryed, the Bishop should agree to have them reformed.* These Articles were first tendred to *Patrick Adamson*, Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, and Metropolitan of all *Scotland*; against whom they had a former quarrel, not onely because he was preferred, elected, and admitted to that eminent Dignity without their consent, but had also exercised the Jurisdiction which belonged unto it, in express and direct opposition unto their commands. And first they quarrelled with him for giving Collation unto Benefices, and for giving voice in Parliament, not being authorized thereunto by the Kirk. They quarrelled with him afterwards for drawing or advising the Acts of Parliament, *Anno* 1584, which they conceived to be so prejudicial to the Rights of the Kirk; and held the King so hard unto it, that he was forced to counsel the poor Prelate to subscribe some Articles, by which he seemed in a man-

ner to renounce his Calling; of which more hereafter. They quarrelled with him again in the year 1589, for marrying one of the Daughters of the late Duke of *Lenox* to the Earl of *Huntly* ,without their consent; wherein the King was also fain to leave him to their discretion. And finally, they so vexed and persecuted him from one time to another, upon pretence of not conforming to their lawless pleasures, that they reduced him in the end to extreme necessity, published a false and scandalous Paper in his name, as he lay on his death-bed, containing a *Recantation* (as they called it) or rather a renouncing of his Episcopal Function; together with his approbation of their Presbyteries: which Paper he disowned at the the hearing of it. By which, and many such unworthy courses, they brought his gray hairs (as they did some others of his Order) with shame and sorrow to the Grave.

39. Mention was made before of an Act of Parliament made in the time of the *Interregnum*, before the Queens coming back from *France*, for demolishing all Religious Houses, and other Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry. Under which name all the Cathedrals were interpreted to be contained, and by that means involved in the general ruine; onely the Church at *Glasco* did escape that storm, and remained till this time undefaced in its former glory: But now becomes a very great eye-sore to *Andrew Melvin*, by whose practices and sollicitations it was agreed unto by some Zealous Magistrates, that it should forthwith be demolished; that the materials of it should be used for the building of some lesser Churches in that City for the ease of the people; and that such Masons, Quarriers, and other Workmen, whose service was requisite thereunto, should be in readiness for that purpose at the day appointed. The Arguments which he used to perswade those Magistrates to this Act of Ruine, were the resorting of some people to that Church for their private Devotions; the huge vastness of the Fabrick, which made it incommodious in respect of hearing; and especially the removing of that old Idolatrous Monument, which only was kept up in despite of the Zeal and Piety of their first Reformers. But the business was not carried so closely, as not to come unto the knowledge of the Crafts of the City, who, though they were all sufficiently Zealous in the cause of Religion, were not so mad as to deprive their City of so great an Ornament. And they agreed so well together, that when the Work-men were beginning to assemble themselves to speed the business, they made a tumult, took up Arms, and resolutely swore, that whosoever pulled down the first stone, should be buried under it. The Work-men upon this are discharged by the Magistrates, and the people complained of to the King for the insurrections. The King upon the hearing of it, receives the actors in that business into his protection, allows the opposition they had made, and layes command upon the Ministers (who had appeared most eager in the pro-

profecution) not to meddle any more in that buſineſs, or any other of that nature; adding withal, that too many Churches in that Kingdom were deſtroyed already, and that he would not tolerate any more abuſes of ſuch ill example.

40. The King for matter of his Book had been committed to the inſtitution of *George Buchanan*, a moſt fiery and ſeditious *Calviniſt*; to moderate whoſe heats, was added Mr. *Peter Young*, (father of the late Dean of *Wincheſter*) a more temperate and ſober man, whom he very much eſteemed, and honoured with Knighthood, and afterwards preferred to the Maſterſhip of St. *Croſs* in *England*. But he received his Principles for matter of State, from ſuch of his Council as were moſt tender of the publick intereſt of their Native Country. By whom, but moſt eſpecially by the Earl of *Morton*, he was ſo well inſtructed, that he was able to diſtinguiſh between the Zeal of ſome in promoting the Reformed Religion, and the madneſs or follies of ſome others, who practiſed to introduce their innovations under that pretence. Upon which grounds of State and Prudence, he gave order to the general Aſſembly, ſitting at this time, not to make any alteration in the Polity of the Church, as then it ſtood, but to ſuffer things to continue in the ſtate they were till the following Parliament, to the end that the determinations of the three Eſtates might not be any ways prejudged by their concluſions. But they neglecting the command, look back upon the late proceedings which were held at *Stirling*, where many of the moſt material points in the Book of Diſcipline were demurred upon. And thereupon it was ordained, that nothing ſhould be altered in Form or Matter, which in that Book had been concluded by themſelves. With which the King was ſo diſpleaſed, that from that time he gave leſs countenance to the Miniſters then he had done formerly. And to the end that they might ſee what need they had of their Princes favour, he ſuffered divers ſentences to be paſt at the Council Table, for the ſuſpending of their Cenſures and Excommunications, when any matter of complaint was heard againſt them. But they go forwards howſoever, confirmed and animated by a Diſcourſe of *Theodore Beza* which came out this year, entituled, *De Triplici Epiſcopatu*. In which he takes notice of three ſorts of Biſhops; *the Biſhop of Divine Inſtitution*, which he makes to be no other then the ordinary Miniſter of a particular Congregation; *the Biſhop of humane Conſtitution*, that is to ſay, the Preſident or Moderator in the Church-aſſemblies; and laſt of all, *the Devils Biſhop*, ſuch as were then placed in a perpetual Authority over a Dioceſs or Province in moſt parts of Chriſtendom; under which laſt capacity they beheld their Biſhops in the Kirk of *Scotland*. And in the next Aſſembly, held at *Dundee* in *July* following, it was concluded, *That the Office of a Biſhop, as it was then uſed and commonly taken in that Realm, had neither foundation, ground, nor warrant in the holy Scriptures*. And thereupon it was decreed, 1580.

That all persons either called unto that Office, or which should hereafter be called unto it, should be required to renounce the same, as an Office unto which they are not warranted by the Word of God. But because some more moderate men in the next Assembly held at *Glasgow*, did raise a scruple touching that part of the Decree in which it was affirmed, *That the calling of Bishops was not warranted by the Word of God*, it was first declared by the Assembly, that they had no other meaning in that Expression, then *to condemn the estate of Bishops as they then stood in* Scotland. With which the said moderate men did not seem contented, but desired that the conclusion of the matter might be respited to another time, by reason of the inconvenience which might ensue. They are cryed down by all the rest with great heat and violence; insomuch, that it was proposed by one *Montgomery* Minister of *Stirling, that some Censure might be laid on those who had spoken in defence of that corrupted estate* Nay, such was the extream hatred to that Sacred Function in the said Assembly at *Dundee*, that they stayed not here; They added to the former, a Decree more strange, inserting, *That they should desist and cease from Preaching, ministring the Sacraments, or using in any sort the Office of a Pastor in the Church of Christ, till by some General Assembly they were* De Novo *Authorized and admitted to it; no lower Censure then that of Excommunication, if they did the contrary.* As for the Patrimony of the Church, which still remained in their hands, it was resolved that the next General Assembly should dispose thereof.

49. There hapned at this time an unexpected Revolution in the Court of *Scotland*, which possibly might animate them to these high presumptions. It had been the great Master-piece of the Earl of *Morton* in the time of his Regency, to fasten his dependance most specially on the Queen of *England*; without which he saw it was impossible to preserve the Kings Person, and maintain his Power against the practices and attempts of a prevalent Faction, which openly appeared in favour of his Mothers pretensions. And in this course he much desired to keep the King, when he had took the Government upon himself, as before was said, prevailing with him, much against the mind of most of the Lords, to send an Ambassador for that purpose. Which put such fears and jealousies into the heads of the *French*, on whom the *Scots* had formerly depended upon all occasions, that they thought fit to countermine the English party in the Court, and so blow them up. No better Engine for this purpose then the Lord *Esme Stewart*, Seignieur of *Aubigny* in *France*, and Brothers Son to *Matthew* the late Earl of *Lenox* the Young Kings Grandfather. By him it was conceived that they might not onely work the King to the party of *France*, but get some ground for re-establishing the old Religion, or at least to gain some countenance for the Favourers and Professors of it. With these Instructions he prepares to the Court of *Scotland*, makes himself known unto the King,

King, and by the affability of his converſation wins ſo much upon him, that no Honor or Preferment was thought great enough for ſo dear a Kinſman. The Earldom of *Lenox* being devolved upon the King by the death of his Grandfather, was firſt conferred on *Robert* Biſhop of *Orknay*, one of the Natural Sons of King *James* V. Which he, to gratifie the King, and oblige the Favorite, reſigned again into his hands; in recompence whereof, he is preferred unto the title of Earl of *March*. As ſoon as he had made this Reſignation of the Earldom of *Lenox*, the King confers it preſently on his Coſin *Aubigny*, who ſtudied to appear more ſerviceable to him every day then other. And that his ſervice might appear the more conſiderable, a report is cunningly ſpread abroad, that the Earl of *Morton* had a purpoſe to convey the King into *England*; by means whereof the *Scots* would forfeit all the Priviledges which they held *France*. *Morton* ſufficiently clear'd himſelf from any ſuch practice. But howſoever, the ſuſpicion prevailed ſo far, that it was thought fit by thoſe of the Adverſe party to appoint a Lord-Chamberlain, who was to have the care of His Majeſties Perſon; and that a Guard of twenty four Noblemen ſhould be aſſigned to the ſaid Lord-Chamberlain for that end and purpoſe. Which Truſt and Honor was immediately conferred on the Earl of *Lenox*, who had been ſworn to the Council much about that time, and within leſs then two years after was created Duke.

50. The ſudden Preferments of this man, being well known to be a profeſſed Votary of the Church of *Rome*, encouraged many Prieſts and Jeſuits to repair into *Scotland*; who were ſufficiently practical in propagating the Opinions, and advancing the intereſt of that Church. Which gave occaſion to the Brethren to exclaim againſt him, and many times to fall exceeding foul on the King himſelf. The King appears ſollicitous for their ſatisfaction; and deals ſo effectually with his Kinſman, that he was willing to receive inſtruction from ſome of their Miniſters, by whom he is made a real Proſelyte to the Religion then eſtabliſh'd; which he declared, by making profeſſion of his Faith in the great Church of *Edenborough*, and his diligent frequenting the Church at their Prayers and Sermons. But it hapned very unfortunately for him, that ſome Diſpenſations ſent from *Rome* were intercepted, whereby the Catholicks were permitted to promiſe, ſwear, ſubſcribe, and do what elſe ſhould be required of them, if ſtill they kept their hearts, and ſecretly imployed their counſels for the Church of *Rome*. Againſt this blow the Gentleman could find no buckler; nor was there any ready way either to take off the ſuſpicions, or to ſtill the clamors which by the Presbyterian Brethren were raiſed againſt him. Their out-cries much encreaſed, by the ſeverities then ſhewed to the Earl of *Morton*, whom they eſteemed to be a moſt aſſured Friend (as indeed he was) to their Religion, though indeed in all points not correſponding with them to the book of Diſcipline. For ſo it was, that to break off all 1581.

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hopes of fastning a dependance on the Realm of *England*, *Morton* was publickly accused at the Council Table for being privy to the Murther of His Majesties Father, committed to the Castle of *Edenborough* on the second of *January*, removed to *Dunbritton* on the twentieth: Where having remained above four moneths, he was brought back to *Edenborough* in the end of *May*, condemned upon the first of *June*, and the next day executed: His Capital Accuser being admitted to sit Judge upon him.

51. This news exceedingly perplexed the Queen of *England*: she had sent *Bows* and *Randolph* at several times to the King of *Scots*, who were to use their best endeavours as well to lessen the Kings favour to the Earl of *Lenox*, as to preserve the life of *Morton*. For the effecting of which last, a promise was made by *Randolph* unto some of his Friends, both of men and money. But as *Walsingham* sent word from *France*, she had not took the right course to effect her purpose. She had of late been negligent in paying those persons which had before confirmed the *Scots* to the English interest; which made them apt to tack about, and to apply themselves to those who would bid most for them. And yet the business at the present was not gone so far, but that they might have easily been reduced unto her devotion, if we had now sent them ready money instead of promises; for want whereof, that Noble Gentleman, so cordially affected to Her Majesties service, was miserably cast away. Which quick advice, though it came over-late to preserve his life, came time enough to put the Queen into a way for recovering Her Authority amongst the *Scots*; of which more hereafter. Nor were the Ministers less troubled at it then the Queen of *England*, imputing unto *Lenox* the contrivance of so sad a Tragedy. Somewhat before this time he had been taxed in the Pulpit by *Drury*, one of the Brethren of *Edenborough*, for his unsoundness in Religion, and all means used to make him odious with the people. For which committed by the Council to the Castle of *Edenborough*, he was, not long after, at the earnest intreaty of his Fellow-Ministers, and some promise
1582. on his own part for his good behaviour, restored again unto his charge. But after *Mortons* death (some other occasions coming in) he breaks out again, and mightily exclaims against him; insomuch, that the King gave order to the Provost of *Edenborough* to see him removed out of the Town. The Magistrate advises him to leave the Town of his own accord: But he must first demand the pleasure of the Kirk, convened at the same time in an Assembly. Notwithstanding whose Mediation, he was forced to leave the Town a little while, to which he was brought back in Triumph within few moneths after. A Fast was also kept by order of the said Assembly: For the ground whereof they alledged, amongst other things, not only the oppression of the Church in general, but the danger wherein the Kings Person stood, by a company of wicked men, who laboured to corrupt him in Religion as well as manners.

52. But

52. But no man laid more haſtily about him, or came better off then *Walter Belcanqual*, another Preacher of that City. Who in a Sermon by him preached, uſed ſome words to this purpoſe, *That within this four years Popery had entred into the Country and Court, and was maintained in the Kings Hall, by the Tyranny of a great Champion, who was called* Grace (which Adjunct they gave ordinarily to their Dukes in *Scotland*;) *but that if his* Grace *continued in oppoſing himſelf to God and his Word, he ſhould come to little* Grace *in the end.* The King at the firſt hearing of it, gives order to the General Aſſembly to proceed therein. Which being ſignified to *Belcanqual*, he is ſaid to have given thanks to God for theſe two things; firſt, *For that he was not accuſed for any thing done againſt his Majeſtie and the Laws:* But principally, *Becauſe he perceived the Church had obtained ſome Victory.* And for the laſt he gave this reaſon, *That for ſome quarrel taken at a former Sermon, the Council had took upon them to be Judges of a Miniſters Doctrine; but now that he was ordered to appear before the Aſſembly, he would moſt joyfully ſubmit his Doctrine to a publick Tryal.* But thoſe of the Aſſembly ſending word to the King, that they could not warrantably proceed againſt him, without the buſineſs were proſecuted by ſome Accuſer, and made good by witneſſes; the King was forced, for fear of drawing any of his Servants into their diſpleaſures, to let fall the cauſe. But *Belcanqual* would not ſo give over: The Kings deſiſting from the proſecution would not ſerve his turn, unleſs he were abſolved alſo by the whole Aſſembly, who had been preſent at the Sermon. This was conceived to be moſt reaſonable and juſt; for having put it to the vote, his Doctrine was declared to be ſound and Orthodox, and that he had delivered nothing which might give juſt offence unto any perſon. The King begins to ſee by theſe particulars what he is to truſt to. But they will preſently find out another expedient, as well for tryal of their own power, as his utmoſt patience. 1573.

52. A corrupt Contract had been made betwixt *Montgomery* before mentioned, and the Duke of *Lenox*; by which it was agreed, That *Montgomery* ſhould be advanced, by the Dukes Interceſſion, to the Archbiſhoprick of *Glaſgow*; and that *Montgomery*, in requital of ſo great a favour, ſhould grant unto the Duke and his Heirs for ever, the whole Eſtate and Rents of the ſaid Archbiſhoprick, upon the yearly payments of One thouſand pound *Scotch*, with ſome Horſe, Corn and Poultry. No ſooner had the Kirk notice of this Tranſaction, but without taking notice of ſo baſe a Contract, they cenſured him for taking on him the Epiſcopal Function. The King reſolves to juſtifie him in the Acceptation, unleſs they could be able to charge him with unſoundneſs of Doctrine, or corruption of manners. Hereupon certain Articles are preferred againſt him; and, amongſt others, it was charged, that he had ſaid, *The Diſcipline was a thing indifferent, and might ſtand the one way or the other; That to prove the lawful-*

neſs of Biſhops in the Church, he had uſed the Examples of Ambroſe *and* Auguſtine: *That at another time, he called the Diſcipline, and the lawful Calling of the Church*, the trieſls of Policy: *That he ſaid the Miniſters were captious, and men of curious brains: That he charged them with ſedition, and warned them not to meddle in the diſpoſing of Crowns, and that if they did, they ſhould be reproved: That he accuſed them of Paſquils, Lying, Backbiting*, &c. *And finally, he denyed that any mention of Presbytery or Elderſhip was made in any part of the New Teſtament.* For which and other Errours of like nature in point of Doctrine, though none of them ſufficiently proved when it came to tryal, it was reſolved by the Aſſembly, that he ſhould ſtand to his Miniſtry in the Church of *Stirling*, and meddle no further with the Biſhoprick, under the pain of Excommunication. But not content with ordering him to give off the Biſhoprick, they ſuſpend him on another quarrel from the uſe of his Miniſtry. To neither of which ſentences when he would ſubmit, as being ſupported by the King on one ſide, and the Duke on the other, they cited him to appear before the Synod of *Lothian* to hear the ſentence of Excommunication pronounced againſt him. This moved the King to interpoſe his Royal Authority, to warn the Synod to appear before him at the Court at *Stirling*, and in the mean time to deſiſt from all further Proceſs. *Pont* and ſome others make appearance in the name of the reſt; but withal make this proteſtation, *That though they had appeared to teſtifie their obedience to his Majeſties warrant, yet they did not acknowledge the King and Council to be competent Judges in that matter; and therefore that nothing done at that time ſhould either prejudge the Liberties of the Church, or the Laws of the Realm.* Which Proteſtation notwithſtanding, they were inhibited by the Council from uſing any further proceedings againſt the man, and ſo departed for the preſent.

54. But the next general Aſſembly would not leave him ſo, but proſecute him with more heat then ever formerly; and were upon the point of paſſing their judgement on him, when they were required by a Letter miſſive from the King, not to trouble him for any matter about the Biſhoprick, or any other cauſe preceding, in regard the King reſolved to have the buſineſs heard before himſelf. But *Melvin* hereupon replyed, *That they did not meddle with any thing belonging to the Civil Power; and that for matters Eccleſiaſtical, they had Authority enough to proceed againſt him, as being a Member of their Body.* The Maſter of the Requeſts, who had brought the Letter, perceiving by theſe words, that they meant to proceed in it, as they had begun, commanded a Meſſenger at Arms, whom he had brought along with him, to charge them to deſiſt upon pain of Rebellion. This moves them as little as the Letter, and he is ſummoned peremptorily to appear next morning, that he might receive his ſentence. Next morning he appears by his Procurator, and puts up

up an appeal from them to the King and Council; the rather, in regard that one who was his principal Accuſer in the laſt Aſſembly, was now to ſit amongſt his Judges. But neither the Appeal it ſelf, nor the Equity of it, could ſo far prevail, as to hinder them from paſſing preſently to the Sentence; by which, upon the ſpecification and recital of his ſeveral crimes, he was ordained to be deprived, and caſt out of the Church. And now the courage of the man begins to fail him. He requires a preſent Conference with ſome of the Brethren, ſubmits himſelf to the Decrees of the Aſſembly, and promiſeth neither to meddle further with the Biſhoprick, nor to exerciſe any Office in the Miniſtry, but as they ſhould licenſe him thereunto. But this inconſtancie he makes worſe, by another as bad; for finding the Kings countenance towards him to be very much changed, he reſolves to hold the Biſhoprick; makes a journey to *Glaſgow*, and entring into the Church with a great train of Gentlemen which had attended him from the Court, he puts by the ordinary Preacher, and takes the Pulpit to himſelf. For this diſturbance, the Presbytery of the Town ſend out Proceſs againſt him, but are prohibited from proceeding by his Majeſties Warrant, preſented by the Mayor of *Glaſgow*. But when it was replyed by the Moderator, *That they would proceed in the cauſe notwithſtanding this Warrant*, and that ſome other words were multiplyed upon that occaſion; the Provoſt pulled him out of his Chair, and committed him Priſoner to the *Tolebooth*. The next *Aſſembly* look on this action of the Provoſt as a foul indignity, and proſecute the whole matter unto ſuch extremity, that notwithſtanding the Kings interceſſion, and the advantage which he had againſt ſome of their number; the Provoſt was decreed to be excommunicated; and the Excommunication formerly decreed againſt *Montgomery*, was actually pronounced in the open Church.

55. The Duke of *Lenox* findes himſelf ſo much concerned in the buſineſs, that he could not but ſupport the man, who for his ſake had been expoſed to all theſe affronts; he entertains him at his Table, and hears him preach, without regard unto the Cenſures under which he lay. This gives the general Aſſembly a new diſpleaſure. Their whole Authority ſeemed by theſe actions of the Duke to be little valued; which rather then they would permit, they would proceed againſt him in the ſelf-ſame manner. But firſt it was thought fit to ſend ſome of their Members, as well to intimate unto him that *Montgomery* was actually excommunicated; as alſo to preſent the danger in which they ſtood by the Rules of the Diſcipline, who did converſe with excommunicated perſons. The Duke being no leſs moved then they, demanded in ſome choler, *Whether the King or Kirk had the Supreme Power*; and therewith plainly told them, *That he was commanded by the King to entertain him, whoſe command he would not diſobey for fear of their Cenſures*. Not ſatisfied with

this defence, the Commissioners of the general Assembly presented it unto the King amongst other grievances; to which it was answered by the King, that the Excommunication was illegal, and was declared to be so upon very good Reasons to the Lords of the Council; and therefore that no manner of person was to be lyable to censure upon that account. The King was at this time at the Town of *Perth*, to which many of the Lords repaired, who had declared themselves in former times for the Faction of *England*, and were now put into good heart by supplies of money, (according unto *Walsinghams* counsel) which had been secretly sent unto them from the Queen. Much animated, or exasperated rather, by some Leading-men, who managed the Affairs of the late Assemblies, and spared not to inculcate to them the apparent dangers in which Religion stood by the open practices of the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Kings crossing with them upon all occasions. To which the Sermons of the last Fast did not add a little; which was purposely indicted, as before was said, in regard of those oppressions which the Kirk was under; but more, because of the great danger which the company of wicked persons might bring to the King, whom they endeavoured to corrupt both in Religion and Manners. All which inducements coming together, produced a resolution of getting the King into their power, forcing the Duke of *Lenox* to retire into *France*, and altering the whole Government of the Kingdom as themselves best pleased.

56. But first, the Duke of *Lenox* must be sent out of the way. And to effect this, they advised him to go to *Edenborough*, and to erect there the Lord-Chamberlains Court, for the reviving of the ancient Jurisdiction which belonged to his Office. He had not long been gone from *Perth*, when the King was solemnly invited to the House of *William* Lord *Ruthen* (not long before made Earl of *Gowry*) where he was liberally feasted: but being ready to depart, he was stayed by the Eldest Son of the Lord *Glammis*, (the Master of *Glammis*, he is called, in the Scottish Dialect) and he was stayed in such a manner, that he perceived himself to be under a custody. The apprehensions whereof, when it drew some tears from him, it moved no more compassion nor respect from the froward *Scots*, *but that it was fitter for boys to shed tears then bearded men.* This was the great work of the 23 day of *August*; to which concurred at the first, to avoid suspition, no more of the Nobility but the Earls of *Marre* and *Gowry*, the Lords *Boyd* and *Lindsay*, and to the number of ten more of the better sort; but afterwards the act was owned over all the Nation, not onely by the whole Kirk-party, but even by those who were of contrary Faction to the Duke of *Lenox*, who was chiefly aimed at. The Duke, upon the first advertisement of this surprize, dispatched some men of Noble Quality to the King, to know in what condition he was, whether

whether free or Captive. The King returned word that he was a Captive, and willed him to raiſe what force he could to redeem him thence. The Lords on the other ſide declared, That they would not ſuffer him to be miſled by the Duke of *Lenox*, to the oppreſſion of Himſelf, the Church, and the whole Realm; and therefore the Duke might do well to retire into *France*, or otherwiſe they would call him to a ſad account for his former actions. And this being done, they cauſed the King to iſſue out a Proclamation on the 28. In which it was declared, *That he remained in that place of his own free-will: That the Nobility then preſent had done nothing which they were not in duty obliged to do: That he took their repairing to him for a ſervice acceptable to himſelf, and profitable to the Common-wealth: That therefore all manner of perſons whatſoever which had levied any Forces, under colour of his preſent reſtraint, ſhould disband them within ſix hours, under pain of Treaſon.* But more particularly, they cauſe him to write a Letter to the Duke of *Lenox* (whom they underſtood to be grown conſiderably ſtrong for ſome preſent action) by which he was commanded to depart the Kingdom, before the 20 of *September* then next following. On the receipt whereof, he withdraws himſelf to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Dunbritton*, that there he might remain in ſafety whilſt he ſtaid in *Scotland*, and from thence paſs ſafely into *France* whenſoever he pleaſed.

57. The news of this Surprize is poſted with all ſpeed to *England*: And preſently the Queen ſends her Ambaſſadors to the King; by whom he was advertiſed to reſtore the Earl of *Angus*, who had lived an Exile in *England* ſince the death of *Morton*, to his Grace and Favour; but moſt eſpecially, that in regard of the danger he was fallen into by the perverſe counſels of the Duke of *Lenox*, he would interpret favourably whatſoever had been done by the Lords which were then about him. The King was able to diſcern, by the drift of this Ambaſſie, that the Queen was privy to the practice; and that the Ambaſſadors were ſent thither rather to animate and encourage the Conſpirators, then adviſe with him. But not being willing at that time to diſpleaſe either Her or them, he abſolutely conſents to the reſtoring of the Earl of *Angus*; and to the reſt gave ſuch a general anſwer, as gave ſome hope, that he was not ſo incenſed by this Surprize of his perſon, but that his diſpleaſure might be mitigated on their good behaviour. And that the Queen of *Scots* alſo had the ſame apprehenſions concerning the encouragement which they had from the Queen of *England*, appears by her Letter to that Queen, bearing date at *Sheffield*, on the eighth of *November*. In which ſhe intimates unto Her, *That She was bound in Religion, Duty and Juſtice, not to help forwards their Deſigns, who ſecretly conſpire His ruine and Hers, both in* Scotland *and* England: And thereupon did earneſtly perſwade her, by their near Alliance, *to be careful of Her Sons welfare, not to intermeddle any further with the affairs of* Scotland, *without her privity or the French Kings; and*

to hold them for no other then Traytors, who dealt ſo with Him at their pleaſures. But as Q. *Elizabeth* was not moved with her complaints, to recede from the buſineſs; ſo the Conſpirators were reſolved to purſue their advantage. They knew on what terms the King ſtood with the people of *Edenborough*; or might have known it, if they did not, by their Triumphant bringing back of *Dury* their excluded Miniſter, as ſoon as they heard the firſt news of the Kings Reſtraint. In confidence whereof, they bring him unto *Halyrood*-Houſe on the Eighth of *October*; the rather, in regard they underſtood, that the General Aſſembly of the Kirk was to be held in that Town on the next day after; of whoſe good inclinations to them, they were nothing doubtful, nor was there reaſon why they ſhould.

58. For having made a Formal Declaration to them, concerning the neceſſity of their repair unto the King, to the end they might take him out of the hands of his *Evil Counſellors*, they deſired the ſaid Aſſembly to deliver their opinion in it. And they, good men, pretending to do *all things in the fear of God, and after mature deliberation* (as the Act importeth) firſt *juſtifie them* in that horrid Enterprize, *to have done good and acceptable ſervice to God, their Soveraign, and their Native Countrey.* And that being done, they gave order, *That all Miniſters ſhould publickly declare to their ſeveral flocks, as well the danger into which they were brought, as the deliverance which was effected for them by thoſe Noble Perſons; with whom they were exhorted to unite themſelves, for the further deliverance of the Kirk, and perfect Reformation of the Commonwealth.* Thus the Aſſembly leads the way, and the Convention of Eſtates follows ſhortly after. By which it was declared, in favour of the ſaid Conſpirators, *That in their repairing to the King the Three and twentieth of* Auguſt *laſt, and abiding with him ſince that time, and whatſoever they had done in purſuance of it, they had done good, thankful and neceſſary ſervice to the King and Countrey; and therefore they are to be exonerated of all actions Civil or Criminal that might be intended againſt them, or any of them in that reſpect; inhibiting thereby all the Subjects to ſpeak or utter any thing to the contrary, under the pain to be eſteemed Calumniators and Diſperſers of falſe Rumors, and to be puniſhed for the ſame accordingly.* The Duke perceives by theſe proceedings, how that cold Countrey, even in the coldeſt time of the year, would be too hot for him to continue any longer in it; and having wearied himſelf with an expectation of ſome better fortune, is forced at laſt on the latter end of *December.* to put into *Berwick*, from whence he paſſeth to the Court of *England*, and from thence to *France*, never returning more unto his Natural, but Ingrateful Countrey. The Duke had hardly left the Kingdom, when two Ambaſſadors came from *France* to attone the differences, to mediate for the Kings deliverance, and to ſollicite that the Queen (whoſe liberty had been negotiated with the Queen of *England*) might

might be made Co-partner with Her Son in the Publick Government. Which laſt was ſo diſpleaſing to ſome zealous Miniſters, that they railed againſt them in their Pulpits, calling them Ambaſſadors of that bloody Murtherer the Duke of *Guiſe*; & fooliſhly exclaiming, that the White-Croſs which one of them wore upon his ſhoulders (as being a Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghoſt) was a Badge of Antichriſt. The King gives order to the Provoſt and other Magiſtrates of the City of *Edenborough*, that the Ambaſſadors ſhould be feaſted at their going away; and care is taken in providing all things neceſſary for the Entertainment. But the good Brethren of the Kirk, in further manifeſtation of their peeviſh Follies, Indict a Faſt upon that day, take up the people in their long-winded Exerciſes from the morning till night, rail all the while on the Ambaſſadors; and with much difficulty, are diſſwaded from Excommunicating both the Magiſtrates, and the Gueſts to boot.

59. The time of the Kings deliverance drew on apace, ſooner then was expected by any of thoſe who had the cuſtody of his perſon. Being permitted to retire with his Guards to *Falkland*, that he might recreate himſelf in Hunting, which he much affected, he obtained leave to beſtow a viſit on his Uncle the Earl of *March*, who then lay in S. *Andrews*, not far off. And after he had taken ſome refreſhment with him, he procures leave to ſee the Caſtle: Into which he was no ſooner entred, but Col. *Stewart* the Captain of his Guard (to whom alone he had communicated his deſign) makes faſt the gates againſt the reſt; and from thence makes it known to all good Subjects, that they ſhould repair unto the King, who by Gods great mercy had eſcaped from the hands of his Enemies. This news brings thither on the next morning the Earls of *Arguile*, *Marſhal*, *Montroſs* and *Rotheſs*; and they drew after them, by their example, ſuch a general concourſe, that the King finds himſelf of ſufficient ſtrength to return to *Edenborough*; and from thence, having ſhewed himſelf to be in his former liberty, he goes back to *Perth*. Where firſt by Proclamation, he declares the late reſtraint of his Perſon to be a moſt treaſonable act: but then withal, to manifeſt his great affection to the peace of his Kingdom, he gives a Free and General Pardon to all men whatſoever which had acted in it; provided that they ſeek it of him, and carry themſelves for the time coming like obedient ſubjects. The Kings eſcape was made in the end of *June*; and in *December* following, he calls a Convention of the Eſtates, in which the ſubject of his Proclamation was approved and verified, the fact declared to be *Crimen læſæ Majeſtatis*, or Treaſon in the higheſt degree. For which, as ſome were executed, and others fled; ſo divers of the Miniſters that had been dealers in that matter, pretending they were perſecuted, had retired into *England*. For notwithſtanding his Majeſties great clemency in pardoning the Conſpirators on ſuch eaſie conditions, they preferred rather the purſuing of their wicked purpoſes, then the enjoying of a peaceable 1583.

and

and quiet life. For whether it were that they presumed on supplies from *England*, of which they had received no improbable hopes, as afterwards was confessed by the Earl of *Gowry*; or that they built upon the Kirk-Faction to come in to aid them, as the General Assembly had required; they begin in all places to prepare for some new Commotion; but being deceived in all their hopes and expectations, they were confined to several Prisons, before the Convention of Estates; and after it, upon a further discovery of their preparations and intentions, compelled to quit the Kingdome, and betake themselves for their protection unto several Nations. Onely the Earl of *Gowry* staid behind the rest, and he paid well for it. For being suspected to be hammering some new design, he was took Prisoner at *Dundee* in the *April* following, 1584, thence brought to *Edenborough*, and there condemned and executed, as he had deserved.

In the mean time the Kirk-men were as troublesome as the Lay-Conspirators. *Dury*, so often mentioned, in a Sermon at *Edenborough*, had justified the fact at *Ruthen*; for which being cited to appear before the Lords of the Council, he stood in maintainance of that which he had delivered; but afterwards submitting himself unto the King on more sober thoughts, he was kept upon his good behaviour, without further punishment. But *Andrew Melvin* was a man of another metal; who being commanded to attend their Lordships for the like offence, declined the judgement of the King and Council, as having no cognizance of the cause. To make which good, he broached this Presbyterian Doctrine, *That whatsoever was spoken in the Pulpit, ought first to be tryed by the Presbyterie; and that neither the King nor Council were to meddle with it, though the same were treasonable, till the Presbyterie had first taken notice of it.* But finding that the King and Council did resolve to proceed, and had entred upon Examination of some Witnesses which were brought against him, he told the King (whether with greater Confidence or Impudence is hard to say) *That he preached the Laws both of God and man.* For which undutiful Expression, he was commanded Prisoner to the Castle of *Blackness*. Instead whereof, he takes Sanctuary in the Town of *Berwick*, where he remained till way was made for his return; the Pulpits in the mean time sounding nothing, but *that the Light of the Countrey for Learning and Piety, was forced for safety of his life to forsake the Kingdom.* In which Exile he was followed within few moneths after by *Palvart* Sub-Dean of *Glasgow*, *Galloway* and *Carmichiel*, two inferior Ministers; who being warned to tender their appearance to the King and Council, and not appearing at the time, were thereupon pronounced Rebels, and fled after the other. Nor was the General Assembly held at *Edenborough* of a better temper then these Preachers were, in which the Declaration made at the last Convention of Estates, was stoutly crossed and encountred. The King, with the advice of his Estates, had resolved the Fact of surprizing His Majesties

Majesties person to be treasonable. But the Brethren in the said Assembly *did not onely authorize and avow the same, but also (esteeming their own judgement to be the Soveraign judgement of the Realm) did ordain all them to be excommunicated that would subscribe unto their opinion.*

61. The King perceiving that there was no other way to deal with these men, then to husband the present opportunity to his best advantage, resolved to proceed against them in such a way, as might disable them from committing the like insolencies for the time to come. The chief Incendiaries had been forced to quit the Kingdom, or otherwise deserted it of their own accords, the better to escape the punishment which their crimes had merited. The great Lords, on whose strength they had most presumed, were either under the like exile in the neighbouring Countries, or else so weakned and disanimated, that they durst not stir. So that the King being clearly Master of the Field, his Counsellors in good heart, and generally the Lords and Commons in good terms of obedience, it was thought fit to call a Parliament, and therein to enact such Laws, by which the honour of Religion, the personal safety of the King, the peace and happiness of the Kingdom, and the prosperity of the Church, might be made secure. In which Parliament it was enacted amongst others things, (the better to encounter the proceedings of the Kirk, and most Zealous Kirkmen) *That none of his Highness Subjects in time coming, should presume to take upon them by word or writing, to justifie the late treasonable attempt at* Ruthen, *or to keep in register or store any Books approving the same in any sort.* And in regard the Kirk had so abused his Majesties goodness, by which their Presbyterial Sessions, the general Assemblies, and other meetings of the Kirk, were rather connived at then allowed; an Act was made to regulate and restrain them for the times ensuing: for by that Act it was ordained, *That from thenceforth none should presume or take upon them to Convocate, Convene, or assemble themselves together for holding of Councils, Conventions, or Assemblies; to treat, consult, or determine in any matters of Estate, Civil or Ecclesiastical, (excepting the ordinary judgements) without the Kings special commandment.*

62. In the next place, the Kings lawful Authority in causes Ecclesiastical, so often before impugned, was approved and confirmed; and it was made treason for any man to refuse to answer before the King, though it were concerning any matter which was Ecclesiastical. The third Estate of Parliament (that is, the Bishops), were restored to the ancient dignity; and it was made treason for any man, after that time, to procure the innovation or diminution of the Power and Authority of any of the three Estates. *And for as much as through the wicked, licentious, publick and private Speeches, and untrue calumnies of divers his Highness subjects* (I speak the very words of the Act) *to the disdain*

dain, contempt, and reproach of his Majesty, his Council and proceedings; stirring up his Highness subjects thereby to misliking, sedition, unquietness; to cast off their due obedience to his Majesty: Therefore it is ordained, that none of his subjects shall presume or take upon them privately or publickly, in Sermons, Declamations, or familiar Conferences, to utter any false, scandalous, and untrue Speeches, to the disdain, reproach, and contempt of his Majesty, his Council, and proceedings; or to meddle in the Affairs of his Highness, under pain of treason. And lastly, an Act was pass'd for calling in of *Buchanans* History, that Master-piece of Sedition, intituled *De jure Regni apud Scotos*; and that most infamous Libel, which he called, *The Detection:* by which last Acts, his Majesty did not onely take care for preventing the like scandalous and seditious practices for the time to come, but satisfied himself by taking some revenge upon them in the times foregoing.

63. The Ministers could not want intelligence of particulars before they were passed into Acts. And now or never was the time to bestir themselves, when their dear *Helena* was in such apparent danger to be ravished from them. And first, it was thought necessary to send one of their number to the King, to mediate either for the total dismissing of the *Bills* prepared, or the suspending of them at the least for a longer time; not doubting, if they gained the last, but that the first would easily follow of it self. On this Errand they imploy Mr. *David Lindsay*, Minister of the Church of *Leith*; a man more moderate then the rest, and therefore more esteemed by the King then any other of that body. And how far he might have prevailed, it is hard to say: But Captain *James Stewart* (commonly called the Earl of *Arran*) who then governed the Affairs of that Kingdom, having notice of it, caused him to be arrested, under colour of maintaining intelligence with the Fugitive Ministers in *England*; imprisoned him for one night in *Edenborough*, and sends him the next day to the Castle of *Blackness*, where he remained almost a year. Upon the news of his commitment, *Lawson* and *Belcanqual*, two of the Ministers of *Edenborough*, forsake their Churches, and joyn themselves unto their Brethren in *England*; first leaving a Manifest behind them, in which they published the Reasons of their sudden departure. *John Dury*, so often before mentioned, had lately been confined at *Montross*; so that no Preacher was now left in *Edenborough*, or the Port adjoyning, to intercede for themselves and the Kirk in that present exigent. By means whereof the Acts were passed without interruption. But when they were to be proclaimed, as the custom is, Mr. *Robert Pont*, Minister of St. *Cuthberts*, and one of the Senators of the Colledge of Justice, (for the good Ministers might act in Civil Matters, though the Bishops might not) took Instruments in the hands of a publick Notary, and openly protested against those Acts, never agreed to by the Kirk;

and

and therefore that neither the Kirk, nor any of the Kirk-men, were obliged to be obedient to them. Which having done, he fled also into *England*, to the rest of his Brethren; and being proclaimed Rebel, lost his place in the Sessions.

64 The flying of so many Ministers, and the noise they made in *England* against those Acts, encreased a scandalous opinion which themselves had raised, of the Kings being inclined to Popery: and it began to be so generally believed, that the King found himself under a necessity of rectifying his reputation in the eye of the world, by a publick *Manifest*. In which he certified as well to his good subjects, as to all others whatsoever whom it might concern, as well the just occasion which had moved him to pass those Acts, as the great Equity and Reason which appeared in them. And amongst these occasions, he reckoneth the justifying of the Fact at *Ruthen*, by the publick suffrage of the Kirk; *Melvins* declining of the judgement of the King and Council; the Fast indicted at the entertainment of the *French* Ambassadors; their frequent general Fasts, proclaimed and kept in all parts of the Realm by their Authority, without his privity and consent; the usurping of the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction by a certain number of Ministers, and unqualified Gentlemen, in the Presbyteries and Assemblies; the alteration of the Laws, and making new ones at their pleasure, which must binde the Subject; the drawing to themselves of all such Causes, though properly belonging to the Courts of Justice, in which was any mixture of scandal: On which account, they forced all those also to submit to the Churches Censures, who had been accused in those Courts, for Murther, Theft, or any like enormous crimes, though the party either were absolved by the Court it self, or pardoned by the King after condemnation. But all this could not stop the Mouthes, and much less stay the Pens of that Waspish Sect; some flying out against the King in their scurrilous Libels, bald Pamphlets, and defamatory Rythmes; others with no less violence inveighing against him in their Pulpits, but most especially in *England*, where they were out of the Kings reach, and consequently might rail on without fear of punishment. By them it was given out, to render the King odious both at home and abroad, That the King endeavoured to extinguish the light of the Gospel, and to that end had caused those Acts to pass against it: That he had left nothing of the whole ancient Form of Justice and Polity, in the Spiritual Estate, but a naked shaddow: That Popery was immediately to be established, if God and all good men came not in to help them: That for oppoling these impieties, they had been forced to flee their Country, and sing the Lords Song in a strange Land; with many other reproachful and calumnious passages of like odious nature.

65. But *loosers may have leave to talk*, as the saying is; and by this barking, they declared sufficiently that they could not

bite. I have now brought the *Presbyterians* to their loweſt fall; but we ſhall ſee them very ſhortly in their reſurrections. In the mean time it will be ſeaſonable to paſs into *England*, that we may ſee how things were carried by their Brethren there, till we have brought them alſo to this point of time, and then we ſhall unite them all together in the courſe of their ſtory.

The end of the fifth Book.

AERIUS REDIVIVUS:

OR,

The History

Of the

PRESBYTERIANS.

Lib. VI.

Containing

The beginning, progress and proceedings of the Puritan-Faction *in the Realm of* England, *in reference to their Innovations both in Doctrines and Forms of Worship; their Opposition to the Church, and the Rules thereof; from the beginning of the Reign of King* Edward *VI.* 1548, *to the Fifteenth year of Queen* Elizabeth, Anno 1572.

1. THE Reformation of the Church of *England* was put into so good a way by King *Henry* the Eighth, that it was no hard matter to proceed upon his beginnings. He had once declared himself so much in favour of the Church of *Rome*, by writing against *Martin Luther*, that he was honored with the Title of *Defensor Fidei* (or the *Defender of the Faith*) by Pope *Leo* X. Which Title he afterwards united by Act of Parliament to the Crown of this Realm, not many years before his death. But a breach happning betwixt him and Pope *Clement* VII, concerning his desired Divorce; he first prohibits all appeals and other occasions of resort to the See of *Rome*; procures himself to

be acknowledged by the Prelates and Clergie in their Convocation, for *Supream Head* on Earth of the Church of *England*; obtained a promise of them in *verbo Sacerdotii* (which was then equal to an Oath) neither to make, promulge nor execute any Ecclesiastical Constitutions, but as they should be authorized thereunto by his Letters-Patents; and then proceeds unto an Act for extinguishing the usurped Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*. But knowing what a strong party the Pope had in *England*, by reason of that huge multitudes of Monks and Fryers which depended on him, he first dissolves all Monasteries and Religious Houses which were not able to dispend Three hundred Marks of yearly Rent; and after draws in all the rest upon Surrendries, Resignations, or some other Practices. And having brought the work so far, he caused the Bible to be published in the English Tongue; indulged the private reading of it to all persons of quality, and to such others also as were of known judgement and discretion; commanded the Epistles and Gospels, the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandment, to be rehearsed openly to the people on every Sunday and Holy-Day in the English Tongue; and ordered the Letany also to be read in English upon *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*. He had caused moreover many rich Shrines and Images to be defaced, such as had most notoriously been abused by Oblations, Pilgrimages, and other the like acts of Idolatrous Worship; and was upon the point also to abolish the Mass it self, concerning which he had some secret communication with the French Ambassador, if *Fox* speak him rightly.

2. But what he did not live to do, and perhaps never would have done, had he lived much longer, was brought to pass in the next Reign of King *Edward* VI. In the beginning whereof, by the Authority of the Lord Protector, the diligence of Archbishop *Cranmer*, and the endeavours of many other Learned and Religious men, a Book of Homilies was set out to instruct the people; Injunctions published for the removing of all Images formerly abused to Superstition, or false and counterfeit in themselves. A Statute past in Parliament for receiving the Sacrament in both kinds, and order given to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and some other Prelates, to draw a Form for the Administration of it accordingly, to the honor of God, and the most Edification of all good people. The news whereof no sooner came unto *Geneva*, but *Calvin* must put in for a share; and forthwith writes his Letters to Archbishop *Cranmer*, in which he offereth his assistance to promote the service, if he thought it necessary. But neither *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, nor any of the rest of the English Bishops, could see any such necessity of it, but that they might be able to do well without him. They knew the temper of the man, how busie and pragmatical he had been in all those places in which he had been suffered to intermeddle; that in some points of Christian Doctrine he differed from the general current of the Ancient Fathers; and had devised such a way of Ecclesiastical Polity, as

was

was destructive in it self to the Sacred Hierarchy, and never had been heard of in all Antiquity. But because they would give him no offence, it was resolved to carry on the work by none but English hands, till they had perfected the composing of the Publick Liturgie, with all the Rites and Ceremonies in the same contained. And that being done, it was conceived not to be improper, if they made use of certain Learned men of the Protestant Churches for reading the Divinity-Lectures, and moderating Disputations in both Universities; to the end that the younger Students might be trained up in sound Orthodox Doctrine. On which account they invited *Martin Bucer* and *Peter Martyr*, two men of eminent parts and Learning, to come over to them; the one of which they disposed in *Oxon*, and the other at *Cambridge*. This might have troubled *Calvin* more then his own repulse, but that he thought himself sufficiently assured of *Peter Martyr*, who by reason of his long living amongst the *Switzers*, and his near Neighborhood to *Geneva*, might possibly be governed by his Directions. But because *Bucer* had no such dependance on him, and had withal been very much conversant in the *Lutheran* Churches, keeping himself in all his Reformations in a moderate course; he practiseth to gain him also, or at least to put him into such a way as might come nearest to his own. Upon which grounds he posts away his Letters to him, congratulates his invitation into *England*; but above all, adviseth him to have a care that he endeavoured not there, as in other places, either to be the Author or Approver of such moderate counsels, by which the parties might be brought to a Reconcilement.

3. For the satisfaction of these strangers, but the last especially, the Liturgie is translated into Latine by *Alexander Alesius*, a right Learned *Scot*. A Copy of whose Translation, or the sum thereof, being sent to *Calvin*, administred no small matter of offence unto him; not so much because any thing in it could be judged offensive, but because it so much differed from those of his own conception. The people of *England* had received it as an heavenly treasure sent down by Gods great mercy to them; all moderate men beyond the Seas, applauded the felicity of the Church of *England*, in fashioning such an excellent Form of Gods Publick Worship; and by the Act of Parliament which confirmed the same, it was declared to have been done *by the special aid of the Holy Ghost*. But *Calvin* was resolved to think otherwise of it, declaring his dislike thereof in a long Letter written to the Lord Protector: In which he excepteth more particularly against Commemoration of the dead (which he acknowledgeth notwithstanding to be very ancient;) as also against *Chrism*, or Oyl in Baptism, and the Form of Visiting the sick; and then adviseth, that as well these, as all the rest of the Rites and Ceremonies, be cut off at once. And that this grave advice might not prove unwelcome, he gives us such a Rule or Reason, as afterwards raised more trouble to the Church of *England* then his bare advice,

vice. His Rule is this, *That in carrying on the work of a Reformation, there is not any thing to be exacted, which is not warranted and required by the Word of God: That in such cases there is no Rule left for worldly wisdom, for moderation and compliance; but all things to be ordered as they are directed by his will revealed.* What use his Followers made of their Masters Rule, in crying down the Rites and Ceremonies of this Church (as *Superstitious*, *Antichristian*, and what else they pleased) because not found expressly and particularly in the Holy Scriptures, we shall see hereafter.

In the mean time, we must behold him in his Applications to the King and Council, his tampering with Archbishop *Cranmer*, his practising on men of all conditions to encrease his party. For finding little benefit to redound unto him by his Letter to the Lord Protector, he sets upon the King himself; and tells him plainly, that there were many things amiss which required Reformation. In his Letters unto the King and Council, as he writes to *Bullinger*, he had excited them to proceed in the good work which they had begun; that is to say, that they should so proceed as he had directed. With *Cranmer* he is more particular, and tells him in plain terms, *That in the Liturgie of this Church, as then it stood, there remained a whole mass of Popery, which did not onely blemish, but destroy Gods Publick Worship.* But fearing he might not edifie with the godly King, assisted by so wise a Council, and such Learned Prelates, he hath his Emissaries in the Court, and amongst the Clergie; his Agents in the City and Countrey, his Intelligencers (one Monsieur *Nicholas* amongst the rest) in the University. All of them active and industrious to advance his purposes; but none more mischievously practical then *John Alasco*, a *Polonian* born, but a profest *Calvian* both in Doctrine and Forms of Worship; who coming out of *Poland* with a mixed Congregation, under pretence of being forced to fly their Countrey for professing the Reformed Religion, were gratified with the Church of *Augustine*-Fryers in *London* for their publick use; and therein suffered to enjoy their own way, both in Worship and Government, though in both exceeding different from the Rules of this Church. In many Churches of this Realm the Altars were left standing as in former times, and in the rest the holy Table was placed Altar-wise, at the East-end of the Quire. But by his party in the Court, he procures an Order from the Lords of the Council, for causing the said Table to be removed, and to be placed in the middle of the Church or Chancel, like a common Table. It was the usage of this Church to give the holy Sacrament unto none but such as kneeled at the participation, according to the pious order of the primitive times. But *John Alasco* coming out of *Poland*, where the *Arrians* (who deny the Divinity of Christ our Saviour) had introduced the use of sitting, brought that irreverend custom into *England* with him. And not content with giving scandal to this Church by the use thereof in

his

his own Congregation, he publiſheth a Pamphlet in defence of that irreverend and ſawcy geſture, becauſe moſt proper for a Supper. The Liturgie had appointed ſeveral Offices for many of the Feſtivals obſerved in the moſt regular times of Chriſtianity: Some of the Clergy in the Convocation muſt be ſet on work to queſtion the conveniencie, if not the lawfulneſs of thoſe obſervations, conſidering that all days are alike, and therefore to be equally regarded in a Church Reformed. And ſome there were which raiſed a ſcruple touching the words which were preſcribed to be uſed in the delivery of the Bread and Wine to the Congregation.

5. Not to proceed to more particulars, let it ſuffice that theſe Emiſſaries did ſo ply their work, by the continual ſolliciting of the King, the Council, and the Convocation, that at the laſt the Book was brought to a review. The product or reſult whereof was the ſecond Liturgie, confirmed in Parliament *Anno* 5, 6 *Edw.* 6. By the tenour of which Act it may appear, firſt, that there was nothing contained in the ſaid Book, but *what was agreeable to the Word of God, and the Primitive Church, very comfortable to all good people deſiring to live in Chriſtian converſation, and moſt profitable to the Eſtate of this Realm.* And ſecondly, That *ſuch doubts as had been raiſed in the uſe and exerciſe thereof, proceeded rather from the curioſity of the Miniſter and Miſtakers, then of any other worthy cauſe.* And thereupon we may conclude, that the firſt Liturgie was diſcontinued, and the ſecond ſuperinduced upon it after this review, to give ſatisfaction unto *Calvins* Cavils, the curioſities of ſome, and the miſtakes of others of his Friends and Followers. But yet this would not ſerve the turn; they muſt have all things modelled by the Form of *Geneva*, or elſe no quiet to be had: Which ſince they could not gain in *England*, in the Reign of King *Edward* (who did not long outlive the ſetling of the ſecond Liturgie) they are reſolved more eagerly to purſue the project in a Foreign Country, during their exile and affliction in the Reign of Queen *Mary*. Such of the Engliſh as retired to *Embden*, *Strasburg*, *Baſil*, or any other of the Free and Imperial Cities, obſerved no Form of Worſhip in their Publick Meetings, but this ſecond Liturgie. In contrary whereof, ſuch as approved not of that Liturgy when they were in *England*, united themſelves into a Church or Congregation in the City of *Frankfort*, where they ſet up a mixt Form of their own deviſing, but ſuch as carried ſome reſemblance to the Book of *England*. *Whittingham* was the firſt who took upon himſelf the charge of this Congregation; which after he reſigned to *Knox*, as the fitter man to carry on the work intended, who having retired to *Geneva* on the death of King *Edward*, and from thence publiſhed ſome tedious Pamphlets againſt the Regiment of Women, and otherwiſe defamatory of the Emperour and the Queen of *England*, was grown exceeding dear to *Calvin* and the reſt of that Conſiſtory. By his indeavours, and the forwardneſs of

too

too many of the Congregation, that little which was used of the English Liturgie was quite laid aside, and all things brought more near the Order which he found at *Geneva*; though so much differing from that also, as to intitle *Knox* for the Author of it.

6. The noise of this great Innovation brings *Grindal* and *Chambers* from the Church of *Strasburg* to set matters right. By whom it was purposed, that the *substance* of the English Book being still retained, there might be a forbearance of some Ceremonies and Offices in it. But *Knox* and *Whittingham* were as much bent against the substance of the Book, as against any of the Circumstantials and Extrinsecals which belonged unto it. So that no good effect following on this interposition, the Agents of the Church of *Strasburg* return back to their brethren, who by their Letters of the 13 of *December* expostulate in vain about it. To put an end to these Disputes, no better way could be devised by *Knox* and *Whittingham*, then to require the countenance of *Calvin*, which they thought would carry it. To him they send an Abstract of the Book of *England*, that by his positive and determinate Sentence (which they presumed would be in favour of his own) it might stand or fall. And he returns this Answer to them, [a] *That in the Book of* England, *as by them described, he had observed many* tolerable Fooleries; *that though there was no manifest impiety, yet it wanted much of that purity which was to be desired in it; and that it contained many Relicts of the dregs of Popery: and finally, that though it was lawful to begin with such beggerly Rudiments, yet it behooved the Learned, Godly and Grave Ministers of Christ, to set forth something more refined from Filth and Rustiness.* Which Letter see at large in the first Book of this History, Number 17. This Answer so prevailed upon all his Followers, that they who sometimes had approved, did now as much dislike the *English Liturgie*; and those who at first had conceived a dislike thereof, did afterwards grow into an open detestation of it. In which condition of Affairs, Dr. *Richard Cox*, Dr. *Horne*, and others of great Note and Quality, put themselves also into *Frankfort*, where they found all things contrary to their expectation. *Cox* had been Almoner to King *Edward* VI, Chancellor of the University of *Oxon*, Dean of *Westminster*, one that had a chief hand in composing the *English Liturgie*; which made him very impatient of such Innovations, amounting to no less then a total rejection of it, as he found amongst them. By his Authority and appointment, the *English Litany* is first read, and afterwards the whole Book reduced into use and practice. Against which when *Knox* began to rail in a publick Sermon, (according to his wonted custom) he is accused by *Cox* to the Senate of *Frankfort* for his defamatory writings against the Emperour and the Queen of *England*. Upon the news whereof, *Knox* forsakes the Town, retires himself unto his Sanctuary at *Geneva*, and thither he is followed by a great

[a] *In Liturgia Anglicana qualem mihi describitis, multos video tolerabites ineptias.*

great part of his Congregation, who made foul work in *England* at their coming home.

7. But this about the Liturgy, though it was the greateſt, was not the onely quarrel which was raiſed by the *Zuinglian* or *Calvinian* Zealots. The Church preſcribed the uſe of *Surplices* in all Sacred Offices, and *Coapes* in the officiating at the holy Altar. It preſcribed alſo a diſtinct habit in the Clergy from the reſt of the people; *Rochets* and *Chimeres* for the Biſhops; *Gowns*, *Tippets*, and *Canonical Coats* for the reſt of the Clergy; the ſquare *Cap* for all. Their oppoſition in the uſe of the Surplice, much confirmed and countenanced, as well by the writings, as the practice of *Peter Martyr*; who kept a conſtant intercourſe with *Calvin* at his being here. For in his Writings he declared to a Friend of his, (who required his judgement in the caſe) that ſuch Veſtments being in themſelves indifferent, could make no man godly or ungodly, either by forbearance or the uſe thereof; but that he thought it more expedient to the good of the Church, that they and all others of that kinde ſhould be taken away, when the next convenient opportunity ſhould preſent it ſelf. Which judgement as he grounds upon *Calvin*'s Rule, that nothing ſhould be acted in a Reformation which is not warranted expreſly by the Word of God; ſo he adds this to it of his own, that where there is ſo much contending for theſe outward matters, there is but little care of the true Religion. And he aſſures us of himſelf (in point of practice) that though he were a Canon of *Chriſt-Church*, and diligent enough in attending Divine Service as the others did, yet he could never be perſwaded to uſe that Veſtment; which muſt needs animate all the reſt of the *Genevians* to forbear it alſo. The like was done by *John Alaſco*, in crying down the Regular habit of the Clergie before deſcrib'd. In which prevailing little by his own authority, he writes to *M. Bucer* to declare againſt it; and for the ſame was moſt ſeverely reprehended by that moderate and learned man, and all his cavils and objections very ſolidly anſwered. Which being ſent unto him in the way of a Letter, was afterwards printed and diſperſed, for keeping down that oppoſite humour, which began then to over-ſwell the Banks, and threatned to bear all before it. But that which made the greateſt noiſe, was the carriage of Mr. *John Hooper*, Lord Elect of *Glouceſter*, who having lived amongſt the *Switzers* in the time of King *Henry*, did rather chooſe to be denied his Conſecration, then to receive it in that habit which belonged to his Order. At firſt the Earl of *Warwick* (who after was Duke of *Northumberland*) interceded for him, and afterwards drew in the King to make one in the buſineſs. But *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and the reſt of the Biſhops who were moſt concerned, craved leave not to obey His Majeſtie againſt his Laws; and in the end prevailed ſo far, that *Hooper* for his contumacy was committed Priſoner; and from the Priſon writes his Letters to *Martin Bucer* and *Peter Martyr*, for their opinion in the caſe.

From the laſt of which, who had declared himſelf no Friend to the Engliſh Ceremonies, he might preſume of ſome encouragement; the rather, in regard that *Calvin* had appeared on his behalf, who muſt needs have a hand in this quarrel alſo. For underſtanding how things went, he writes unto the Duke of *Somerſet* to attone the difference, not by perſwading *Hooper* to conform himſelf to the received Orders of the Church, but to lend the man a helping hand, by which he might be able to hold out againſt all Authority.

8. But *Hooper* being deſerted by the Earl of *Warwick*, and not daring to relie altogether upon *Calvins* credit, which was unable to ſupport him, ſubmits at laſt unto the pleaſure of his Metropolitan, and the Rules of the Church. So that in fine the buſineſs was thus compromiſed; that is to ſay, *That he ſhould receive his Conſecration attired in his Epiſcopal Robes: That he ſhould be diſpenſed withal from wearing them at ordinary times as his daily habits; but that he ſhould be bound to uſe them whenſoever he preached before the King in his own Cathedral, or any other place of like publick nature.* According to which Agreement, being appointed to preach before the King, he ſhewed himſelf apparelled in his Biſhops Robes; *viz.* A long Scarlet *Chimere* reaching down to the ground for his upper Garment (changed in Queen *Elizabeths* time to one of black Sattin) and under that a white linen *Rochet*, with a Square Cap upon his head. This *Fox* reproacheth by the name of a *Popiſh Attire*, and makes it to be a great *cauſe of ſhame and contumelie to that godly man.* But notwithſtanding the ſubmiſſion of this Reverend Prelate, too many of the inferior Clergie were not found ſo tractable in their conformity to the Cap and Tippet, the Gown, and the Canonical Coat; the wearing whereof was required of them, whenſoever they appeared in publick: Being decryed alſo by *Alaſco* and the reſt of the *Zuinglians* or *Galvinians*, as a *Superſtitious* and *Popiſh Attire*, altogether as unfit for Miniſters of the holy Goſpel, as the Chimere and Rochet were for thoſe who claimed to be the Succeſſors of the Lords Apoſtles. So *Tyms* replied unto Biſhop *Gardiner*, when being asked whether a Coat, with ſtockins of divers colours, were a fit apparel for a Deacon: He ſawcily made anſwer, that *his Veſture did not ſo much vary from a Deacons, as his Lordſhips did from that of an Apoſtle.* Which paſſage, as well concerning the debates about the Liturgie, as about the Veſtments, I have here abbreviated, leaving the Reader for his further ſatisfaction to the Hiſtory of the Reformation not long ſince publiſhed, in which they are laid down at large in their times and places.

9. Nor did they work leſs trouble to the Church in thoſe early days, by their endeavouring to advance ſome *Zuinglian* Doctrines, by which the blame of all mens ſins was either charged upon Gods will, or his Divine Decree of Predeſtination. Theſe men are called in Biſhop *Hooper's* Preface to the Ten Commandments, by the

the name of *Gospellers*, for making their new Doctrines such a necessary part of our Saviours Gospel, as if men could not possibly be saved without it. These Doctrines they began to propagate in the Reign of King *Edward*; but never were so busie at it, as when they lived at *Geneva*, or came newly thence. For first, *Knox* publisheth a book against an *Adversary of Gods Predestination*; wherein it is declared, *That whatsoever the Ethnicks and ignorant did attribute to Fortune, by Christians is to be assigned to Gods heavenly Providence: That we ought to judge nothing to come of Fortune, but that all cometh by the determinate counsel of God: And finally, that it would be displeasing unto God, if we esteem any thing to proceed from any other; and that we do not onely behold him as the principal cause of all things, but also the Author, appointing all things to one or the other by his onely Counsel.* After, came out a book first written in French, and afterwards by some of them translated into English, which they called, *A brief Declaration of the Table of Predestination:* In which is put down for a principal Aphorism, *That in like manner as God hath appointed the end, it is necessary that he should appoint the causes leading to the same end; but more particularly, That by virtue of Gods will all things are done; yea, even those things which are evil and execrable.*

10. At the same time came out another of their books, pretended to be writ *Against a privy Papist*, as the Title tells us; wherein is maintained more agreeably to *Calvins* Doctrine, *That all evil springeth of Gods Ordinance, and that Gods Predestination was the cause of* Adams *fall, and of all wickedness.* And in a fourth book published by *Robert Cowley*, who afterwards was Rector of the Church of S. *Giles* near *Cripplegate*, intituled, *The confutation of Thirteen Articles*; it is said expressly, *That* Adam *being so perfect a creature that there was in him no lust to sin, and yet so weak, that of himself he was not able to resist the assault of the subtile Serpent; that therefore there can be no remedy, but that the onely cause of his fall must needs be the Predestination of God.* In which book it is also said, *That the most wicked persons that have been, were of God appointed to be wicked even as they were: That if God do predestinate a man to do things rashly, and without any deliberation, he shall not deliberate at all, but run headlong upon it be it good or evil: And in a word, That we are compelled by Gods Predestination to do those things for which we are damned.* By which Defenders of the absolute Decree of Reprobation, as God is made to be Author of sin, either in plain terms, or undeniable consequence; so from the same men, and the *Genevian* Pamphlets by them dispersed, our English *Calvinists* have borrowed all their Grounds and Principles on which they build the absolute and irrespective Decree of Predestination, contrary to the Doctrines publickly maintained and taught in the Church of *England* in the time of King *Edward*, and afterwards more clearly explicated under Queen *Elizabeth*.

1558. 11. Such was the posture of affairs at Queen *Elizabeths* first coming to the Crown of *England*, when to the points before disputed both at home and abroad, was raised another of more weight and consequence then all the rest; and such, as (if it could be gained) would bring on the other. Such as had lived in exile amongst the *Zwitzers*, or followed *Knox* at his return unto *Geneva*, became exceedingly enamored of *Calvins* Platform; by which they found so much Authority ascribed unto the Ministers in the several Churches, as might make them absolute and independant, without being called to an account by King or Bishop. This Discipline they purposed to promote at their coming home; and to that end, leaving some few behind them to attend the finishing of the Bible with the *Genevian* Notes upon it, which was then in the Press, the rest return amain for *England* to pursue the Project. But *Cox* had done their errand before they came; and she had heard so much from others of their carriage at *Frankfort*, and their untractableness in point of Decency and comely Order in the Reign of her brother, as might sufficiently forewarn her not to hearken to them. Besides, she was not to be told with what reproaches *Calvin* had reviled her Sister, nor how she had been persecuted by his followers in the time of her Reign; some of them railing at her person in their scandalous Pamphlets; some practising by false, but dangerous allusions, to subvert her Government; and others openly praying to God, *That he would either turn her heart, or put an end to her days.* And of these men she was to give her self no hope, but that they would proceed with her in the self-same manner, whensoever any thing should be done (how necessary and just soever) which might cross their humours. The consideration whereof was of such prevalency with those of her Council, who were then deliberating about the altering of Religion, that amongst other remedies which were wisely thought of to prevent such dangers as probably might ensue upon it, it was resolved to have an eye upon these men, who were so hot in the pursuit of their flattering hopes, that out of a desire of Innovation (as my Author tells me) they were busied at that very time in setting up a new Form of Ecclesiastical Polity, and therefore were to be suppress with all care and diligence before they grew unto a head.

12. But they were men of harder metal then to be broken at the first blow which was offered at them. Queen *Maries* death being certified to those of *Geneva*, they presently dispatched their Letters to their Brethren at *Frankfort* and *Arrow*; to which Letters of theirs, an answer is returned from *Frankfort* on the third, from *Arrow* on the 16 of *January*: And thereupon it is resolved to prepare for *England*, before their party was so sunk, that it could not without much difficulty be buoyed up again. Some of their party which remained all the time in *England*, being impatient of delay, and chusing rather to anticipate then expect Authority, had set themselves on work in defacing Images, demo-

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liſhing the Altars; and might have made foul work, if not ſtopped in time. Others began as haſtily to preach the Proteſtant Doctrine, in private Houſes firſt, and afterwards as opportunity was offered, in the open Churches: Great multitudes of people reſorting to them without Rule or Order. To give a check to whoſe forwardneſs, the Queen ſets out her Proclamation in the end of *December*; by which ſhe gave command, *That no Innovation ſhould be made in the State of Religion, and that all perſons ſhould conform themſelves for the preſent to the practices of Her Majeſties Chappel, till it was otherwiſe appointed.* Another Proclamation was alſo iſſued, by which all preaching was prohibited, but by ſuch onely as were licenſed by her Authority; which was not like to countenance any men of ſuch turbulent ſpirits. The news whereof much haſtned the return of thoſe Zealous Brethren, who knew they might have better fiſhing in a troubled water, then in a quiet and compoſed. *Calvin* makes uſe alſo of the opportunity, directs his Letters to the Queen and Mr. Secretary *Cecil*, in hope that nothing ſhould be done but by his advice. The contrary whereof gave matter of cold comfort both to him and them, when they were given to underſtand, that the Liturgie had been reviſed and agreed upon: That it was made more paſſable then before with the Roman Catholicks; and that not any of their number was permitted to act any thing in it, except *Whitehead* onely, who was but half theirs neither, and perhaps not that. All they could do in that Conjuncture, was to find fault with the Tranſlation of the Bible which was then in uſe, in hope that their *Genevian* Edition of it might be entertained; and to except againſt the paucity of fit men to ſerve the Church, and fill the vacant places of it, on the like hopes that they themſelves might be preferred to ſupply the ſame.

13. And it is poſſible enough, that either by the mediation of *Calvin*, or by the interceſſion of *Peter Martyr* (who wrote unto the Queen at the ſame time alſo) the memory of their former Errors might have been obliterated, if *Knox* had not pulled more back with one hand, then *Calvin*, *Martyr* and the reſt could advance with both. For in a Letter of his to Sir *William Cecil*, dated *April* the 24, 1559, he firſt upbraids him *with conſenting to the ſuppreſſing of Chriſts true Evangel, to the erecting of Idolatry, and to the ſhedding of the blood of Gods moſt dear children, during the Reign of* Miſchievous *Mary*, that profeſſed Enemy of God, as he plainly calls her. Then he proceeds to juſtifie his treaſonable and ſeditious book againſt the Regiment of Women. Of the truth whereof he poſitively affirmeth *that he no more doubteth, then that he doubted that was the voyce of God which pronounced this ſentence upon that Sex, That in dolour they ſhould bear their children.* Next he declares in reference to the Perſon of Queen *Elizabeth*, *That he could willingly acknowledge her to be raiſed by God, for the manifeſtation of his glory, although not Nature onely, but Gods own Ordinance did oppugn ſuch Regiment.* And thereupon he 1559.

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doth infer, *That if Queen* Elizabeth *would confeſs, that the extraordinary Diſpenſations of Gods great mercy did make that lawful in her, which both Nature and Gods Laws did deny in all women beſides, none in* England *ſhould be more ready to maintain her lawful Authority then himſelf.* But on the other ſide he pronounceth this Sentence on her, *That if ſhe built her Title upon Cuſtom, Laws and Ordinances of men, ſuch fooliſh preſumption would grievouſly offend Gods Supreme Majeſtie, and that her ingratitude in that kind ſhould not long lack puniſhment.* To the ſame purpoſe he writes alſo to the Queen Herſelf, reproaching her withal, *That for fear of her life ſhe had declined from God, bowed to Idolatry, and gone to Maſs, during the perſecution of Gods Saints in the time of her Siſter.* In both his Letters he complains of ſome ill offices which had been done him, by means whereof he was denyed the liberty of Preaching in *England:* And in both Letters he endeavoured to excuſe his flock of late *aſſembled in the moſt godly Reformed Church and City of* Geneva, from being guilty of any offence by his publiſhing of the book; the blame whereof he wholly takes upon himſelf. But this was not the way to deal with Queens and their Privy Counſellors; and did effect ſo little in relation to himſelf and his flock, that he cauſed a more watchfull eye to be kept upon them, then poſſibly might have been otherwiſe, had he ſcribled leſs.

14. Yet ſuch was the neceſſity which the Church was under, that it was hardly poſſible to ſupply all the vacant places in it, but by admitting ſome of the *Genevian* Zealots to the Publick Miniſtery. The Realm had been extreamly viſited in the year foregoing with a dangerous and Contagious Sickneſs, which took away almoſt half the Biſhops, and occaſioned ſuch Mortality amongſt the reſt of the Clergy, that a great part of the Parochial Churches were without Incumbents. The reſt of the Biſhops, twelve Deans, as many Archdeacons, Fifteen Maſters of Colledges and Halls, Fifty Prebendaries of Cathedral Churches, and about Eighty Beneficed-men were deprived at once, for refuſing to ſubmit to the Queens Supremacy. For the filling of which vacant places, though as much care was taken as could be imagined to ſtock the Church with moderate and conformable men, yet many paſt amongſt the reſt, who either had not hitherto diſcovered their diſ-affections, or were connived at in regard of their parts and learning. Private opinions not regarded, nothing was more conſidered in them then their zeal againſt Popery, and their abilities in Divine and Humane ſtudies to make good that zeal. On which account we find the Queens-Profeſſor in *Oxford* to paſs amongſt the *Non-Conformiſts*, though ſomewhat more moderate then the reſt; and *Cartwright* the Lady *Margarets* in *Cambridge*, to prove an unextinguiſhed fire-brand to the Church of *England*; *Wittingham* the chief Ring-leader of the *Frankfort*-Schiſmaticks, preferred unto the Deanry of *Durham*, from thence encouraging *Knox* and *Goodman* in ſetting up Presbyterie and ſedition in the

Kirk

Kirk of *Scotland*. *Sampſon* advanced unto the Deanry of Chriſt-Church, and not long after turn'd out again for an *incorrigible Non-Conformiſt*. *Hardiman*, one of the firſt twelve Prebends of *Weſtminſter*, deprived ſoon after, for throwing down the Altar, and defacing the Veſtments of the Church. And if ſo many of them were advanced to places of note and eminence, there is no queſtion to be made, but that ſome numbers of them were admitted unto Countrey-Cures; by means whereof, they had as great an opportunity as they could deſire, not onely to diſpute their *Genevian* Doctrines, but to prepare the people committed to them for receiving of ſuch Innovations both in Worſhip and Government, as were reſolved in time convenient to be put upon them.

15. For a preparative whereunto, they brought along with 1560.
them the *Genevian* Bible with their Notes upon it, together with *Davids Pſalms* in Engliſh metre; that by the one they might effect an Innovation in the points of Doctrine, and by the other bring this Church more neer to the Rules of *Geneva* in ſome chief acts of Publick Worſhip. For to omit the incongruities of the Tranſlation, which King *James* judged to be the worſt that he had ever ſeen in the Engliſh Tongue, the Notes upon the ſame in many places ſavour of Sedition, and in ſome of Faction, deſtructive of the Perſons and Powers of Kings, and of all civil intercourſe and humane ſociety. That Learned King hath told us in the Conference at *Hampton*-Court, that the Notes on the *Genevian* Bible were *partial, untrue, ſeditious, and ſavouring too much of dangerous and trayterous conceits*. For proof whereof he inſtanced in the Note of *Exod.* 1. *v.* 19. where they allow of diſobedience unto Kings and Soveraign Princes: And ſecondly, in that on 2 *Chron.* 8. 15, 16. where *Aſa* is taxed for not putting his Mother to death, but depoſing her onely from the Regency which before ſhe executed. Of which laſt note the *Scotiſh Presbyterians* made eſpecial uſe, not onely in depoſing *Mary* their lawful Queen, but proſecuting her openly and under-hand till they had took away her life. And to this too he might have added that on *Matth.* 2. 12. where it is ſaid, that *Promiſe ought not be kept where Gods honor and preaching of his truth is hindred, or elſe it ought not to be broken*. Which opens a wide gap to the breach of all Oaths, Covenants, Contracts and Agreements, not onely between man and man, but between Kings and their Subjects. For what man can be ſafe, or King ſecure; what Promiſe can oblige, or what Contract bind; or what Oath tye a man to his Faith and duty, if on pretence of *Gods honor*, or the *propagating of his truth*, he may lawfully break it? And yet this Doctrine paſſed ſo currantly amongſt the *French*, that it was poſitively affirmed by *Euſebius Philadelphus*, whoſoever he was, *That Queen* Elizabeth *was no more bound to keep the League which ſhe had made and ſworn with* Charles IX, (becauſe forſooth the *preaching of the Goſpel* might be hindred by it) *then* Herod *was obliged to keep the Oath*

which

which he had sworn to the Dancing-Harlot. Follow them to *Rev.* 9. and they will tell us in their Notes upon that Chapter, that by the *Locusts which came out of the smoak*, are meant *false Teachers, Hereticks, and worldly subtile Prelates, with Monks, Fryers, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Doctors, Batchelors and Masters.* To which though they subjoyn these words, *viz.* *which forsake Christ to maintain false Doctrine*; yet lays it a [illegible] on all Archbishops and Bishops, and on all such as take Academical degrees, by bringing them under the name of *Locusts*, and joyning them with *Monks* and *Friers*, whom they beheld no otherwise then as *Limbs of Antichrist.* Which being the design of their Annotations, agreeable to *Calvins* Doctrine in reference to Civil & Ecclesiastical Government, there is no doubt but that they come up roundly to him in reference to Predestination, and the points appendant: for which I shall refer the Reader to the Notes themselves; observing onely in this place, that they exclude Christ and all his sufferings from being any way considerable in mans Election, which they found onely on the absolute will and pleasure of Almighty God; but are content to make him an *inferiour cause* (and onely an *inferiour cause*) of a mans salvation: For which consult them on *Rom* 9.15.

16. Now with this Bible, and these Notes, which proved so advantagious to them in their main projectments, they also brought in *Davids Psalms* in English metre, of which they served themselves to some tune in the time succeeding. Which device being first taken up by *Clement Marot*, and continued afterwards by *Beza*, as before is said, was followed here in *England* by *Thomas Sternhold* in the Reign of King *Edward*, and afterwards by *John Hopkins* and some others, who had retired unto *Geneva* in the time of Queen *Mary*. Being there finished, and printed at the end of their Bibles, they were first recommended to the use of private Families; next brought into the Church for an entertainment before the beginning of the Morning and Evening Service: And finally, published by themselves, or at the end of the *Psalter*, with this Declaration, that they were *set forth and allowed to be sung in all Churches before and after Morning and Evening Prayer, as also before and after Sermons.* But first, no such allowance can be found as is there pretended, nor could be found when this allowance was disputed in the *High Commission*, by such as have been most industrious and concerned in the search thereof. And then whereas it is pretended that the said Psalms should be sung *before and after Morning and Evening Prayer, as also before and after Sermons* (which shews they were not to be intermingled with the Publick Liturgie) in very little time they prevailed so far in most Parish-Churches, as to thrust out the *Te Deum*, and the *Benedicite*, the *Benedictus*, the *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc Dimittis* quite out of the Church. And thirdly, by the practices and endeavours of the *Puritan* party (who had an eye upon the usage of *Geneva*) they came to be esteemed the most

Divine

Divine part of Gods publick ſervice; the reading *Pſalms*, together with the firſt and ſecond Leſſons, being heard in many places with a covered head; but all men ſitting bare-headed when the *Pſalm* is ſung. And to that end, the Pariſh-Clerk muſt be taught to call upon the people to ſing it *to the Praiſe and Glory of God*; no ſuch preparatory Exhortation being uſed at the naming of the Chapters or the daily *Pſalms*.

17. By theſe preparatives they hoped in time to bring in the whole body of *Calviniſm*, as well in reference to Government, and forms of Worſhip, as to points of Doctrine. But then they were to ſtay their time, and not to ſhew too much at once of the main deſigne, but rather to divert on ſome other counſels. The Liturgy was ſo well fortified by the Law, and the Biſhops ſo ſetled in their juriſdictions, that it had been a madneſs to attempt on either, till they ſhould finde themſelves increaſed both in power and number, and that they had ſome Friend in Court not onely to excuſe, but defend their actions. In which reſpect, nothing ſeemed more expedient to them, then to revive the Quarrels of King *Edwards* time about Caps and Tippets, and other Veſtments of the Clergy which had not the like Countenance from the Laws of the Land. In which as they aſſured themſelves of all help from the hands of *Peter Martyr*; ſo they deſpaired not of obtaining the like from *Calvin* and *Beza*, whenſoever it ſhould be required. But as one Wave thruſts another forwards, ſo this diſpute brings in ſome others, in which the judgement of *Peter Martyr* was demanded alſo; that is to ſay, concerning the Epiſcopal Habit, the Patrimony of the Church, the manner of proceedings to be held againſt Papiſts, the Perambulation uſed in the Rogation-Week; with many other points of the like condition. Which Quarrels they purſued for five years together, till the ſetling of that buſineſs by the Book of *Advertiſements*, *Anno* 1565. They alſo had begun to raiſe their thoughts unto higher matters then Caps and Tippets: In order whereunto, ſome of them take upon them in their private Pariſhes, to ordain ſet Faſts; and others, to neglect the obſervation of the Annual Feſtivals which were appointed by the Church; ſome to remove the holy Table from the place of the Altar, and to tranſpoſe it to the middle of the Quire or Chancel, that it might ſerve the more conveniently for the poſture of ſitting; and others, by the help of ſome ſilly Ordinaries, to impoſe Books of Forreign Doctrine on their ſeveral Pariſhes; that by ſuch Doctrine they might countenance their Actings in the other particulars. All which, with many other innovations of the like condition, were preſently took notice of by the Biſhops, and the reſt of the Queens Commiſſioners; and remedies provided for them in a book of *Orders*, publiſhed in the year 1561; or the *Advertiſements* before mentioned, about four years after. Such as proceeded in their oppoſitions after theſe *Advertiſements*, had the name of *Puritans*; as men that did profeſs a greater *Purity* in the Worſhip of God, a greater de-

restation of the Ceremonies and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, then the rest of their brethren: under which name were comprehended, not onely those which hitherto had opposed the Churches Vestments, but also such as afterwards endeavoured to destroy the Liturgy, and subvert the Goverment.

18. In all this time they could obtain no countenance from the hands of this State, though it was once endeavoured for them by the Earl of *Leicester* (whom they had gained to their Patron.) But it was onely to make use of them as a counterpoise to the Popish party, at such time as the Marriage was in agitation between the Lord *Henry Stewart* and the Queen of *Scots*, if any thing should be attempted by them to disturb the Kingdom; the fears whereof, as they were onely taken up upon politick ends, so the intended favours to the opposite Faction vanished also with them. But on the contrary, we finde the State severe enough against their proceedings, even to the deprivation of Dr. *Thomas Sampson*, Dean of *Christ-church*. To which dignity he had been unhappily preferred in the first year of the Queen; and being looked upon as head of this Faction, was worthily deprived thereof by the Queens Commissioners. They found by this severity what they were to trust to, if any thing were practised by them against the Liturgy, the Doctrine of the Church, or the publick Government. It cannot be denyed, but *Goodman*, *Gilbie*, *Whittingham*, and the rest of the *Genevian* Conventicle, were very much grieved, at their return, that they could not bear the like sway here in their several Consistories, as did *Calvin* and *Beza* at *Geneva*; so that they not onely repined and grudged at the Reformation which was made in this Church, because not fitted to their Fancies, and to *Calvins* Plat-form; but have laboured to sow those Seeds of Heterodoxy and Disobedience, which afterwards brought forth those troubles and disorders which ensued upon it. But being too wise to put their own Fingers in the fire, they presently fell upon a course which was safe to speed, without producing any danger to themselues or their party. They could not but remember those many advantages which *John Alasco* and his Church of strangers afforded to the *Zuinglian* Gospellers, in the time of King *Edward*; and they despaired not of the like, nor of greater neither, if a *French* Church were setled upon *Calvin*'s Principles in some part of *London*.

19. For the advancement of this project, *Calvin* directs his Letters unto Bishop *Grindal*, newly preferred unto that See, that by his countenance or connivance, such of the *French* Nation as for their Conscience had been forced to flee into *England*, might be permitted the Free Exercise of their Religion: whose leave being easily obtained, for the great reverence which he bares to the name of *Calvin*, they made the like use of some Friends which they had in the Court. By whose sollicitation they procured the Church of St. *Anthony*, not far from *Merchant-taylors-Hall*,

Hall, then being of no present use for Religious Offices, to be assigned unto the *French*, with liberty to erect the *Genevian* Discipline, for ordering the Affairs of their Congregation, and to set up a Form of Prayer which had no manner of conformity with the English Liturgy. Which what else was it in effect, but a plain giving up of the Cause at the first demand, which afterwards was contended for with such opposition? what else but a Foundation to that following Anarchy which was designed to be obtruded on the Civil Government? For certainly, the tolerating of Presbytery in a Church founded and established by the Rules of Episcopacie, could end in nothing but the advancing of a Commonwealth in the midst of a Monarchy. *Calvin* perceived this well enough, and thereupon gave *Grindal* thanks for his favour in it, of whom they after served themselves upon all occasions; a *Dutch* Church being after setled on the same Foundation in the *Augustine Fryars*, where *John Alasco* held his Congregation in the Reign of King *Edward*. The inconveniences whereof were not seen at the first; and when they were perceived, were not easily remedied. For the obtaining of which ends, there was no man more like to serve them with the Queen, then Sir *Francis Knolles*; who having Married a Daughter of the Lord *Cary* of *Hunsdon*, the Queens Cosin-German, was made Comptroller of the Houshold, continuing in good Credit and Authority with her upon that account. And being also one of those who had retired from *Frankfort* to *Geneva* in the time of the Schism, did there contract a great acquaintance with *Calvin*, *Beza*, and the rest of the Consistorians, whose cause he managed at the Court upon all occasions; though afterwards he gave place to the Earl of *Leicester*, as their Principal Agent.

2d. But the *Genevians* will finde work enough to imploy them both; and having gained their ends, will put on for more. The Isles of *Guernsey* and *Jarsey*, the onely remainder of the Crown of *England* in the Dukedom of *Normandy*, had entertained the Reformation in the Reign of King *Edward*; by whose command the publick Liturgy had been turned into *French*, that it might serve them in those Islands for their Edifications. But the Reformed Religion being suppressed in the time of Queen *Mary*, revived again immediately after her decease, by the diligence of such *French* Ministers as had resorted thither for protection in the day of their troubles. In former times these Islands belonged unto the jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Constance*, who had in each of them a Subordinate Officer, mixt of a Chancellor and Arch-Deacon, for the dispatch of all such business as concerned the Church: which Officers intituled by the name of Deans, had a particular Revenue in Tythes and Corn allotted to them, besides the Perquisites of their Courts, and the best Benefices in the Islands. But these *French* Ministers desiring to have all things modelled by the Rules of *Calvin*, endeavoured

by all the Friends they could to advance his Diſcipline; to which they were incouraged by the brothers here, and the Governors there. The Governours in each Iſland advanced the project, out of a covetous intent to inrich themſelves by the ſpoil of the Deanries; the brethren have hereupon a hope to gain ground by little and little, for the erecting of the ſame in moſt parts of *England*. And in purſuance of this plot, both Iſlands joyn in confederacy to petition the Queen for an allowance of this Diſcipline, *Anno* 1563. In the year next following, the *Signiour de St. Owen* and *Monſieur de Soulemount* were delegated to the Court to ſollicite in it; where they received a gratious anſwer, and full of hopes returned to their ſeveral homes. In the mean time, the Queen being ſtrongly perſwaded that this deſigne would much advance the Reformation in thoſe Iſlands, was contented to give way unto it, in the Towns of St. *Peters Port* and St. *Hillaries* only, but no further. To which purpoſe there were Letters decretory from the Council, directed to the *Bayliff*, the *Jurates*, and others of each Iſland; ſubſcribed by *Bacon* Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; the Marqueſs of *Northampton*; the Earl of *Leiceſter*; the Lord *Clynton*, afterwards Earl of *Lincolne*; *Rogers*, *Knollis* and *Cecil*. The Tenour of which Letter in relation to the Iſle of *Jarſey*, was this that followeth.

21. *After our very hearty commmendations unto you; where the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty underſtandeth, that the Iſles of* Guernſey *and* Jarſey *have anciently depended on the Dioceſs of* Conſtance, *and that there be certain Churches in the ſame Dioceſs well reformed, agreeable throughout in the Doctrine as is ſet forth in this Realm; knowing therewith, that they have a Miniſter, which ever ſince his arrival in* Jarſey *hath uſed the like Order of Preaching and Adminiſtration, as in the ſaid reformed Churches, or as it is uſed in the* French *Church of* London: *her Majeſty, for divers reſpects and conſiderations moving her Highneſs, is well pleaſed to admit the ſame Order of Preaching and Adminiſtration to be continued at St.* Hillaries, *as hath been hitherto accuſtomed by the ſaid Miniſter. Provided always, that the reſidue of the Pariſhes in the ſaid Iſle, ſhall diligently put aſide all ſuperſtitions uſed in the ſaid Dioceſs; and ſo continue there the Order of Service ordained within this Realm, with the Injunctions neceſſary for that purpoſe. Wherein you may not fail diligently to give your aids and aſſiſtance, as beſt may ſerve for the advancement of Gods Glory. And ſo farewel. From* Richmond *the 7 of* Auguſt, Anno 1565.

22. Where note, that the ſame Letter, the names onely of the places being changed, and ſubſcribed by the ſame men, was ſent alſo unto thoſe of *Guernſey*, for the permiſſion of the ſaid Diſcipline in the *Port* of St. *Peters*. In which, though there be no expreſs mention of allowing their Diſcipline, but onely of their Form

Form of Prayer a d Administration of Sacraments; yet they presumed so far on the general words, as to put it presently in practice. In prosecution of which Counsels, the Ministers and Elders of both Churches held their first Synod in the Isle of *Guernsey*, on the 2 of *September*, *Anno* 1567, where they concluded to advance it by degrees in all the rest of the Parishes, as opportunity should serve, and the condition of Affairs permit: to the great joy, no question, of their great Friends in *England*, who could not but congratulate their own good Fortune in these fair beginnings.

23. At home they found not such success as they did abroad; 1566. not a few of them being deprived of their Benefices, and other preferments in the Church, for their inconformity, expresst in their refusing to officiate by the publick Liturgy, or not submitting to the directions of their Ordinaries in some outward matters, as Caps and Surplices, and the like. The news of which severity flies to *France* and *Scotland*; occasioning *Beza* in the one, and *Knox* and his Comrades in the other, to interpose themselves in behalf of their brethren. With what Authority *Beza* acted in it, we shall see anon. And we may now take notice, that in *Knoxes* Letter, sent from the general Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, the Vestments in dispute are not onely called *Trifles* and *Rags* of *Rome*, but are discountenanced and decryed, *for being such Garments as Idolaters in time of greatest darkness, used in their Superstitious and idolatrous service:* & thereupon it is inferred, That *if Surplice, Cap and Tippet have been badges of Idolaters in the very act of their Idolatry, that then the Preachers of Christian Liberty, and the Rebukers of Superstition, were to have nothing to do with the dregs of that Romish beast.* Which inference is seconded by this Request, *viz. That the Brethren in* England *which refused those* Romish Rags, *might finde of them (the Bishops) who use and urge them, such favour, as their Head and Master commandeth each one of his Members to shew to another. And this they did expect to receive of their courtesie, not onely because they hoped that they, the said Bishops, would not offend God in troubling their Brethren for such* Vain trifles; *but because they hoped that they would not refuse the request of them, their Brethren and fellow-Ministers; in whom, though there appeared no* worldly Pomp, *yet they assured themselves, that they were esteemed the* servants of God, *and such as travelled to set forth Gods Glory against the* Anti-christ *of* Rome, that conjured enemy of true Religion, the Pope. *The days,* say they, *are evil, iniquity abounds, charity (alas) waxeth cold; and therefore that it concerned them all to walk diligently, because it was uncertain at what hour the Lord would come, to whom they were to render an account of their Administration.* After which Apostolical Admonition, they commit them to the Mighty protection of the Lord Jesus Christ. And so we conclude their Zealous Letter, dated *December* 27. 1566.

24. With

24. With more Authority writes *Beza*, as the greater Patriarch; and he writes too concerning things of greater consequence then Caps and Surplices. For in a Letter of his to *Grindal*, bearing date *July*, *anno* 1566, he makes a sad complaint concerning certain Ministers, *unblameable* (as he saith) *both in life and Doctrine, suspended from the Ministery by the Queens Authority, and the good liking of the Bishops, for not subscribing to some new Rites and Ceremonies imposed upon them.* Amongst which Rites, he specifies the *wearing of such Vestments as were then worn by* Baals *Priests in the Church of* Rome; *the Cross in Baptism, kneeling at the Communion, and such Rites, as had* degenerated (*as he tells us*) into most filthy Superstition. But he seems more offended, *that Women were suffered to baptize in extreme necessities: That power was granted to the Queen for ordaining such other Rites and Ceremonies as should seem convenient; but most especially,* (which was indeed the point most grieved at) *that the Bishops were invested with a sole Authority for all matters of the Church, without consulting with the Pastors of particular flocks.* He was too well versed in the Writings of the Ancient Fathers, as not to know that all the things which he complains of, were approved and practiced in the best and happiest times of Christianity; as might be otherwise made apparent out of the Writings of *Tertullian, Cyprian, Hierome, Chrysostome*; and indeed who not? But *Beza* has a word for this. For first he blames the Ancient Fathers for borrowing many of their Ceremonies from the Jews and Gentiles, though done by them out of a good and honest purpose; that *being all things to all men*, they might gain the more. And thereupon he gives this Rule, *That all such Rites as had been borrowed either from the Jew or Gentile without expres. Warrant from Christ or the holy Apostles, as also all other significant Ceremonies, which had been brought into the Church against right and reason, should be immediately removed, or otherwise the Church could never be restored to her Native Beauty.* Which Rule of his, if once admitted, there must be presently an end of all external Decency and Order in the Worship of God, and every man might be left to serve him, both for time and place, and every particular circumstance in that Sacred action, as to him seemed best. And what a horrible confusion must needs grow thereby, not onely in a whole National Church, but in every particular Congregation, be it never so small, is no hard matter to conceive.

25. At the Reforming of this Church, not onely the Queens Chappel, and all Cathedrals, but many Parochial Churches also had preserved their Organs; to which they used to sing the appointed Hymns; that is to say, the *Te Deum*, the *Benedictus*, the *Magnificat*, the *Nunc Dimittis*, *&c.* performed in an Artificial and Melodious manner, with the addition of Cornets, Sackbuts, and the like, on the Solemn Festivals. For which as they had ground enough from the holy Scripture, if the Practice and Authority of *David* be of any credit; so were they warranted thereunto

unto by the godly usage of the primitive times, after the Church was once restored to her peace and freedom. Certain I am, that S. *Augustine* imputes no small part of his Conversion to that heavenly Melodie which he heard very frequently in the Church of *Millaine*, [a] professing that it did not onely draw tears from him, though against his will, but raised his soul unto a sacred Meditation on spiritual matters. But *Beza* having turned so many of the *Psalms* into metre, as had been left undone by *Marot*, gave an example unto *Sternhold* and *Hopkins* to attempt the like. Whose Version being left unfinished, but brought unto an end by some of our English Exiles which remained at [b] *Geneva*; there was a purpose for imposing them upon the Church by little and little, that they might come as close as might be in all points to their Mother-City. At first, they sung them onely in their private houses, and afterwards (as beforesaid) adventured to sing them also in the Church, as in the way of entertainment, to take up the time till the beginning of the Service, and afterwards to sing them as a part of the Service it self. For so I understand that passage in the *Church Historian*, in which he tells us, That Dr. *Gervis* being then Warden of *Merton*-Colledge, had abolished certain Latine superstitious Hymns which had been used on some of the Festivals, appointing the *Psalms* in English to be sung in their place; and that as one *Leech* was ready to begin the *Psalm*, another of the Fellows called *Hall*, snatched the book out of his hands, and told him, *That they could no more dance after his pipe.* But whatsoever *Hall* thought of them, *Beza* and his Disciples were perswaded otherwise. And that he might the better cry down that Melodious Harmony which was retained in the Church of *England*, and so make way for the *Genevian* fashion even in that point also; he tells us in the same Letter to Bishop *Gryndal*, *That the Artificial Musick then retained in the Church of* England, *was fitter to be used in Masks and Dancings, then Religious Offices; and rather served to please the ear, then to move the affections.* Which censure being pass'd upon it by so great a *Rabby*, most wonderful it was how suddenly some men of good note and quality, who otherwise deserved well enough of the Church of *England*, did bend their wits and pens against it; and with what earnestness they laboured to have their own Tunes publickly introduced into all the Churches. Which that they might the better do, they procured the *Psalms* in English metre to be bound in the same Volume with the Publick Liturgie, and sometimes with the Bible also; setting them forth, as being *allowed* (so the Title tells us) *to be sung in all Churches before and after Morning and Evening Prayer, as also before and after Sermons*; but with what truth and honesty, we have heard before.

[a] *Ut flev'ad cantus Ecclesiæ tuæ, &c* Confes. lib.

[b] *Ut per oblectamentarium assurgit animus, ad pietatis assertum.* Conf. lib.

16. In fine, he tells the Bishops *how guilty they would seem to God and his holy Angels, if they chuse rather to deprive the Ministers of their Cures and Benefices, then suffer them to go apparelled*

relled otherwiſe then to them ſeemed good: And rather to deprive many hungry ſouls of their heavenly food, then give them leave to receive it otherwiſe then upon their knees. And this being ſaid, he queſtions the Authority of the Supreme Magiſtrate, as contrary to the Word of God, and the Ancient Canons, for ordaining any new Rites and Ceremonies in a Church eſtabliſhed; but much more the Authority aſcribed to Biſhops, in ordering any thing which concerned the Church, without calling the Presbytery to adviſe about it, and having their approbation in it. This was indeed the point moſt aimed at. And to this point his followers take the courage to drive on amain; the Copies of this Letter being preſently diſperſed for their greater comfort, if not alſo printed. Some of the brethren, in their zeal to the name of *Calvin*, preferred him once before S. *Paul*; and *Beza* out of queſtion would have took it ill, if he had been eſteemed of leſs Authority then any of thoſe who claimed to be Succeſſors to S. *Peter*. And therefore it were worth the while to compare the Epiſtles of theſe men, with thoſe of Pope *Leo*; and then to enter ſeriouſly into conſideration, whether of the two took more upon him; either Pope *Leo*, where he might pretend to ſome command; or *Beza*, where he had no authority to act at all. How much more moderate and diſcreet were the moſt eminent men for Learning amongſt the *Zwitzers*, may appear by the example of *Gualter* and *Bullinger*, no way inferior unto the other, but in Pride and Arrogancy; who being deſired by ſome of the Engliſh Zealots to give their judgement in the point of the Churches Veſtments, returned their approbation of them; but ſent it in a Letter directed to *Horn*, *Sandys* and *Grindal*, to let them ſee, that they would not intermeddle in the affairs of this Church without their privity and advice. Which whether it were done with greater Moderation or Diſcretion, it is hard to ſay.

1567. 27. So good a Foundation being laid, the building could not chuſe but go on apace. But firſt they muſt prepare the matter, and remove all doubts which otherwiſe might interrupt them in the courſe of their building. And herein *Beza* is conſulted as the Maſter-Workman. To him they ſend their ſeveral ſcruples; and he returns ſuch anſwer to them, as did not onely confirm them in their preſent obſtinacy, but fitted and prepared them for the following Schiſm. To thoſe before, they add the calling of the Miniſters, and their ordaining by the Biſhops; neither the Presbyterie being conſulted, nor any particular place appointed for their Miniſtration. Which he condemns as contrary to the Word of God and the ancient Canons; but ſo, that he conceives it better to have ſuch a Miniſtery, then none at all; praying withal, that God would give this Church a more lawful Miniſtery (the Church was much beholding to him for his zeal the while) in his own good time. Concerning the *Interrogatories* propoſed to Infants in their Baptiſm, he declares it to be onely *a corruption of the ancient Form*, which was uſed in the

the baptizing persons of riper years. And thereupon desires as heartily as before, *That as the Church had laid aside the use of* Oyl, *and the old Rite of* Exorcising, *though retained at* Rome; *so they would also abdicate those* foolish and unnecessary Interrogations *which are made to Infants.* And yet he could not chuse but vaunt, that there was somewhat in one of S. *Augustines* Epistles which might seem to favour it; and that such questions were proposed to Infants in the time of *Origen*, who lived above Two hundred years before S. *Augustine.* In some Churches, and particularly in *Westminster*-Abbey, they still retained the use of Wafers made of bread unleavened; to which we can find nothing contrary in the Publik Rubricks. This he acknowledgeth of it self for a thing indifferent; but so, that ordinary leavened bread is preferred before it, as being more agreeable to the Institution of our Lord and Saviour. And yet he could not chuse but grant, that Christ administred the Sacrament in unleavened bread, no other being to be used by the Law of *Moses* at the time of the Passover. He dislikes also the deciding of Civil causes (by which he means those of Tythes, Marriages, and the Last-Wills or Testaments of men deceased) in the Bishops Courts; but more, that the Bishops Chancellors did take upon them to decree any Excommunication without the approbation and consent of the Presbyters. Whose acts therein, he Majestically pronounceth to be void and *null*, not to oblige the Conscience of any man in the sight of God; and otherwise, to be a foul and shameful prophanation of the Churches Censures.

28. To other of their Queries, *Touching the Musick in the Church*; *Kneeling at the Communion*; *The Cross in Baptism*, and the rest: He answers as he did before, without remitting any thing of his former censure. Which Letter of his, bearing date on the 24 of *October*, 1567. was superscribed, *Ad quosdam Anglicanum Ecclesiarum fratres, &c.* To certain of the brethren of the Churches in *England*, touching some points of Ecclesiastical Order and concernment which were then under debate: by the receiving whereof, they found themselves so fully satisfied and encouraged, that they fell into an open Schism in the year next following. At which time *Benson*, *Button*, *Hallingham*, 1568.
Coleman, and others, taking upon them to be of a more Ardent zeal then others in professing the true Reformed Religion, resolved to allow of nothing in Gods Publick Service (according to the Rules laid down by *Calvin* and *Beza*) but what was found expresly in the holy Scriptures. And whether out of a desire of Reformation (which pretence had gilded many a rotten post) or for singularity sake and Innovation, they openly questioned the received Discipline of the Church of *England*; yea, condemned the same, together with the Publick Liturgie, and the Calling of Bishops, as favouring too much of the Religion of the Church of *Rome.* Against which they frequently protested in their Pulpits; affirming, *That it was an impious thing to hold any correspondency with the Church*; and labouring with all di-

ligence to bring the Church of *England* to a Conformity in all points with the Rules of *Geneva*. Theſe, although the Queen commanded to be laid by the heels, yet it is incredible how upon a ſudden their followers increaſed in all parts of the Kingdom; diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by the name of *Puritans*, by reaſon of their own perverſeneſs, and moſt obſtinate refuſal to give ear to more ſound advice. Their numbers much encreaſed on a double account; firſt, by the negligence of ſome, and the connivance of other Biſhops, who ſhould have looked more narrowly into their proceedings: And partly, by the ſecret favour of ſome great men in the Court, who greedily gaped after the Remainder of the Churches Patrimony.

29. It cannot be denied, but that this Faction received much encouragement underhand, from ſome great perſons near the Queen; from no man more then from the Earl of *Leiceſter*; the Lord *North*, *Knollis* and *Walſingham*; who knew how mightily ſome numbers of the *Scots*, both Lords and Gentlemen, had in ſhort time improved their fortune, by humoring the *Knoxian* Brethren in their Reformation; and could not but expect the like in their own particulars, by a compliance with thoſe men, who aimed apparently at the ruine of the Biſhops and Cathedral Churches. But then it muſt be granted alſo, that they received no ſmall encouragement from the negligence and remiſsneſs of ſome great Biſhops, whom *Calvin* and *Beza* had cajoled to a plain connivance. Of *Calvins* writing unto *Grindal* for ſetting up a French Church in the middle of *London*, we have ſeen before. And we have ſeen how *Beza* did addreſs himſelf unto him, in behalf of the Brethren who had ſuffered for their inconformity to eſtabliſhed Orders. But now he takes notice of the Schiſm, a manifeſt defection of ſome members from the reſt of the body; but yet he cannot chuſe but tamper with him to allow their doings, or otherwiſe to mitigate the rigour of the Laws in force. For having firſt beſprinkled him with ſome commendation for his zeal to the Goſpel, and thanked him for his many favours to the new French Church, he begins roundly, in plain terms, to work him to his own perſwaſions. He lays before him firſt, how great an obſtacle was made in the courſe of Religion, by thoſe petite differences; not onely amongſt weak and ignorant, but even Learned men. And then adviſeth that ſome ſpeedy remedy be applied to ſo great a miſchief, by calling an Aſſembly of ſuch Learned and Religious men as were leaſt contentious; of which he hoped to be the chief, if that work went forwards: With this Proviſo notwithſtanding, That nothing ſhould be ordered and determined by them, with reference unto Ancient or Modern uſages; but that all Popiſh Rites and Ceremonies being firſt aboliſhed, they ſhould proceed to the Eſtabliſhment of ſuch a Form of Miniſtration in the Church of *England*, as might be grounded on ſome expreſs Authorities of the Word of God. Which as he makes to be a work agreeable

unto

unto *Grindals* piety; ſo *Grindal* after this (and this bears date in *July* 1568.) appeared more favourable every day then other to thoſe common Barretters, who uſed their whole endeavours to embroyl the Church.

30. Nor were theſe years leſs fatal to the Church of *England*, by the defection of the Papiſts, who till this time had kept themſelves in her Communion, and did in general as punctually attend all Divine Offices in the ſame, as the vulgar Proteſtants. And it is probable enough, that they might have held out longer in their due obedience, if firſt, the ſcandal which was given by the other Faction, and afterwards the ſeparation which enſued upon it, had not took them off. The Liturgie of the Church had been exceedingly well fitted to their approbation, by leaving out an offenſive paſſage againſt the Pope; reſtoring the old Form of words, accuſtomably uſed in the participation of the holy Sacrament; the total expunging of a Rubrick, which ſeemed to make a Queſtion of the *Real preſence*; the Scituation of the holy-Table in the place of the Altar; the Reverend poſture of kneeling at it, or before it, by all Communicants; the retaining of ſo many of the ancient Feſtivals; and finally, by the Veſtments uſed by the Prieſt or Miniſter in the Miniſtration. And ſo long as all things continued in ſo good a poſture, they ſaw no cauſe of ſeparating from the reſt of their Brethren in the acts of Worſhip. But when all decency and order was turned out of the Church, by the heat and indiſcretion of theſe new Reformers; the holy-Table brought into the midſt of the Church like a common-Table; the Communicants in ſome places ſitting at it with as little Reverence as at any ordinary Table; the ancient Faſts and Feaſts deſerted, and Church-Veſtments thrown aſide, as the remainders of the Superſtition of the Church of *Rome*: they then began viſibly to decline from their firſt conformity. And yet they made no general ſeparation, nor defection neither, till the *Genevian* brethren had firſt made the Schiſm, and rather choſe to meet in Barns and Woods, yea, and common Fields, then to aſſociate with their brethren, as in former times. For, that they did ſo, is affirmed by very good Authors, who much bemoaned the ſad condition of the Church, in having her bowels torn in pieces by thoſe very Children which ſhe had cheriſhed in her boſom. By one of which, who muſt needs be of years and judgement at the time of this Schiſm, we are firſt told what great contentions had been raiſed in the firſt ten years of her Majeſties Reign, through the peeviſh frowardneſs, the out-cryes of ſuch as came from *Geneva* againſt the Veſtments of the Church, and ſuchlike matters. And then he adds, That being croſſed in their deſires touching thoſe particulars, they ſeparated from the reſt of their Congregations; and meeting together in Houſes, Woods, and common Fields, kept there their moſt unlawful and diſorderly Conventicles.

31. Now at ſuch time as *Button*, *Billingham*, and the reſt of

the *Puritan* Faction had first made the Schism, *Harding* and *Sanders*, and some others of the Popish Fugitives, imployed themselves as busily in perswading those of that Religion to the like temptation: For being licensed by the Pope to exercise Episcopal jurisdiction in the Realm of *England*, they take upon them to absolve all such in the Court of Conscience, who should return to the Communion of the Church of *Rome*; as also to dispense in Causes of irregularity, except it were incurred by wilful murther; and finally, from the like irregularities incurred by Heresie, if the party who desired the benefit of the Absolution, abstain'd from Ministring at the holy Altar for three years together. By means whereof, and the advantages before mentioned which were given them by the *Puritan Faction*, they drew many to them from the Church, both Priests and People; their numbers every day increasing, as the scandal did. And finding how the Sectaries inlarged their numbers by erecting a *French* Church in *London*, and that they were now upon the point of procuring another for the use and comfort of the *Dutch*; they thought it no ill piece of Wisdom to attempt the like in some convenient place near *England*, where they might train up their Disciples, and fit them for imployment upon all occasions. Upon which ground, a Seminary is established for them at *Doway* in *Flanders*, *Anno* 1568; and another not long after at *Rhemes* a City of *Champaigne* in the Realm of *France*. Such was the benefit which redounded to the Church of *England* by the perverseness of the Brethren of this first separation, that it occasioned the like Schism betwixt her and the Papists, who till that time had kept themselves in her Communion, as before was said. For that the Papists generally did frequent the Church in these first ten years, is positively affirmed by Sir *Edward Coke* in his Speech at the Arraignment of *Garnet* the Jesuit, and afterward at the Charge which was given by him at the general Assizes held in *Norwich*. In both which he speaks on his own certain knowledge, not on vulgar hearsay; affirming more particularly, that he had many times seen *Bedenfield*, *Cornwallis*, and some other of the Leading *Romanists*, at the Divine Service of the Church, who afterwards were the first that departed from it. The like averred by the most Learned Bishop *Andrews*, in his Book called *Tortura Torti*, *p.* 130. and there asserted undeniably against all opposition. And which may serve instead of all, we finde the like affirmed also by the Queen her self, in her Instructions given to *Walsingham*, then being her Resident with the *French* King, *Anno* 1570. In which Instructions, bearing date on the 11 of *August*, it is affirmed expresly of the Heads of that party; and therefore we may judge the like of the Members also, that *they did ordinarily resort, from the beginning of her Reign, in all open places, to the Churches, and to Divine Service in the Church, without any contradiction, or shew of misliking.*

§2. The parallel goes further yet. For as the *Puritans* were encou-

encouraged to this separation by the Missals and Decretory Letters of *Theodore Beza*, whom they beheld as the chief Patriarch of this Church: So were the Papists animated to their defection by a Bull of Pope *Pius* the Fifth, whom they acknowledged most undoubtedly for the Head of theirs. For the Pope being thrust on by the importunity of the House of *Guise*, in favour of the Queen of *Scots*, whose Title they preferred before that of *Elizabeth*; and by the Court of *France*, in hatred to the Queen her self, for aiding the *French Hugonots* against their King, was drawn at last to issue out this Bull against her, dated at *Rome*, *Feb.*24. 1569. In which Bull he doth not onely Excommunicate her person, deprive her of her Kingdoms, and absolve all her Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance; but commands all her Subjects, of what sort soever, not to obey her Laws, Injunctions, Ordinances or Acts of State. The Defection of the Papists had before been voluntary, but is now made necessary; the Popes command being superadded to the scandal which had before been given them by the *Puritan Faction*. For after this, the going or not going to Church was commonly reputed by them for a signe distinctive, by which a Roman Catholick might be known from an English Heretick. And this appears most plainly by the Preamble to the Act of Parliament *against bringing or executing of Bulls from* Rome, 13 *Eliz.* 2. Where it is reckoned amongst the effects of those Bulls and Writings, *That those who brought them, did by their lewd practices and subtile perswasions work so farforth, that sundry people, and ignorant persons have been contented to be reconciled to the Church of* Rome, *and to have withdrawn and absented themselves from all Divine Service, most godlily exercised in this Realm.* By which it seems, that till the roaring of those Bulls, those of the Popish party did frequent the Church, though not so generally in the last five years (as our Learned *Andrews* hath observed) as they did the first, before they were discouraged by the Innovations of the *Puritan Faction*. 1569.

33. But for their coming to our Churches for the first ten years, that is to say, before the first beginning of the *Puritan Schism*, there is enough acknowledged by some of their own. *Parsons* himself confesseth, in his Pamphlet which he calls by the name of *Green-Coat*, *That for twelve years together the Court and State was in great quiet, and no question made about Religion.* Brierly in his *Apologie* speaks it more at large: by whom it is acknowledged, *That in the beginning of the Queens Reign, most part of the Catholicks for many years did go to the Heretical Churches and Service: That when the better and truer opinion was taught them by Priests and Religious men from beyond the Seas as more perfect and necessary, there wanted not many which opposed themselves of the elder sort of Priests of Queen* Maries *days: and finally, That this division was not onely favoured by the Council, but nourished also for many years by divers troublesome people of their own,*

both

both in teaching and writing. On which the Author of the Reply, whomsoever he was, hath made this Descant, *viz. That for the Catholicks going to Church, it was perchance rather to be lamented then blamed, before it came to be a* sign Distinctive, *by which a Catholick was known from one who was no Catholick.* Thus as the Schisms began together, so are they carried on by the selfsame means, by Libelling against the State: the Papists, in their *Philopater*; the *Puritans*, in *Martin Mar-Prelate*, and the rest: by breeding up their novices beyond the Seas; the Roman Catholicks, at *Rheims* and *Doway*; the Presbyterians, at *Geneva*, *Amsterdam* or *Saumure*: by raising sedition in the State, and plotting Treason against the person of the Queen; the Papists, by *Throgmorton*, *Parry*, *Tichbourn*, *Babington*, &c. the *Puritans*, by *Thacker*, *Penry*, *Hacket*, *Coppinger*, &c. And finally, by the executions made upon either part; of which, in reference to the Presbyterians, we shall speak hereafter. But as none of *Plutarchs* Parallels is so exact, but that some difference may be noted, and is noted by him, betwixt the persons and affairs of whom he writes; so was there a great difference in one particular between the fortunes of the Papists and the contrary faction. The Presbyterians were observed to have many powerful Friends at Court, in which the Papists had scarce any but mortal Enemies. Spies and Intelligencers were employed to attend the Papists, and observe all their words and actions; so that they could not stir without a discovery: But all mens eyes were shut upon the other party, so that they might do what they listed without observation. Of which no reason can be given, but that the Queen being startled at the Popes late Bull, and finding both her Person and Estate indangered, under divers pretences, by many of the Romish party, both at home and abroad, might either take no notice of the lesser mischief, or suffer that faction to grow up to confront the other.

34. And now comes *Cartwright* on the Stage, on which he acted more then any of the *Puritan* Faction, till their last going off again in the Reign of this Queen. It was upon a discontent that he first left *Cambridge*; and in pursuance of the same, that he left the Church. For being appointed one of the Opponents at the Divinity-Act in *Cambridge*, *Anno* 1564, at such time as the Queen was pleased to honor it with her Royal presence; he came not off so happily in her esteem, but that *Preston* of *Kings Colledge* for action, voyce and elocution, was preferred before him. This so afflicted the proud man, that in a sudden humour he retires from the University, and sets up his studies in *Geneva*, where he became as great with *Beza*, and the rest of that Consistory, as ever *Knox* had been with *Calvin* at his being there. As soon as he had well acquainted himself with the Form of their Discipline, and studied all such points as were to be reduced to practice at his coming back, well stocked with Principles, and furnished with Instructions, he prepares for *England*, and puts himself into his Colledge. Before, upon the apprehension of the said

ſaid neglect, he had begun to buſie himſelf with ſome diſcourſes againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Government then by Law eſtabliſhed; and ſeemed to entertain a great opinion of himſelf, both for Learning and Holineſs; and therewithal a great contemner of ſuch others as continued not with him. But at his coming from *Geneva*, he became more practical, or pragmatical rather, condemning the Vocation of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Archdeacons, and other *Eccleſiaſtical* Officers; the Adminiſtration of our holy Sacraments, and obſervations of our Rites and Ceremonies. And buzzing theſe conceits into the Heads of divers young Preachers and Scholars of the Univerſity, he drew after him a great number of Diſciples and Followers. Amongſt whom he prevailed ſo far by his ſecret practices, but much more by a Sermon which he Preached one Sunday-morning in the Colledge-Chappel, that in the afternoon all the Fellows and Scholars threw aſide their Surplices (which by the Statutes of the Houſe they were bound to uſe) and went to the Divine Service onely in their Gowns and Caps. Dr. *John Whitgift* was at that time Maſter of *Trinity* Colledge, and the Queens Profeſſor for Divinity; a man of great temper and moderation, but one withal that knew well how to hold the Reins, and not ſuffer them to be wreſted out of his hand by an Head-ſtrong-beaſt. *Cartwright* was Fellow of that Colledge, emulous of the Maſters Learning, but far more envious at the Credit and Authority which he had acquired: for which cauſe he procured himſelf to be choſen the Profeſſor for the Lady *Margaret*, that he might come as near to him as he could, both in place and power. But not content with that which he had done in the Colledge, he puts up his Diſciples into all the Pulpits in the Univerſity, where he and they inveigh moſt bitterly againſt the Government of the Church, and the Governours of it; the Ordination of Prieſts and Deacons, the Liturgie eſtabliſhed, and the Rites thereof. And though *Whitgift* Preached them down as occaſion ſerved with great applauſe unto himſelf, but greater ſatisfaction to all moderate and ſober men; yet *Cartwright* and his Followers were now grown unto ſuch a head, that they became more violent by the oppoſition.

32. It hapneth commonly, as a Learned man hath well obſerved, That *thoſe fervent Reprehenders of things eſtabliſhed by publick Authority, are always confident and bold-ſpirited men*; and ſuch as will not eaſily be taken off from their proſecutions by any fair and gentle uſage. Which *Whitgift* found at laſt, after all his patience; inſomuch, that having many times in vain endeavoured, by gentle Admonitions and fair perſwaſions, to gain the man unto himſelf, or ſo to moderate and reſtrain him, as that he ſhould no longer trouble both that Colledge and the whole Univerſity with his dangerous Doctrines; he was neceſſitated in the end to expel him out of the Houſe, and after to deprive him alſo of the *Margaret*-Lecture. Which laſt he acted

as Vice-chancellor upon this account, that he had delivered divers errors in his Lectures, which he had neither recanted as he was required, nor so expounded as to free himself from that imputation; and that withal he had exercised the Function of a Minister, without being able to produce any Letters of Orders. Hereupon *Cartwright* and his Followers began to mouth it, complaining that the man had been mightily wronged, in being deprived of his preferments in the University, without being called unto his answer; that *Cartwright* had made many offers of Disputation for tryal of the points in Question, but could never be heard; and therefore that *Whitgift* supplyed this by excess of power, which he was not able to make good by defect of Arguments. To stop which clamour, *Whitgift* not onely offered him the opportunity of a Conference with him, but offered it in the presence of sufficient witnesses; and put the man so hard unto it, that he not onely declined the Conference at the present, but confest that *Whitgift* had made him the like offers formerly, and that he had refused the same, as he now did also. All which appears by a Certificate, subscribed by eight sufficient Witnesses, and a publick Notary, dated the 18 of *March* 1570. But this disgrace was followed by a greater, much about that time: for finding himself in a necessity to depart from *Cambridge*, he would have taken the degree of Doctor along with him for his greater credit, but was denyed by the major part of the Regent Masters, and others which had votes therein; which so displeased both him and all his adherents, that from this time the Degrees of Doctors, Batchellors and Masters were esteemed unlawful, and those that took them reckoned for the Limbs of Antichrist, as appears by the *Genevian* Notes on the *Revelation*. But for this, and all the other wrongs which he had suffered (as was said) in the University, he will revenge himself upon the Church in convenient time; and in convenient time we shall hear more of it.

36. In the mean season, we must make a step to *Banstead* in *Surrey*, where we shall finde a knot of more Zealous *Calvinists*, then in other places; so Zealous and conceited of their own dear Sanctity, that they separated themselves from the rest of their brethren, under the name of *the Anoynted*. The Bond of Peace was broken by the rest before, and these men meant not to retain the unity of spirit with them, as they had done formerly. Their Leader was one *Wright*; their Opinions these, *viz. That no man is to be accused of sin, but he that did reject the truths by them professed: That the whole New Testament contained nothing but predictions of things to come; and therefore that Christ (whom they grant to have appeared in the flesh before) shall come before the Day of Judgement, and actually perform those things which are there related: That he whose sins are once pardoned, cannot sin again: And that no credit was to be afforded to men of Learning, but all things to be taught by the Spirit onely.* Of these men

Sanders

Sanders tells us in his Book *De visibile Monarchia*, Fol. 707, and placeth them in this present year 1570. But what became of them, I finde not there, or in any others. And therefore I conceive, that either they were soon worn out for want of Company, or lost themselves amongst the *Anabaptists*, *Familists*, or some other. And this I look upon as one of the first Factions amongst the *Puritans* themselves, after they had begun their separation from the Church of *England*: Which separation, so begun as before is said, was closed again about this time by the hands of those who first had laboured in the breach.

37. For so it was, that either out of love to their own profit, or the publick peace, some of them had consulted *Beza* touching this particular; that is to say, *Whether he thought it more expedient for the good of the Church, That the Ministers should chuse rather to forsake their Flocks, then to conform unto such Orders as were then prescribed.* Whereunto he returns this Answer: *That many things both may and ought to be obeyed, which are not warrantably commanded: That though the Garments in dispute were not imposed upon the Church by any warrant from the Word of God; yet having nothing of impiety in them, he conceived that it were fitter for the Ministers to conform themselves, then either voluntarily to forsake their Churches, or be deprived for their refusal: That in like manner the people were to be advised to frequent the Churches, and hear their Pastors so apparelled as the Church required, rather then utterly to forsake that spiritual food, by which their souls were to be nourished to eternal life: But so, that first the Ministers do discharge their Consciences, by making a modest protestation against those Vestments, as well before the Queens Majesty, as their several Bishops; and so apply themselves to suffer what they could not remedy.* This might have stopt the breach at the first beginning, if either the English *Puritans* had not been too hot upon it, to be cooled so suddenly, or that he had not made his own good counsel ineffectual in the close of all: In which he tells them in plain terms, *That if they could no otherwise preserve their standing in the Church, then either by subscribing to the lawfulness of the Orders, Rites and Ceremonies which were then required, or by giving any countenance to them by a faulty silence; they should then finally give way to that open violence which they were not able to resist*; that is to say, (for so I understand his meaning) that they should rather leave their Churches, then submit themselves to such conditions. But this direction being given toward the end of *October*, *Anno* 1567, seems to be qualified in his Epistle to the Brethren of the Forreign Churches which were then in *England*, bearing date *June* the fifth in the year next following; in which he thus resolves the case proposed unto him: *That for avoiding all destructive ruptures in the body of Christ, by dividing the members thereof from one another, it was not lawful for any man, of what Rank soever, to separate himself, upon any occasion, from the*

Church of Christ, in which the Doctrine is preserved whereby the people are instructed in the ways of God, and the right use of the Sacraments ordained by Christ is maintained inviolable.

38. This might, I say, have stopped the breach in the first beginning, had not the English *Puritans* been resolved to try some conclusions before they hearkned to the Premises. But finding that their party was not strong enough to bear them out, or rich enough to maintain them on their private purses, they thought it not amiss to follow the directions of their great Dictator. And hereunto the breaking out of those in *Surrey* gave some further colour, by which, they say, that nothing but confusion must needs fall upon them; and that so many Factions, Subdivisions; and Schismatical Ruptures, as would inevitably ensue on the first separation, must in fine crumble them to nothing. And on these grounds it was determined to unite themselves to the main body of the Church, to reap the profit of the same; and for their safer standing in it, to take as well their Orders as their Institution from the hands of the Bishops. But so, that they would neither wear the Surplice oftner then meer necessity compelled them, or read more of the Common-prayers then what they thought might save them harmless if they should be questioned; and in the mean time by degrees to bring in that Discipline, which could not be advanced at once, in all parts of the Kingdom. Which half Conformity they were brought to on the former grounds; and partly by an Act of Parliament which came out this year, 13 *Eliz. cap.* 12. for the reforming of disorders amongst the Ministers of the Church. And they were brought unto no more then a half Conformity, by reason of some clashing which appeared unto them, between the Canons of the Convocation, and that Act of Parliament; as also in regard of some interposings which are now made in their behalf, by one of a greater Title, though of no more power, then *Calvin*, *Martyr*, *Beza*, or the rest of the Advocates.

39. The danger threatned to the Queen, by the late sentence of Excommunication which was past against her, occasioned her to call the Lords and Commons to assemble in Parliament, the Bishops and Clergy to convene in their Convocation. These last accordingly met together in the Church of St. *Paul*, on the 5 of *April* 1571. At which time Dr. *Whitgift*, Master of *Trinity*-Colledge in *Cambridge*, preached the Latine Sermon. In which he insisted most especially, upon the Institution and Authority of Synodical Meetings, on the necessary use of Ecclesiastical Vestments, and other Ornaments of the Church; the opposition made against all Orders formerly Established, as well by *Puritans* as *Papists*; touching in fine on many other particularities, in rectifying whereof the care and diligence of the Synod was by him required. And as it proved, his counsel was not given

given in vain. For the first thing which followed the Conforming of the Prolocutor, was a command given by the Archbishop, *That all such of the lower House of Convocation, who not had formerly subscribed unto the Articles of Religion agreed upon* Anno 1562, *should subscribe them now; or on their absolute refusal, or procrastinations, be expelled the House.* Which wrought so well, that the said Book of Articles being publickly read, was universally approved, and personally subscribed by every Member of both Houses, as appears clearly by the *Ratification* at the end of those Articles. In prosecution of which necessary and prudent course, it was further ordered, *That the Book of Articles so approved, should be put into Print, by the appointment of the Right Reverend Dr.* John Jewel *then Bishop of* Sarum; *and that every Bishop should take a competent number of them, to be dispersed in their Visitations, or Diocesan Synods, and to be read four times in every year in all the Parishes of their several and respective Dioceses.* Which questionless might have settled a more perfect Conformity in all parts of the Kingdom, some Canons of the Convocation running much that way, if the Parliament had spoke as clearly in it as the Convocation; or if some sinister practice had not been excogitated to pervert those Articles, in making them to come out imperfect, and consequently deprived of life and vigour, which otherwise they would have carried.

40. The Earl of *Leicester* at that time was of great Authority, and had apparently made himself the head of the Puritan faction. They also had the Earl of *Huntingdon*, the Lord *North*, and others in the House of Peers; Sir *Francis Knollis*, *Walsingham*, and many more in the House of Commons. To which (if *Zanchy* be to be believed, as perhaps he may be) some of the Bishops may be added; who were not willing to tye the Puritans too close to that Subscription by the Act of Parliament, which was required of them by the Acts and Canons of the Convocation. It had been ordered by the Bishops in their Convocation, *That all the Clergy then assembled, should subscribe the Articles.* And it was ordered by the unanimous consent of the Bishops and Clergie, *That none should be admitted from thenceforth unto Holy-Orders, till he had first subscribed the same; and solemnly obliged himself to defend the things therein contained, as consonant in all points to the Word of God*, Can. 1571. Cap. de Episcop. But by the first Branch of the Act of Parliament, Subscription seemed to be no otherwise required, then to *such Articles alone as contained the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the holy Sacraments.* Whereby all Articles relating to the Book of Homilies, the Form of Consecrating Archbishops and Bishops, the Churches power for the imposing of new Rites and Ceremonies, and retaining those already made, seemed to be purposely omitted, as not within the compass of the said Subscription. And although no such Restriction do occur in the following Branches,

by which Subscription is required indefinitely unto all the Articles; yet did the first Branch seem to have such influence upon all the rest, that it was made to serve the turn of the *Puritan* Faction, whensoever they were called upon to subscribe to the Episcopal Government, the Publick Liturgie of the Church, or the Queens Supremacy. But nothing did more visibly discover the designs of the Faction, and the great power their Patrons had in the Publick Government, then the omitting the first Clause in the Twentieth Article: In which it was declared, *That the Church had power to Decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith.* Which Clause, though extant in the Registers of the Convocation as a part of that Article, and printed as a part thereof both in Latine and English, *Anno* 1562, was totally left out in this new Impression; and was accordingly left out in all the Harmonies of *Confessions*, or other Collections of the same, which were either printed at *Geneva*, or any other place where *Calvinism* was of most predominancy. And so it stood with us in *England* till the death of *Leicester*. After which, in the year 1593, the Articles were reprinted, and that Clause resumed, according as it stands in the Publick Registers. By which Clause it was after published in the third year of K. *James*, and in the tenth year of the said King, *Anno* 1512, and in all following Impressions from that time to this. Once cunningly omitted in a Latine Impression with came out at *Oxon*, *An.* 1536. but the forgery was soon discovered, and the Book call'd in; the Printer checked, and ordered to reprint the same with the Clause prefixed. Which makes it the more strange, and almost incredible, that the *Puritans* should either plainly charge it as an Innovation on the late Archbishop; or that any other sober or indifferent man should make a question, whether the Addition of that Clause were made by the Prelates, or the Substraction of it by the *Puritans*, for their several purposes.

41. There also past a Book of Canons in this Convocation, by which it was required, *That all such as were admitted unto Holy-Orders, should subscribe the Book of Articles*, as before was said: *That the* Gray Amice, *still retained (as it seems) by some of the old Priests of Queen* Maries *time, should be from thenceforth laid aside, and no longer used: That the Deans and Residentiaries of Cathedral Churches should admit no other Form of saying or singing Divine Service of the Church, or administring the holy Sacraments, then that which was prescribed in the Publick Liturgie: That if any Preacher in the same, should openly maintain any point of Doctrine contrary to anything contained in the Book of Articles, or the Book of Common-Prayer, the Bishop should be advertised of it by the Dean and Prebendaries, to the end he might proceed therein as to him seemed best: That no man be admitted to preach, in what Church soever, till he be licensed by the Queen, or the Archbishop of the Province, or the Bishop of the Diocess in which he serveth: And that no Preacher beng so licensed, should preach or teach*

any

any thing for Doctrinal, to be believed by the people, but what was conſonant to the Word of God in Holy Scripture; or by the Ancient Fathers or Orthodox Biſhops of the Church *had been gathered from it: That no Parſon, Vicar or Curate ſhould from thenceforth read the Common Prayers in any Chappel, Oratory, or Private Houſe, unleſs he were licenſed by the Biſhop under hand and ſeal: And that none of the perſons aforeſaid ſhould deſert his Miniſtery, or carry himſelf in his apparel or kind of life like to one of the Laity: That the ſaid Parſons, Vicars and Curates, ſhould yearly certifie to their ſeveral Ordinaries, the names and Sirnames of all perſons of fourteen years of age and upwards, who had not received the Communion, or did refuſe to be inſtructed in the Publick Catechiſm; or that they ſhould not ſuffer any ſuch perſons to be God-Father or God-Mother to any child, or to contract any Marriage, either between themſelves, or with any other.* It was alſo ordered in thoſe Canons, *That every Biſhop ſhould cauſe the Holy Bible in the largeſt Volume to be ſet up in ſome convenient place of his Hall or Parlour; that as well thoſe of his own Family, as all ſuch ſtrangers as reſorted to him, might have recourſe to it if they pleaſed: And that all Biſhops, Deans and Archdeacons ſhould cauſe the Book called*, The Acts and Monuments, *to be diſpoſed of in like ſort, for the uſe aforeſaid.* The firſt of which Injunctions ſeems to have been made for keeping up the Reputation of the Engliſh Bibles publickly Authorized for the uſe of this Church. The credit and Authority of which Tranſlation, was much decryed by thoſe of the *Genevian* Faction, to advance their own. By the other there was nothing aimed at, but to gain credit to the Book, which ſerved ſo ſeaſonably, to create an *odium*, in all ſorts of people, againſt the Tyrannies and Superſtitions of the Pope of *Rome*, whoſe plots and practices did ſo apparently intend the ruine of the Queen and Kingdom. No purpoſe either in the Biſhops or Clergie to juſtifie all or any of the paſſages in the ſame contained, which have been ſince made uſe of by the Diſciplinarians, either to countenance ſome ſtrange Doctrine, or decry ſome Ceremony; to which he ſhewed himſelf a Friend or Enemy, as the caſe might vary.

42. Fortified with theſe Canons and Synodical Acts, the Prelates ſhew themſelves more earneſt in requiring Subſcription, more zealous in preſſing for Conformity then before they did; but found a ſtiffer oppoſition in the *Puritan* Faction, then could be rationally expected. For whether it were, that they relyed upon their Friends in Court, or that ſome Lawyers had informed them that by the Statute no Subſcription was to be required of them, but only unto points of Doctrine; certain it is, that they were now more inſolent and intractable then they had been formerly. For now, the better to diſguiſe their Projects to wound the Diſcipline, the quarrels about Surplices and other Veſtments (which ſeemed to have been baniſhed a while) are revived again; complaints made of their ſufferings in it to the Forreign Churches; and

and the report is ſpread abroad (to gain the greater credit to their own perverſeneſs) that many of the Biſhops did as much abominate thoſe Popiſh Veſtments as any of the brethren did. For ſo writes *Zanchy* a Divine of *Heidelburg*, in his Letters unto Queen *Elizabeth* of *September* the ſecond; and writes ſo by direction from the Prince Elector (whom they had engaged in the cauſe) out of an hope to take her off from giving any further countenance to the Biſhops in that point of Conformity. To the ſame purpoſe he writes alſo to Biſhop *Jewel* on the 11 of *September*. Where he informs (as he had been informed himſelf) *That many of the Eccleſiaſtical Order, would rather chuſe to quit their ſtation in the Church, and reſign their Offices, then yield to the wearing of thoſe Veſtments which had been formerly defiled by ſuch groſs Superſtition.* He alſo ſignifies what he had writ unto the Queen, of whoſe relenting he could give himſelf no great aſſurance; and that he had alſo been adviſed to write to ſome of the Clergie, to the end that they might be perſwaded to a preſent Conformity, rather then deprive the Church of their future Miniſtery. The proſecution of which work he commends to *Jewel*, that by the interpoſing of his Authority, they might be brought to yield to the points propoſed, and thereby be continued in the exerciſe of their Vocation. Which laſt clauſe could not chuſe but be exceeding acceptable to that Reverend Prelate; who had ſhewed himſelf ſo earneſt for Conformity, in a Sermon preached by him at the Croſs, that he incurred ſome cenſure for it amongſt the brethren. Which put him to this Proteſtation before his death, *That his laſt Sermon at S.* Pauls *Croſs, and Conference about the Ceremonies and ſtate of the Church, was not to pleaſe any man living, nor to grieve his brethren of a contrary opinion; but onely to this end, that neither party might prejudice the other.* But he was able to act nothing in purſuance of *Zanchy*'s motion, by reaſon of his death within few days after, if not ſome days before he received that Letter. For on the 22 of the ſame Moneth, it pleaſed God to take him to himſelf; and thereby to deprive the Church of the greateſt Ornament which ſhe could boaſt of in that age.

The end of the ſixth Book.

AERIUS REDIVIVUS:

OR,

The History

Of the

PRESBYTERIANS.

LIB. VII.

Containing

A Relation of their ſecret and open Practices; the Schiſm and Faction by them raiſed for advancing the Genevian *Diſcipline in the Church of* England, *from the year* 1572, *to the year* 1584.

1. THE Engliſh *Puritans* had hitherto maintained their Quarrel by the Authority of *Calvin*, the ſawcineſs of *Knox*, the bold activities of *Beza*, and the more moderate interpoſings of ſome Forreign Divines, whoſe name was great in all the Churches of the Reformation. But now they are reſolved to try it out by their proper valour; to fling away their Bulruſhes, and lay by their Crutches, or at the beſt to make no other uſe of Out-landiſh Forces, then as Auxiliaries and Reſerves, if the worſt ſhould happen. And hitherto they had appeared onely againſt Caps and Surplices, or queſtioned ſome Rites and Ceremonies in the publick Liturgie which might be thought to have been borrowed from the Church of *Rome*: But now they are reſolved to venture on the Epiſcopal Government, and to endeavour the erecting of the *Presbyterian*; as time and opportunity ſhould make way unto it. Amongſt which undertakers

takers, none more eminent, because none more violent then *Cartwright*, formerly remembred: *Snape* of *Northampton*, a great stickler for the holy Discipline; and *Feild* a Lecturer in *London*, as ridiculously zealous to advance *Presbytery*, as the most forward in the pack. But *Cartwright* was the man upon whose Parts and Learning they did most depend, and one who both by private Letters, and some Printed Pamphlets, had gained more credit to the side then all the rest. And yet it was amongst his own onely that he gained such credit: For when his Papers had been shewn unto Bishop *Jewel*, and that the Judgement of that Reverend and Learned Prelate was demanded of them, he is said to have returned this answer, That the Arguments therein contained *were too slight to build up, and too weak to pull down.* And so it proved in the event, when *Cartwrights* whole discourses against the Forms of Government and Publick Worship, here by Law established, came to be seriously debated.

2. For having been long great with Childe of some new designe, the Babe comes forth in the beginning of the Parliament which was held in the year 1572, intituled by the name of an *Admonition*; in which, complaint was made of their many grievances, together with a Declaration of the onely way to redress the same; which they conceived to be no other then the setling of the *Genevian* Platform in all parts of the Kingdom. But the Parliament was so little pleased with the Title, and so much displeased with the matter of the *Admonition*, that the Authors and Preterrers of it were imprisoned by them. But this imprisonment could lay no Fetters on their spirits, which grew the more exasperated, because so restrained. For towards the end of the Parliament, out comes the *second Admonition*, far more importunate then the first; and it comes out with such a flash of Lightning, and such claps of Thunder, as if Heaven and Earth were presently to have met together. In the first, he had amassed together all those several Arguments which either his reading could afford, or his wit suggest, or any of that party could excogitate for him against the Government of Bishops, the whole body of the English Liturgie, and almost all the particular Offices in the same contained. And in the second, he not onely justified whatsoever had been found in the first, but challenged the Parliament for not giving it a more gratious welcome: For there he tells them in plain terms, *That the State did not shew it self upright, alledge the Parliament what it will: That all honest men should finde lack of equity, and all good Consciences condemn that Court: That it should be easier for* Sodom *and* Gomorrha *in the day of Judgement, then for such a Parliament: That there is no other thing to be looked for then some speedy vengeance to light upon the whole Land, let the Politick* Machiavils *of* England *provide as well as they can, though God do his worst.: And finally, that if they of that Assembly would not follow the advice of the first* Admonition, *they would infallibly*

infallibly be their own carvers in it; the Church being bound to keep Gods Order, and nothing to be called Gods Order but their present Platform.

3. About this time, *Clark*, *Travers*, *Gardiner*, *Barber*, *Cheston*; and lastly, *Crook* and *Egerton*, joyned themselves to the Brotherhood. Amongst whom, the handling of such points as concerned the Discipline became very frequent, many motions being made, and some conclusions setled in pursuance of it; but more particularly, it was resolved upon the question, *That for as much as divers Books had been written, and sundry Petitions exhibited to her Majesty, the Parliament, and their Lordships, to little purpose, every man should therefore labour by all means possible to bring the Reformation into the Church.* It was also then and there resolved, *That for the better bringing in of the said holy Discipline, they should not onely, as well publickly as privately teach it, but by little and little, as well as possibly they might, draw the same into practice.* According to which Resolution, a Presbytery was erected on the 20 of *November*, at a small Village in *Surrey*, called *Wandsworth*, where *Field* had the Incumbencie, or cure of Souls; a place conveniently scituate for the *London*-Brethren, as standing near the bank of the *Thames*, but four miles from the City, and more retired and out of sight then any of their own Churches about the Town. This first Establishment they indorsed by the name of the *Orders* of *Wandsworth*. In which the Elders names are agreed on, the manner of the Election declared, the approvers of them mentioned, their Offices agreed on also, and described. And though the Queen might have no notice of this first Establishment, yet she knew very well both by their Preachings and Writings; that they had defamed the Church of *England*, that many of them refused to be present at that Form of Worship which had the countenance of the Laws, and had set up a new Form of their own devising: Which moved the Queen to look upon them as men of an unquiet and seditious spirit, greedy of change, intent on the destruction of all things which they found established, and ready once again to break out into open Schism. For the preventing whereof, she gave command, *That the severity of the Laws for keeping up the Uniformity of Gods Publick Worship, should be forthwith put in execution: And that all such scandalous Books and Pamphlets (the first and second* Admonition *amongst the rest) should either be immediately delivered to some Bishop in their several Dioceses, or to some one or other of the Lords of the Council, upon pain of imprisonment.*

4. This Proclamation much amazed the Disciplinarians, who were not onely more sollicitous in searching into the true Cause and Originial of it, then ready to execute their vengeance upon all such Councellors as they suspected for the Authors. Sir *Christopher Hatton* was at that time in especial favour, Vice-chamberlain, Captain of the Guard, and afterwards Lord-Chan-

cellor also; in the whole course of his preferments, of a known averseness to the Earl of *Leicester*, and consequently no friend to the *Puritan* Faction. This obstacle must be removed one way or other, according to that Principle of the ancient *Donatists*, for murthering any man of what Rank soever which opposed their Practices. This Office *Burchet* undertakes; and undertakes the Office upon this Opinion, that it was lawful to assassinate any man who opposed the Gospel. But being blind with too much light, he mistook the man; and meeting in the Street with *Hawkins*, one of the greatest Sea-Captains of the times he lived in, he stabbed him desperately with a Ponyard, conceiving that it had been *Hatton* their professed Enemy. For which committed to the Tower, he was there examined, found to hold many dangerous and erroneous Tenents; and thereupon sent Prisoner to the *Lollards*-Tower. From thence being called into the Consistory of St. *Pauls*, before the Bishop of *London* and divers others, and by them examined, he still persisted in his errors, till the sentence of death was ready on the 4 of *November* to be pronounced against him as an Heretick. Through the perswasions of some men, who took great pains with him, he made a shew as if he had renounced and abjured those Opinions for erronious and damnable, which formerly he had imbraced with so strong a passion. From thence returned unto the Tower by the Lords of the Council, he took an opportunity when one of his Keepers was withdrawn, to murther the other; intending the like also to his Fellow, if he had not happily escaped it. For which Fact he was arraigned and condemned at *Westminster* on the morrow after; and the next day he was hanged up in the very place where he wounded *Hawkins*, his Right-hand being first cut off, and nailed to the Gibbet: a piece of Justice not more safe then seasonable; the horridness of the Fact, and the complexion of the times, being well considered.

5. The Regular Clergy slept not in so great a tempest as was then hanging over their heads; but spent themselves in censuring and confuting *Cartwrights* Pamphlets, which gave the first Animation to those bold attempts. What censure Bishop *Jewel* past upon *Cartwrights* Papers, hath been shewn before; and he will give you his opinion of the Author also, of whom it is reported that he gave this Character, *viz. Stultitia nata est in corde pueri, sed virga Disciplinæ fugabit eam*: That is to say, *That folly had been bred in the heart of the young man, and nothing but a Rod of correction would remove it from him.* But *Jewel* had onely seen some scattered Papers intended for materials in the following Pamphlet, which *Whitaker* both saw and censured when it was compleat. For writing of it unto *Whitgift*, he reports him thus: *Quem* Cartwrightus *nuper emisit libellum*, &c. *I have read over* (saith he) *a great part of the Book which* Cartwright *hath lately set forth. Let me never live, if I*

ever

ever ſaw any thing more looſe, and almoſt more childiſh. As for words indeed, he hath ſtore of them, trim and freſh enough; but as for matter, none at all. Beſides which, he not onely holds ſome peeviſh opinions derogatory to the Queens Authority in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; but had revolted alſo in that point to the Popiſh party, from whom he would be thought to fly with ſuch deadly hatred. He adds in fine, *That he complied not with the Papiſts in that point alone, but borrowed from them moſt of his other weapons, wherewith he did aſſault the Church: And in a word (as* Jerome *did affirm of* Ambroſe*)* [a] *that he was, in words, but a Trifler; and for his matter, but a Dreamer; and altogether unworthy to be refuted by a man of Learning.* But theſe were onely ſome preparatory drops, to the following Tempeſt which fell upon him from the pen of the Learned *Whitgift*; who punctually diſſected the whole *Admonition*, and ſolidly diſcourſed upon the Errors and Infirmities of it. Which Book of his, intituled, *An Anſwer to the Admonition*, followed ſo cloſe upon the heels of the other, that it was publiſhed in the ſame year with it, 1572. To which *Anſwer*, *Cartwright* ſets out a *Reply* in the year next following; and *Whitgift* preſently rejoyns in his *Defence of the Anſwer*, *An.* 1574. againſt which *Cartwright* never ſtirred, but left him Maſter of the field, poſſeſt of all the ſigns of an abſolute Victory. And not long after, on the apprehenſion of his foil therein, he withdraws to *Guernſey* firſt, and to *Antwerp* afterwards; erecting the Presbytery in thoſe Forreign Nations, which he could not compaſs in his own.

[a] *Verbis ludit, & in ſententiis dormitat, & plane indignus eſt qui a quopiam docto refutetur.*

7. For though the Brotherhood had attempted to advance their Diſcipline, and ſet up their Presbyterie in the Church of *Wandſworth*; yet partly by the terror of the Proclamation, and partly by the ſeaſonable execution of *Burchet*, they were reſtrained from practiſing any further at the preſent on the Church of *England*. But what they durſt not do directly, and in open ſight, they found a way to act obliquely, and under the diſguiſe of ſetting up another Church of ſtrangers in the midſt of *London*. Many of the Low Countrey men, both Merchants, Gentlemen and others, had fled their Countrey at the coming in of the Duke of *Alva*, ſettled their dwellings in the Ports and Sea-Towns of *England* which lay neareſt to them, and in good numbers took up their abode in *London*. Nor did they onely bring Families with them, but their Factories alſo; Their ſeveral Trades and Manufactures; as the making of all ſorts of Stuffs, rich Tapiſtries, and other Hangings of leſs worth; and by their diligence therein, not onely kept many poor Engliſh Families in continual work, but taught the Engliſh the ſame Arts which they brought hither with them. Such welcome Gueſts muſt needs have ſome Encouragement to remain here always. And what Encouragement could be greater and more welcome to them, then to enjoy the liberty of their own Religion, according to ſuch Government and Forms of Worſhip as they had exerciſed at home? King

Edward had indulged the like priviledges to *John Alasco*, and Queen *Elizabeth* to the *French*; neither of which were so considerable as the Flemish Inmates. A suit is therefore made by their Friends in Court, for granting them the Church of *Augustine-Fryers*, where *John Alasco* formerly held his Dutch Congregation; and granting it with all such Priviledges and Immunities as the Dutch enjoyed. And that they might proceed in setting up their Presbyteries and new Forms of Worship, they obtain not onely a Connivance or Toleration, but a plain Approbation of their actings in it. For in the Letters which confirmed this new Church unto them, it is expresly signified by the Lords of the Council; *That they knew well, that from the first beginning of the Christian Faith, different Rites and Ceremonies had been used in some parts thereof, which were not practised in the other: That whilst some Christians worshipped God upon their knees, others erect upon their feet, and some again groveling on the ground; there was amongst them all but one and the same Religion, as long as the whole action tended to the honor of God, and that there was no Superstition and Impiety in it: That they contemned not the Rites which these* Dutch *brought with them, nor purposed to compel them to the practice of those which were used in* England; *but that they did approve and allow their Ceremonies, as fitted and accommodated to the nature of the Countrey from whence they came.* Which priviledges they enlarged by their Letter of the 29 of *June*, in the year next following, *An.* 1574; extending them to all such of the *Belgick* Provinces as resorted hither, and joyned themselves unto that Church, though otherwise dispersed in several parts and Sea-Towns for their own conveniences; which gave the first beginning to the new Dutch Churches in *Canterbury*, *Sandwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Norwich*, and some other places in the North; to the great animation of the *Presbyters*, and the discomfort of all such who were of judgement to foresee the sad consequents of it.

8. With like felicity they drove on their designs in *Jersey* and *Guernsey*; in the two principal Towns whereof, the Discipline had been permitted by an Order of the Lords of the Council, as before was said. But not content with that allowance which the Lords had given them by His Majesties great grace and favour; their Preachers, being for the most part natural Frenchmen, had introduced it by degrees into all the Villages; furthered therein by the Sacrilegious Avarice of the several Governors, out of a hope to have the spoil of the poor Deanries, to ingross all the Tythes unto themselves, and then put off the Ministers with some sorry stipends, as in fine they did. But first those Islands were to be dissevered by some Act of State, from being any longer Members of the Dioceſs, or subject to the Jurisdiction of the Bishops of *Constance*. And that being easily obtained, it was thought fit that *Snape* and *Cartwright*, the great Supporters of the cause in *England*, should be sent unto them to

put

put their Churches in a posture, and settle the Discipline amongst them in such form and manner as it was practised in *Geneva*, and amongst the *French*. Which fell out happily for *Cartwright*, as his case stood; who being worsted in the last Encounter betwixt him and *Whitgift*, had now a handsome opportunity to go off with credit; not as if worsted in the fight, but rather called away to another tryal. Upon this Invitation they set sail for the Islands, and take the charge thereof upon them; the one of them being made the titular Pastor of the Castle of *Mount Orgueil*, in the Isle of *Jersey*; and the other of *Castle-Cornet*, in the Rode of *Guernsey*. Thus qualified, they convene the Churches of each Island, communicate unto them a rude Draught of the Holy Discipline; which afterwards was polished, and accommodated to the use of those Islands: but not agreed upon and exercised until the year next following; as appears by the Title of it, which is this, *viz. The Ecclesiastical Discipline observed and practised by the Churches of* Jersey *and* Guernsey, *after the Reformation of the same by the Ministers, Elders and Deacons of the Isles of* Guernsey, Jersey, Sark *and* Alderney; *confirmed by the Authority, and in the presence of the Governors of the same Isles, in a Synod holden in* Guernsey *the* 28 *of* June 1576; *and afterwards revived by the said Ministers and Elders, and confirmed by the said Governors in a Synod holden in* Jersey *the* 11, 13, 13, 14, 15 *and* 17 *days of* October, 1577.

9. With worse success, but less diligence, did *Travers* labour in the cause; who being one of the same spirit, published a book in maintenance of the Holy Discipline; which he caused to be printed at *Geneva*, and was thus intituled; *viz. Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ, & Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ ab illa aberrationis, plena, e verbo Dei, & Dilucidâ Explicatio:* that is to say, *A full and perfect Explication of Ecclesiastical Discipline, according to the Word of God; and of the Church of* England *departing from it.* In which book he advanced the Discipline to so great a height, as made it necessary for all Christian Kings and Princes [a] to submit unto it, and lay down their Crowns and Sceptres at the Churches feet, even to the very licking up of the dust thereof, if occasion were. But *Travers* sojourned in *Geneva* when he wrote this book, and was to frame it to the palate of *Beza*, and the rest of that Consistory; who had by this time made the Discipline as essential to the true being of a Church, as either the Preaching of the Word, or the Administration of the holy Sacraments. *Beza* had so declared it in a Letter to *Knox*, *An.* 1572. In which he reckons it as a great and signal blessing from Almighty God, that they had introduced in *Scotland*, not onely the true Worship of God, but the Discipline also, which was the best Preservative of the truth of Doctrine. Which therefore he desires him so to keep together, as to be sure, that if the one be lost (that is, laid aside) the other is not like to continue long. And *Cartwright* leading in the same path also, heightned it above all which had gone before,

[a] *Huic Disciplinæ omnes Reges & Principes fasces suas submittere necesse est, &c.* Travers. de Discipl. Ecc.

or

or that followed after him. Some of the Brethren have extolled it to the very Skies, as being *the onely Bond of Peace; the Bane of Hereſie; the Puniſher of Sin, and maintainer of Righteouſneſs: A Diſcipline full of all goodneſs, for the peace and honour of Gods people, ordained for the joy and happineſs of all the Nations.* But *Cartwright* ſets them ſuch a leap, as they durſt not reach at, not onely telling us in his laſt Book againſt Learned *Whitgift*, *That the want of the Elderſhips is the cauſe of all evil, and that it is not to be hoped that any Commonwealth can flouriſh without it*; but alſo, *that it is no ſmall part of the Goſpel, yea, the ſubſtance of it.*

9. And if it proved to be a part of our Saviours Goſpel, what could the brethren do leſs then pretend ſome Miracles for Confirmation of the ſame? and to what Miracles could they pretend with more ſhew of Sanctity, and manifeſtation of the Spirit, then to the caſting out of Devils? *Cambden* inform us in this year, that the credulity of ſome *London*-Miniſters had been abuſed by a young Wench, who was pretended at that time to be poſſeſſed of the Devil. But I rather think that the *London*-Miniſters were confederate with this Wench; then abuſed by her; conſidering the ſubſequent practice in that kinde of caſting out Devils by the *Puritan* Preachers, to gain the greater credit to their Cauſe: for in this very year they practiſed the caſting of a Devil out of one *Mildred*, the baſe Daughter of *Alice Norrington* of *Weſtwell* in *Kent*. Which for all the godly pretences made by *Roger Newman*, and *John Brainford*, two of the Miniſters of that County, who were parties to it; was at the laſt confeſſed to be but a falſe impoſture. Dr. *Harſnet*, (who afterward dyed Archbiſhop of *York*) informs us alſo in his Book againſt *Darrel*, that there were at this time two Wenches in *London*, that is to ſay, *Agnes Bridges*, and *Rachel Pinder*, who publickly were given out to be ſo poſſeſſed; and it is poſſible that one of them may be ſhe whom *Cambden* ſpeaks of. Under which head may be alſo ranged the diſpoſſeſſing of one *Margaret Cooper* at *Ditchet* in the County of *Sommerſet*, about ten years after, 1584. But all inferiour to the Pranks which were played by *Darrel*, with whom none of the *Puritan Exorciſts* is to hold compariſon; of which we are to ſpeak hereafter in its proper place. The Papiſts have been frequently and juſtly blamed for their impoſtures in this thing, and no terms are thought vile enough to expreſs their falſhoods. But they were onely *pious frauds* in the *Presbyterians*, becauſe conducing to ſuch godly and religious ends, in the advancing of the Scepter and Throne of Chriſt, by the holy Diſcipline. And it is ſtrange that none of all their Zealots have endeavoured to defend them in it, as well as *Cartwright* laboureth to excuſe their unlawful meetings from the name of Conventicles; that being, as he tells us, too light a word to expreſs the Gravity and Piety of thoſe Aſſemblies, in which Sacraments are Adminiſtred, and the Goſpel Preached. If ſo, all other Sectaries

ſtaries whatſoever may excuſe themſelves from the holding of Conventicles, or being obnoxious to any penal Laws and Sanctions upon that account, becauſe they hold their Factious and Schiſmatical Meetings for the ſelf-ſame ends. And then the Queen muſt be condemned for executing ſome ſeverity on a Knot of *Anabaptiſts*, whom ſhe found holding the like lawleſs Meetings in the year next following.

10. For ſo it was, that many of thoſe Forreigners which reſorted hither from the *Belgick* Provinces, and were incorporated into a diſtinct Society or Congregation, differing both in Government and Forms of Worſhip from the Church of *England*, did by degrees withdraw themſelves from her Communion, and held their Conventicles apart from the reſt of that body. Of theſe, ſome openly declared themſelves for the Sect of the *Anabaptiſts*; others would needs be Members of the Family of *Henry Nicholas*, (who had been once a Member of the *Dutch* Church under *John Alaſco*) called commonly the *Family of Love*. Of which we have ſpoken in the Hiſtory of the *Belgick* troubles, (*Lib.* 3. *Numb.* 46.) And not content to entertain thoſe new Opinions and devices amongſt themſelves, they muſt draw in the Engliſh alſo to participate with them; who having deviated from the paths of the Church, were like enough to fall into any other, and to purſue thoſe crooked ways, in which the cunning Hereticks of thoſe times did, and had gone before them. But ſuch a diligent eye was had upon all their practices, that they were croſſed in the beginning. For upon *Eaſter-day*, about nine in the Morning, was diſcloſed a Conventicle of theſe *Anabaptiſts*, *Dutch-men*, at an Houſe without the *Bars* of *Aldgate*; whereof twenty ſeven were taken and ſent to priſon, and four of them bearing Fagots at St. *Pauls* Croſs, recanted in form following, *viz. Whereas I*, NN, *being ſeduced by the ſpirit of Error, and by falſe Teachers his Miniſters, have fallen into many damnable and deteſtable Hereſies*, viz. 1. *That Chriſt took not fleſh of the ſubſtance of the Bleſſed Virgin* Mary: 2. *That Infants born of faithful Parents, ought to be Rebaptized*: 3. *That no Chriſtian man ought to be a Magiſtrate, or bear the Sword or Office of Authority*: 4. *And that it is not lawful for a Chriſtian man to take an Oath. Now by the Grace of God, and through Conference with good and Learned Miniſters of Chriſt his Church; I do underſtand and acknowledge the ſame to be moſt damnable and deteſtable Hereſies; and do ask God here before his Church mercy for my ſaid former Errors, and do forſake them, recant, and renounce them, and abjure them from the very bottom of my heart. And further I confeſs, that the whole Doctrine and Religion eſtabliſhed in this Realm of* England, *as alſo that which is received and practiſed in the* Dutch *Church here in this City, is found, true, and acording to the Word of God; whereunto in all things I ſubmit my ſelf, and will moſt gladly be a Member of the ſaid* Dutch *Church; from henceforth utterly abandoning and forſaking all and every* Anabaptiſtical *Error*. 1575.

11. This

11. This gave a ſtop to many of them at their firſt ſetting out. But ſome there were, who neither would be terrified with the fear of puniſhment, or edified by the Retractation which thoſe four had made; continued in their former courſes with great pertinacity; inſomuch, that on the 21 of *May*, being *Whitſon-Eve*, no fewer then eleven of that Sect, all *Dutch*, (that is to ſay, one man and ten Women) were condemned in the Conſiſtory at St. *Pauls*, to be burned in *Smithfield*. And though great pains was taken to reclaim them from thoſe wicked Errors; yet ſuch was their obſtinacie and perverſneſs, that one Woman onely was converted. The reſt had ſo much mercy ſhewed them, as to be baniſhed the Realm without further puniſhment; which gave the greater reſolution to the reſt of their company to be more practical then before in promoting their Hereſies. Which put the State upon a juſt neceſſity of proceeding more ſeverely againſt ſome of them, then by Bonds and baniſhments: Two of the ſame Nation and Opinions being burnt in *Smithfield* on the ſecond of *July*, where they dyed with very great horror, expreſt by many roarings and cryings, but without any ſigne or ſhew of true Repentance. Before the executing of which ſentence, *John Fox* the Engliſh Martyrologiſt addreſt his Letters to the Queen, in which he ſupplicated for the lives of thoſe wretched men, and offered many pious and prudential reaſons for the reverſing of that ſentence; or at the leaſt, for ſtaying it from execution. By which he ſo prevailed upon her, that ſhe conſented to a gratious ſparing of their lives, upon a months Reprieve, and Conference in the mean time with Learned men, they could be gained unto a retractation of their damnable Hereſies. But that expedient being tryed, and found ineffectual, the forfeiture of their lives was taken, and the ſentence executed. Nor had the *Dutch* Church of *Norwich* any better Fortune, or could pretend to be more free from harbouring ſome Fanatical ſpirits, then the *Dutch* Congregation in the *Auguſtine Fryars*. From ſome of which it may be probably ſuppoſed, that *Matthew Hamant*, a poor Plowwright of *Featherſet*, within three Miles of *Norwich*, took his firſt impreſſions, which afterwards appeared in more horrid blaſphemies then any Engliſh ever had been acquainted with in the times preceding. For being ſuſpected to hold many dangerous and unſound Opinions, he was convented before the Biſhop of that City; at what time it was charged upon him, that he had publickly maintained theſe Hereſies following; that is to ſay, *That the new Teſtament or Goſpel was but meer fooliſhneſs, and a ſtory of men, or rather a meer Fable: That he was reſtored to Grace of the free Mercy of God, without the means of Chriſt his Blood and Paſſion: That Chriſt is not God, or the Saviour of the World, but a ſinful man, a meer man, and an abominable Idol; and that all they that worſhip him, are abominable Idolaters: That Chriſt did not riſe again from death to life by the power of his Godhead, neither that he aſcended into Heaven: That the*

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Holy Ghoſt is not God, and that there is no ſuch thing as an Holy Ghoſt: That Baptiſm is not neceſſary in the Church of God, nor the uſe of the Sacrument of the body and blood of Chriſt. For which he was condemned for an Heretick in the Biſhops Conſiſtory, on the Fourteenth of *April*; and being thereupon delivered to the Sheriff of the City, he was burnt in the Caſtle-Ditch on the Twentieth of *May* 1579. As a preparative to which puniſhment, his ears had been cut off on the Thirteenth of that Moneth, for baſe and ſlanderous words againſt the Queen and Council.

12. About the ſame time that the *Anabaptiſts* were firſt brought to Cenſure, there ſpawned another Fry of Hereticks, who had its firſt Original amongſt the *Dutch*, and from thence came for *England* with the reſt of their brethren. Theſe called themſelves the *Family of Love*, as before is ſaid; and were ſo well conceited of their own great holineſs, that they thought none to be Elected to Eternal life, but ſuch as were admitted into their Society. The particulars of their Opinions, and the ſtrange manner of Expreſſions, have been inſiſted on before. Let it ſuffice, that by their ſeeming Sanctity, and other the like deceitful arts of Diſſimulation, they had drawn ſome of the Engliſh to them; who having broke the bond of peace, could not long keep themſelves to the Spirit of Unity. Some of them being detected, and convented for it, were condemned to do Penance at S. *Pauls* Croſs; and there to make a Retractation of their former Errors. According to which Sentence, five of them are brought thither on the 12 of *June*; who there confeſt themſelves utterly to deteſt, as well the Author of that Sect, *H. N.* as all his damnable Hereſies. Which gentle puniſhment, did rather ſerve to multiply then decreaſe the Sect; which by the diligence of the Hereticks, and the remiſneſs of the new Archbiſhop, came to ſuch an height, that courſe was taken at the laſt for their apprehenſion, and for the ſevere puniſhing of thoſe which were ſo apprehended. For the Queen ſeriouſly conſidering how much ſhe was concerned, both in honor and ſafety, to preſerve Religion from the danger threatned by ſuch deſperate Hereticks, publiſhed her Proclamation on the ninth of *October*, *An.* 1580, for bringing their perſons unto Juſtice, and cauſing their peſtilent Pamphlets to be openly burnt. And to that end, ſhe gave a ſtrict Commaud to all Temporal Judges, and other Miniſters of Juſtice, to be aſſiſtant to the Biſhops and their under-Officers, in the ſevere puniſhing of thoſe Sects and Sectaries, by which the happineſs of the Church was ſo much endangered. By which ſeverities, and a Formal Abjuration preſcribed unto them by the Lords of the Council, theſe Sects were ſeaſonably ſuppreſſed, or had the reaſon to conceal themſelves amongſt ſuch of the Brethren as did continue in their Separation from the Church of *England*.

13. In the meantime; there hapned a great alteration in the

ſtate of the Church, by the death of one, and the preferment of another of the greateſt Prelates. Archbiſhop *Parker* left this life on the 17 of *May*, *Anno* 1575. To whom ſucceeded Dr. *Edmond Grindal*, Tranſlated from the See of *York* unto that of *Canterbury*, on the 15 of *February*. The firſt a Prelate of great parts, and no leſs Eminent for his zeal in the Churches cauſe; which prompted him to keep as hard a hand on all Sects and Sectaries, and more particularly on thoſe of the *Genevian* Platform, as the temper of the times could bear. But *Grindal* was a man of another ſpirit, without much difficulty wrought upon by ſuch as applied themſelves to him. And having maintained a correſpondence when he lived in Exile with *Calvin*, *Beza*, and ſome others of the Conſiſtory; he either could not ſhake off their acquaintance at his coming home, or was as willing to continue it as they could deſire. Being advanced unto the Biſhoprick of *London*, he condeſcends to *Calvins* motion, touching the ſetling of a French Church in that City on *Genevian* Principles; and received thanks from him for the ſame. And unto whom but him muſt *Beza* make his Applications, when any of the brethren were ſuſpended, deprived or ſequeſtred, for not conforming to the Veſtments then by Law required? Being Tranſlated unto *York*, which was upon the 20 of *May* 1570, he entertains a new Intelligence with *Zanchy* a Divine of *Heidelburg*, ſomewhat more moderate then the other; but no good Friend neither to the Church of *England*, as appears by his interpoſings in behalf of the brethren, when they were under any Cenſure for their inconformity. To this man *Grindal* renders an account of his Preferment both to *York* and *Canterbury*: To him he ſends Advertiſements how things went in *Scotland*, at his Advancement to the firſt; and of the preſent ſtate of affairs in *England*, when he came to the other. The like Intelligence he maintained with *Bullinger*, *Gualter*, and ſome of the chief Divines amongſt the *Switzers*; taking great pride in being courted by the Leading-men of thoſe ſeveral Churches, though they had all their ends upon him, for the advancing of Presbytery and Inconformity in the Church of *England*.

1579. 14. Upon theſe grounds, the Presbyterians gave themſelves good hopes of the new Archbiſhop; and they ſoon found how plyant he was like to prove to their expectation. He entred on this great Charge in the Moneth of *February* 1575; at which time the Prelates and Clergie were aſſembled in a Convocation; by whom a Book of Articles was agreed upon for the better Reiglement of the Church. In the end whereof, this Article was ſuperadded by their procurement; *viz. That the Biſhops ſhould take order, that it be publiſhed and declared in every Pariſh-Church within their Dioceſſes, before the firſt day of* May *then next following, That Marriages might be ſolemnized at all times in the year; ſo that the Banes on their ſeveral Sundays or Holidays, in the Service-time, were openly asked in the Church, and no impediment objected; and ſo that alſo the ſaid Marriages be publickly ſolem-*

ſolemnized in the face of the Church, at the aforeſaid time of Morning-Prayer. But when the Book was offered to the Queens peruſal, ſhe diſliked this Article, and would by no means ſuffer it to be printed amongſt the reſt; as appears by a Marginal Note in the Publick Regiſter of that Convocation. Which though it might ſufficiently have diſcouraged them from the like Innovations, yet the next year they ventured on a buſineſs of a higher nature, which was the falſifying and corrupting of the Common-Prayer-Book. In which, being then publiſhed by *Richard Jugge* the Queens Majeſties Printer, and publiſhed *Cum Privilegio Regiæ Majeſtatis*, as the Title intimates; the whole Order of *Private Baptiſm*, and *Confirmation of Children* was quite omitted. In the firſt of which it had been declared, *That Children being born in Original ſin, were by the Laver of Regeneration in Baptiſm aſcribed unto the number of Gods Children, and made the Heirs of Life Eternal*; and in the other; *That by the Impoſition of hands and Prayer, they receive ſtrength againſt ſin, the world and the Devil.* Which grand omiſſions were deſigned to no other purpoſe, but by degrees to bring the Church of *England* into ſome Conformity to the deſired Orders of *Geneva*. This I find noted in the Preface of a book writ by *William Reynolds*, a virulent Papiſt I confeſs, but one that may be credited in a matter of Fact, which might ſo eaſily have been refuted by the Book it ſelf, if he had any way belyed it. 1577.

15. Nothing being done for puniſhing of this great abuſe, they enter upon another Project: Which ſeemed to tend onely to the encreaſe of Piety in the Profeſſors of the Goſpel; but was intended really for the furtherance of the Holy Diſcipline. The deſign was, that all the Miniſters within ſuch a Circuit, ſhould meet upon a day appointed to exerciſe their gifts, and expound the Scriptures; one being choſen at each meeting for the Moderator, to govern and direct the Action; the manner whereof was this that followeth: *The Miniſters of ſome certain Precinct did meet on ſome week days in ſome principal Town; of which Meeting ſome ancient, grave Miniſter was Preſident, and an Auditory admitted of Gentlemen, and other perſons of Leiſure. There every Miniſter ſucceſſively (the youngeſt ſtill beginning) did handle one and the ſame piece of Scripture, ſpending ſeverally ſome quarter of an hour and better; but in the whole, ſome two hours. And the Exerciſe being begun and concluded with prayer, the Preſident giving them another Theam for the next Meeting (which was every Fortnight) the ſaid Aſſembly was diſſolved.* The Exerciſe they called by the name of *Prophecying*; grounded upon thoſe words of the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 14. 13. viz. *For ye may all prophecy one by one, that all may learn, and all be comforted.* But finding that the Text was not able to bear it out, they added thereunto ſuch pious and prudential Reaſons, as the beſt wits amongſt them could deviſe for the preſent. And though this Project was extreamly magnified and doted on with no leſs paſſion by ſome

Countrey-Gentlemen, who were enamoured of the beauty and appearance of it; yet was it found upon a diligent enquiry, that there was something else intended then their Edification. For it was easie to be proved, that under colour of those Meetings for Religious Exercises, the Brethren met together and consulted of the common business, and furiously declaimed against Church and State.

1579. 16. These Meetings *Grindal* first connived at when he sate at *York*, under pretence of training up a preaching Ministery for the Northern parts. But afterwards he was so much possessed with the fancy of it, that he drew many of the Bishops in the Province of *Canterbury* to allow them also. By means whereof, they came to be so frequent in most parts of the Kingdom, that they began to look with a face of danger, both on Prince and Prelate. For having once settled themselves in these new Conventions with some shew of Authority, the Leading-Members exercised the Jurisdiction over all the rest, intrenching thereby on the power of their several Ordinaries. And they incroached so far at last on the Queens Prerogative, as to appoint days for solemn Fasts, under pretence of Sanctifying those Religious Exercises to the good of the Nation, as afterwards in their Classical and Synodical Meetings, which took growth from hence. Three years these Propheſyings had continued in the Province of *Canterbury*, before the Queen took notice of them. But then they were presented to her with so ill a complexion, that she began to startle at the first sight of them. And having seriously weighed all inconveniences which might thence ensue, she sends for *Grindal* to come to her; reproves him for permitting such an Innovation to be obtruded on the Church; and gave him charge to see it suddenly suppressed. She complained also, that the Pulpit was grown too common, invaded by unlicensed Preachers, and such as preached sedition amongst the people; requiring him to take some order, that the Homilies might be read more frequently, and such Sermons preached more sparingly then of late they had been. But this was hard meat, not so easily chewed; therefore not like to be digested by so weak a stomach. Instead of acting any thing in order to the Queens Commands, he writes unto her a most tedious and voluminous Letter: In which he first presents her *with a sad remembrance of the Discourse which past between them, and the great sorrow which he had conceived on the sense thereof.* Which said, he falls into a *commendation of Sermonizing; of the great benefit thereby redounding unto all her Subjects; the manifold advantages which such preachings had, above the Homilies; of what necessary use those* Propheſyings *were, toward the training up of Preachers.* In fine, he also lets her know, *that by the example of S.* Ambrose, *and his proceedings toward* Theodosius *and* Valentinian, *two most mighty Emperors, he could not satisfie his conscience in the discharge of the great trust committed to him, if he should not admonish her upon this occasion, not to*

do

do any thing which might draw down Gods displeasure upon her and the Nation, by stopping the Free Exercise of Gods true Religion, and his promoting of his Gospel.

17. These Premises being laid together, he comes at last to this conclusion, as to assure her in plain terms, but with all humility, *That he could not with a safe Conscience, and without the offence of the Majesty of God, give his assent to the suppressing of the said Exercises, much less send out any Injunction for the utter and universal subversion of the same: that he might say with the Apostle, That he had no power to destroy, but onely to edifie; that he could do nothing against the Truth, but for it: And therefore finally, that if it were her Majesties pleasure, for this or any other cause to remove him out of his place, he would with all humility yeild thereunto, and render again unto her Majesty that which he had received from her. For to what purpose,* as he said, *should he endeavour to retain a Bishoprick, or to gain the world, with the loss and hazard of his Soul? considering that he which doth offend against his Conscience, doth but digg out his own way to Hell.* In which respect he humbly desires her to bear with him, *if he rather chuse to offend her earthly Majesty, then the Heavenly Majesty of Almighty God.* But not content with such an absolute refusal, and setting her at such a distance from Almighty God, he takes upon him to advise her to discharge her self of the concernments of the Church, or not to manage it at the least with so high a hand as she had done hitherto. Fitter it was, as he conceived it, *That all Ecclesiastical matters which concerned Religion, the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, should be referred unto the Bishops, and the Divines of this Realm, according to the example of all Christian Emperours, and the godly Princes of all ages, in the times before her.* And this he further pressed upon her, by her own Example, in not deciding any questions about the Laws of the Realm, in her Court or Palace; but sending them to be determined by her Judges in the Courts of *Westminster*; and therefore by the self-same Reason, when any question did arise about the Discipline and Doctrine of the Church within her Dominions; the ordinary way must be to refer the same to the Decision of the Bishops, and other chief Ministers of the Church in Synodicall Meetings, and not to determine of them in the Court by the Lords of her Council.

18. But notwithstanding his refusal to conform to her will and pleasure on the one side, and this harsh Counsel on the other, which must needs be unwelcome to a Prince that loved and understood her own Authority so well as his Mistress did, he might have kept his Bishoprick, with her Majesties favour, which he appeared so willing to resign unto her. He might, I say, have kept them both, having so many great Friends about the Queen, who approved his doings, if a breach had not happened about this time betwixt him and *Leicester*, the mighty Patron and Protector 1580.

tector of the *Puritan Faction*, occasion'd by his denying at the Earls request to alienate his goodly House and Mannor of *Lambeth*, that it might serve for a retiring place to that mighty favourite. And hereunto he did contribute further, as was said by others, for refusing to grant a Dispensation to marry one which was too near of kindred to him, clearly within the Compass of those degrees which seemed to him to be prohibited by the Word of God. This *Leicester* thought he might command, and was exceedingly vexed not to finde obedience, in one who had been raised by him, and depended on him. Upon which ground, all passages which before were shut against his Enemies, were now left free and open for them; and the Queens ears are open to their informations, as the passages were unto her person. By them she comes to understand, what a neglect there was of the publick Liturgy in most parts of the Kingdom, what ruine and decay of Churches, what innovations made already, and what more projected; by which she would be eased in time of all cares of Government, and finde the same to be transferred to the *Puritan* Consistories: She was told also of the general disuse of all weekly Fasts, and those which annually were required by the Laws of the Realm; and that instead thereof, the Brethren had took upon them, according to the *Arrian Doctrine*, to appoint solemn and occasional Fasts in several places, as at *Leicester*, *Coventry*, *&c.* in defiance of the Laws, and her own Prerogative. Touching which last, she gave another hot Alarm to Archbishop *Grindal*, who in a long Letter did excuse the matter, as not being done by his allowance or consent; though it could not be denyed but that it had been done by his connivance; which came all to one: so that the Accusation being strong, his Defences weak, and no Friend left about the Queen who durst mediate for him (for who durst favour him on whom *Leicester* frowned?) the Archi-Episcopal Jurisdiction was sequestred from him, conferred upon four Suffragans of the Province of *Canterbury*, and he himself confined to one of his Country-houses, till the Queens further pleasure should be signified to him. Which Sequestration must needs happen before the beginning of the Convocation which was held this year; the Pesidency whereof was then devolved on the Bishop of *London*, by reason of *Grindals* incapacity to perform that Service.

19. For on the sixteenth day of *January*, it pleased the Queen to call a Parliament to be held at *Westminster*, in which some things occurred of great importance, in order to the *Presbyterian* History which we have in hand. The *Puritans* following the *Arrians* in that particular, as in many others, had openly decryed all set and determinate Fasts; but then ascribed more merit unto those of their own appointing, then any Papists do to those of the Popes Ordaining. They had also much took off the edge of the people from the Common-prayer-book, but most especially from the Litany (none of the meanest Pieces in it) which till

that

that time was read accuſtomably in the Houſe of Commons, before the Members ſetled upon any buſineſs. But in the beginning of this Parliament, it was moved by one *Paul Wentworth* in the Houſe of Commons, that there might be a Sermon every Morning before they ſate, and that they would nominate ſome day for a ſolemn Faſt. How the firſt motion ſped, I have nowhere found; but may conclude by the event, that it came to nothing, becauſe I never heard that any thing was done in purſuance of it till the late Long Parliament, where the like Toy was taken up for having Sermons every Morning in the Abbey-Church. But that about the Faſt being made when more then half the Members were not preſent at it, was carried in the Affirmative by fifteen voices. And thereupon it was ordered, as the Journal telleth us, *That as many of the Houſe as conveniently could, ſhould on the Sunday fortnight following aſſemble and meet together in the* Temple-Church, *there to have Preaching, and to joyn together in Prayer with Humiliation and Faſting for the aſſiſtance of Gods Spirit in all their conſultations during this Parliament, and for the preſervation of the Queens Majeſty and her Realms.* And though they were ſo cautious in the choice of their Preachers, to refer the naming of them to the Lords of the Council, which were then Members of the Houſe, in hope to gain them alſo to avow the action; yet neither could this ſatisfie the Queen, or affect their Lordſhips. For ſome of them having made the Queen acquainted with their purpoſe in it, ſhe ſends a Meſſage to them by Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, who was then Vice-Chamberlain; by which he lets them know, *That her Majeſty did much admire at ſo great a raſhneſs in that Houſe; as to put in execution ſuch an Innovation, without her privity and pleaſure firſt made known unto them.* Which Meſſage being ſo delivered, he moved the Houſe *to make humble ſubmiſſion to her Majeſty, acknowledging the ſaid offence and contempt, craving the remiſſion of the ſame, with a full purpoſe to forbear the committing of the like hereafter.* Which motion being hearkned to (as there was good reaſon) Mr. *Vice-Chamberlain* is deſired to preſent their ſubmiſſion to the Queen, and obtain her pardon; which he accordingly performed.

20. This practice gave the Queen ſo fair a Proſpect into the counſels of the Faction, that ſhe perceived it was high time to look about her, and to provide for the preſerving of her power and Prerogative-Royal, but more for the ſecurity of her Realm and Perſon. To which end ſhe procured a Statute to be made in that very Parliament, by which it was Enacted, *That if any perſon or perſons, forty days after the end of that Seſſion, ſhould adviſedly deviſe, or write, or print, or ſet forth any manner of Book, Rhyme, Ballad, Letter or Writing, containing any falſe, ſeditious, or ſlanderous matter, to the Defamation of the Queens Majeſtie, or to the encouraging, ſtirring or moving of any Inſurrection or Rebellion within this Realm, or any of the Dominions*

to

to the same belonging: Or if any person after the time aforesaid, as well within the Queens Dominions, as in any other place without the same, should procure such Book, Rhyme, Ballad, &c. to be written, printed, published or set forth, &c. (the said offence not being within the compass of Treason by vertue of any former Statute), that then the said Offenders, upon sufficient proof thereof by two lawful witnesses, should suffer death and loss of goods, as in case of Felony. And that the Queen may be as safe from the Machinations of the *Papists*, as she was secured by this Act from the plots of the Puritans, a Law was past, *To make it Treason for any Priest or Jesuit to seduce any of the Queens Subjects to the Romish Religion; and for the Subjects to be reconciled to the Church of* Rome. This Act, intituled, *An Act for retaining the Queens Subjects in their due obedience*; the other, *For the punishing seditious words against the Queen*, 23 Eliz. cap. 1, 2. Which Statutes were contrived of purpose to restrain the Insolency of both Factions; and by which, many of them were adjudged to death in times ensuing: Some of them, as in case of Treason; and others, as the Authors or the Publishers of Seditious Pamphlets. But the last Statute being made with Limitation to the life of the Queen, it expired with her. And had it been revived (as it never was) by either of the two last Kings, it might possibly have prevented those dreadful mischiefs which their posterity for so long a time have been involved in.

21. Together with this Parliament, was held a Convocation, as the Custom is. In the beginning whereof, an Instrument was produced under the Seal of Archbishop *Grindal*, for substituting Dr. *John Elmore* then Bishop of *London* (a Prelate of great parts and spirit, but of a contrary humour to the said Archbishop) to preside therein; which in the incapacity of the other, he might have challenged as of right belonging to him. Nothing else memorable in this Convocation, but the admitting of Dr. *William Day* then Dean of *Windsor*, to be Prolocutor of the Clergie; the passing of a Bill for the grant of Subsidies; and a motion made unto the Prelates, in the name of the Clergie, for putting the late Book of Articles in execution. Nothing else done within those walls, though much was agitated and resolved on by those of *Grindals* party in their private Meetings. Some of the hotter heads amongst them had proposed in publick, *That the Clergie should decline all business, even the grant of Subsidies, till the Archbishop were restored to his place and suffrage.* But this could find no entertainment amongst wiser men. Others advised, *That a Petition should be drawn in the name of both Houses, by which Her Majestie might be moved to that restitution:* And though I find nothing to this purpose in the Publick Registers (which may sufficiently evince, that it never passed as an Act of the Convocation) yet I find that such a Petition was agreed upon and drawn into form by Dr. *Tobie Matthews* then Dean of *Christ Church*, and by some Friends presented to Her Majesties sight. *Matthews* was

master

maſter of an elegant and fluent ſtile, and moſt pathetically had bemoaned thoſe ſad misfortunes which had befallen that Prelate, and the Church in him, by ſuffering under the diſpleaſure of a gratious Sovereign. The mitigation whereof was the rather hoped for, in regard he had offended more out of the tenderneſs of his Conſcience, then from the obſtinacy of his will. But no ſuch anſwer being given unto this Petition, as by his Friends might be expected, *Grindal* continued under his Suſpenſion till the time of his death. Once it was moved, *to have a Co-adjutor impoſed upon him, who ſhould not onely exerciſe the Juriſdiction, but receive all the Rents and profits which belonged to his Biſhoprick.* And ſo far they proceeded in it, that Dr. *John Whitgift* (who had been preferred to the See of *Worceſter*, 1576.) was nominated for the man, as one ſufficiently furniſhed with abilities to diſcharge the truſt. But he moſt worthily declined it, and would not ſuffer the poor man to be ſtript of his clothes, though for the apparelling of his own body with the greater honour, till death had laid him in the bed of Eternal reſt.

22. But the troubles of this year were not ended thus. For neither thoſe good Laws before remembred, nor the Executions done upon them, could prevail ſo far, as to preſerve the Church from falling into thoſe diſtractions, which both the Papiſts and the Presbyterians had projected in it. The Jeſuits had hitherto been content to be lookers on, a d ſuffered the Seminary Prieſts to try their Fortunes in the reduction of this Kingdom to the See of *Rome*. But finding how little had been done by them in twenty years; ſo little, that it came almoſt to leſs then nothing; they are reſolved to take the honor to themſelves. To which end, *Heywood*, *Parſons* and *Campian* firſt ſet foot in *England*, and both by ſecret practices and printed Pamphlets, endeavoured to withdraw the Subjects from their due obedience. Nothing more ordinary in their mouths, or upon their pens, then *that the Crown belonged of right to the Queen of* Scots: *That* Elizabeth *was to be deprived: That if the Pope commanded one thing, and the Queen another, the Popes commands were to be obeyed, and not the Queens:* And in a word, *That all the Subjects were abſolved from their Allegiance, and might declare as much when they found it neceſſary.* Which that it might be done with the greater ſafety, Pope *Gregory* the XIII is deſired to make an Explication of the former Bull. By which it ſhould be ſignified to the Engliſh Catholicks, that the ſaid former Bull of Pope *Pius* V ſhould remain obligatory unto none but the Heretick onely; but that the Romiſh Catholicks ſhould not be bound by it, as the caſe then ſtood, till they ſhould find themſelves in a fit capacity to put the ſame in execution without fear of danger. And preſently upon their firſt entrance, a Book is publiſhed by one *Howlet*, containing many reaſons for deterring the Papiſts from joyning in any Act of Worſhip with the Engliſh Proteſtants; the going, or not going to Church, being from henceforth made a

ſign *diſtinctive*, as they commonly phraſed it. In this year alſo *Beza* publiſhed his Schiſmatical Pamphlet, intituled, *De tripliei Epiſcopatu*; of which ſee *Lib.*1. *numb.* 47. *Lib.*5. *numb.*40. firſt written at the requeſt of *Knox* and other of the Presbyterians of the Kirk of *Scotland*, that they might have the better colour to deſtroy Epiſcopacy; tranſlated afterwards into Engliſh for the ſelf-ſame reaſon, by *Field* of *Wandſworth*. Againſt this Book, Dr. *John Bridges* Dean of *Sarum* writ a large Diſcourſe, intituled, *A Defence of the Government eſtabliſhed in the Church of England*; not publiſhed till the year 1587, when the Authority thereof was moſt highly ſtood on. The like done afterward by Dr. *Hadrian Savavia*: of which we ſhall ſpeak more in its proper place.

23. And now the waters are ſo troubled, that *Cartwright* might preſume of gainful fiſhing at his coming home. Who having ſettled the Presbytery in *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, firſt ſends back *Snape* to his old Lecture at *Northampton*, there to purſue ſuch Orders and Directions as they had agreed on; and afterwards put himſelf into the Factory of *Antwerp*, and was ſoon choſen for their Preacher. The news whereof brings *Travers* to him; who receives Ordination (if I may ſo call it) by the Presbytery of that City, and thereupon is made his Partner in that charge. It was no hard matter for them to perſwade the Merchants to admit that Diſcipline, which in their turns might make them capable of voting in the Publick Conſiſtory: And they endeavoured it the rather, that by their help they might effect the like in the City of *London*, whenſoever they ſhould find the times to be ready for them. The like they did alſo in the Engliſh Church at *Middleborough* the chief Town in *Zealand*, in which many Engliſh Merchants had their conſtant reſidence: To which two places they drew over many of the Engliſh Nation, to receive admiſſion to the Miniſtery in a different Form from that which was allowed in the Church of *England*. Some of which following the example of *Cartwright* himſelf, renounced the Orders which they had from the hands of the Biſhops, and took a new Vocation from theſe Presbyters; as, *Fennor*, *Arton*, *&c.* and others there admitted to the rank of Miniſters, which never were ordained in *England*; as *Hart*, *Guiſin*, *&c.* not to ſay any thing of ſuch as were elected to be Elders or Deacons in thoſe Forreign Conſiſtories, that they might ſerve the Churches in the ſame capacity at their coming home. And now at laſt they are for *England*, where *Travers* puts himſelf into the ſervice of the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, by whoſe Recommendation he is choſen Lecturer of the *Temple* Church; which gave him opportunity for managing all affairs which concerned the Diſcipline with the *London*-Miniſters. *Cartwright* applies himſelf to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, by whom he is ſent down to *Warwick*, and afterwards made Maſter of an Hoſpital of his Foundation. In the chief Church of which Town, he was pleaſed to preach; as often as he could

diſpence

diſpenſe with his other buſineſs. At his admiſſion to which place, he faithfully promiſed, if he might be but tolerated to Preach, not to impugne the Laws, Orders, Policy, Government, nor Governours in this Church of *England*; but to perſwade and procure, ſo much as he could, both publickly and privately, the eſtimation and peace of this Church.

24. But ſcarce was he ſetled in the place, when he made it manifeſt by all his actions, how little care he took of his words and promiſes: for ſo it was, when any Miniſter, either in private Conferences, or by way of Letters, required his advice in any thing which concerned the Church, he plainly ſhewed his miſlike of the Eccleſiaſtical Government then by Law Eſtabliſhed, and excepted againſt divers parts of the Publick Liturgie; according to the Tenour of the two *Admonitions*, by him formerly publiſhed. By means whereof, he prevailed with many, who had before obſerved the Orders of the Common-prayer-book, now plainly to neglect the ſame; and to oppoſe themſelves againſt the Government of Biſhops, as far as they might do it ſafely, in relation to the preſent times. And that he might not preſs thoſe points to others, which he durſt not practice in himſelf, he many times inveighed againſt them in his Prayers and Sermons: The like he alſo did againſt many paſſages in the Publick Liturgie, as namely, *The uſe of the Surplice*; *the Interrogatories to God-fathers in the name of Infants*; *the Croſs in Baptiſm*; *the Ring in Marriage*; *the Thankſgiving after Childbirth*; *Burials by Miniſters*; *the kneeling at Communions*; *ſome points of the Litany*; *certain Collects and Prayers*; *the reading of Portions of Scripture for the Epiſtle and Goſpel*; *and the manner of ſinging in Cathedral Churches*. And for example unto others, he procured his Wife not to give thanks for her Delivery from the peril of Childbirth, after ſuch Form, and in ſuch place and manner as the Church required. Which as it drew on many other women to the like contempt, ſo might he have prevailed upon many more, if he had not once diſcourſed upon matters of Childbirth with ſuch indiſcretion, that ſome of the good Wives of *Warwick* were almoſt at the point to ſtone him as he walked the ſtreets. But that he might not ſeem to pull down more with one hand, then he would be thought ſufficiently able to build up with both; he highly magnified in ſome of his Sermons the Government of the Church by Elderſhips in each Congregation, and by more Publick Conferences in *Claſſical* and *Synodical* Meetings; which he commended for the onely lawful Church-Government, as being of Divine Inſtitution, and ordained by Chriſt. A Form whereof he had drawn up in a little Book: Which having paſt the approbation of ſome private Friends, was afterwards recommended to the uſe of the reſt of the brethren, aſſembled together by his means for ſuch ends and purpoſes, by whom it was allowed of as moſt fit to be put in practice. For being a new nothing, and of *Cartwrights*

doing, it could not but finde many beſides Women and Children to admire the Workmanſhip.

1582. 25. This was the ſum of *Cartwrights* Actings in order to the Innovations, both in Government, and Forms of Worſhip, which heretofore he had projected. Not that all this was done at once, or in the firſt year onely after his return; but by degrees, as opportunity was offered to him. Yet ſo far he prevailed in the firſt year onely, that a meeting of ſixty Miniſters out of the Counties of *Eſſex*, *Cambridge* and *Norfolk*, was held at a Village called *Dorkvil*, where *Knewſtubs* (who was one of their number) had the cure of Souls. Which Meeting was held *May* 8. *Anno* 1582, there to confer about ſome paſſages in the Common-prayer-book, what might be tolerated in the ſame, and what refuſed; as namely, Apparel, Matter, Form, Holy-days, Faſtings, Injunctions, &c. The like Meeting held at the Commencement in *Cambridge* then next enſuing. And what they did reſolve in both, may be gathered partly from a paſſage in the Preface to a Book publiſhed in the year next following by *William Reynods* before mentioned. In which he tells us, *That it had been appointed by the firſt Book of Common prayer, That the Miniſter in the time of his Miniſtration ſhould uſe ſuch Ornaments in the Church, as were in uſe by Authority of Parliament in the ſecond year of the Reign of King* Edward *the Sixth. And then*, ſaith he, *I appeal to the knowledge of every man, how well that Act of Parliament is obſerved throughout the Realm; in how many Cathedrals or Pariſh-Churches thoſe Ornaments are reſerved: Whether every private Miniſter, by his own Authority, in the time of his Miniſtration, diſdain not ſuch Ornaments, uſing onely ſuch Apparel as is moſt vulgar and prophane; to omit other particular differences, of Faſts, of Holy-days, croſſing in Baptiſm, the viſitation of the Sick*, &c. *In which their alterations are well known*, ſaith he, *by their daily practice, and by the differences betwixt ſome Common prayer books which were laſt Printed (as namely that of* Richard Jugg *before remembred) from thoſe which were firſt publiſhed by Supreme Authority.* In all which deviations from the Rule of the Church, the Brethren walked on more ſecurely, becauſe the State was wholly exerciſed at this time in executing the ſeverity of the late Statute on ſuch Prieſts and Jeſuits as laboured to pervert the Subjects and deſtroy the Queen, thereby to re-advance the Pope to his former Tyranny. In which reſpect it was conceived to be a good Rule in the School of Policy, to grant a little more liberty to the *Puritan* Faction; though poſſibly it were done on no other ſcore, then that of their notorious enmity to the Popiſh party.

26. About this time it alſo was, that by the practices of *Cartwright* and his adherents, their Followers began to be diſtinguiſhed by their names and titles, from the reſt of the people. Firſt, in relation to their Titles. Thus thoſe of his Faction muſt be called *the Godly*, *the Elect*, *the Righteous*; all others being looked upon

upon as *carnal Gospellers, the Prophane, the Wicked.* And next, in reference to their names. Their Children must not be Baptized by the names of their Ancestors, as *Richard, Robert,* and the like; but by some name occurring in the holy Scriptures, but more particularly in the Old Testament, because meerly *Hebrew*, and not prophaned with any mixture of the *Greek* or *Roman:* concerning which there goes a story, that an Inhabitant of *Northampton*, called *Hodgkingson*, having a Childe to be Baptized, repaired to *Snape*, before mentioned, to do it for him; and he consented to the motion, but with promise that he should give it some name allowed in Scripture. The holy action being so far forwards, that they were come to the naming of the Infant, they named it *Richard*, which was the name of his Grandfather by the Mothers side. Upon this a stop was made; nor would he be perswaded to Baptize the Childe, unless the name of it were altered. Which when the God-father refused to do, the Childe was carried back unchristened. It was agreed by him and *Cartwright*, in the Book of Discipline which they imposed upon the Islands, *That the Minister in Baptizing Children should not admit of any such names as had been used in the time of* Paganism, *the names of Idols, and the like.* Which Rule though calculated like a common Almanack, for the Meridian of those Islands onely, was afterwards to be observed on the like occasions, in all the Churches of Great *Britain.* Such was their humour at that time: but they fell shortly after on another Fancie. For taking it for granted, because they thought so, that the English Tongue might be as proper and significant as the holy *Hebrew*; they gave such names unto their Children, as many of them when they came to age were ashamed to own. Out of which Forge came their *Accepted, Ashes, Consolation, Dust, Deliverance, Discipline, Earth, Freegift, Fight the good fight of faith, From above, Joy again, Kill sin, More fruit, More tryal, Praise God, Reformation, Tribunal, The Lord is neer, Thankful,* with many others of like nature, which onely served to make the Sacrament of Baptism as contemptible, as they had made themselves ridiculous by these new inventions.

27. Some stop they had in their proceedings, which might have terrified them at the present from adventuring further, but that they were resolved to break through all difficulties, and try the patience of the State to the very utmost. The Queen had entertained a treaty of Marriage, *Anno* 1581, with *Francis* Duke of *Anjow*, the youngest Son of *Henry* the Second, and the onely surviving brother of *Henry* the Third, then Reigning in *France*. For the negotiating whereof, *Monsieur Simier*, a most compleat Courtier, was sent Ambassador from that King. By whom the business was sollicited with such dexterity, that the Match was generally conceived to be fully made. The *Puritans* hereupon begin to clamour, as if this Match did aim at nothing but the reduction of Popery, & the destruction of Religion here by Law established. But fearing

fearing more the total ruine of their hopes and projects, then any other danger which could happen by it. The Queen took care to tye the Duke to such conditions, that he could hardly be permitted to hear Mass in his private Closet; and had caused *Campian* to be executed at his being here, to let him see how little favour was to be expected by him for the Catholick party. Yet all this would not satisfie the zealous Brethren, who were resolved to free themselves from their own fears, by what means soever. First therefore it was so contrived, that as *Simere* passed between *Greenwich* and *London*, before the coming of the Duke, a shot was made at him from a ship, with which one of the Watermen was killed, but the Ambassador therewith more amazed then hurt. The Gunner afterwards was pardoned, by the great power the Earl of *Leicester* had in Court; it being pretended, that the Piece was discharged upon meer accident, and not upon malice or design. After this, follows a seditious Pamphlet, writ by one *Stubs* of *Lincolns*-Inn, who had married one of the Sisters of *Thomas Cartwright*; and therefore may be thought to have done nothing in it without his privity. This Book he called, *The Gaping Gulf*; in which *England* was to have been swallowed, the wealth thereof consumed, and the Gospel irrecoverably drown'd; writ with great bitterness of spirit and reproachful language, to the disgrace of the French Nation, the dishonor of the Dukes own person; and not without some vile reflections on the Queen herself, as if she had a purpose to betray her Kingdom to the power of Strangers.

28. For publishing this book, no such excuse could be pretended, as was insisted on in defence of the former shot; nor could the Queen do less in Justice to her self and her Government, as the case then stood, then to call the Authors and the Publishers of it to a strict account. To which end the said *Stubs*, together with *Hugh Singleton* and *William Page*, were on the 13 day of *October* arraigned at *Westminster*, for Writing, Printing and dispersing that Seditious Pamphlet; and were all then and there condemned to lose their right hands for the said offence. Which Sentence was executed on the third of *November* upon *Stubs* and *Page*, as the chief offenders; but *Singleton* was pardoned as an Accessary, and none of the Principals in the Crime. Which execution gave great grief to the *Disciplinarians*; because they saw by that Experiment, that there was no dallying with the Queen, when either the honor of her Government, or the peace of her Dominions seemed to be concerned. And they were most afflicted at it in regard of *Cartwright*, whose inability to preserve so near a Friend from the severity and shame of so great a punishment, was looked on as a strong presumption that he could be as little able to save himself, whensoever it was thought expedient upon reason of State to proceed against him. But now they are engaged in the same bottom with him, they were resolved to steer their course by no other Compass, then that which

which this grand Pilot had provided for them. Not terrified from so doing, by the open Schism which was the next year made by one *Robert Brown*, once a Disciple of their own, and one who built his Schism upon *Cartwrights* Principles; nor by the hanging of those men who had dispersed his Factious and Schismatical Pamphlets. For the better clearing of which matter, we must fetch the story of this *Brown* a little higher, and carry it a little lower then this present year.

29. This *Robert Brown* was born at *Tolethorp* in the County of *Rutland*; the Grand-child of *Francis Brown* Esquire, priviledged in the 18 year of King *Henry* VIII, to wear his Cap in the presence of the King himself, or any other Lords Spiritual or Temporal in the Land; and not to put it off at any time, but onely for his own ease and pleasure. He was bred sometimes in *Corpus Christi* Colledge (commonly called *Bennet* Colledge) in the University of *Cambridge*. Where, though he was not known to take any degree, yet he would many times venture into the Pulpit. It was observed, that in his preaching he was very vehement; which *Cartwrights* Followers imputed onely to his zeal, as being one of their own number. But other men suspected him to have worse ends in it. Amongst many, whom rather curiosity then Devotion had brought to hear him, Dr. *John Still* (though possibly not then a Doctor) hapned to be one. Who being afterwards Master of Trinity-Colledge, and finally Lord Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, was used to say, *That he discerned something extraordinary in him at the very first, which he presaged would prove a disturbance to the Church, if it were not seasonably prevented.* Being well verst and conversant in *Cartwrights* Books, and other the like Pamphlets of that time, he became more and more estranged from the Church of *England*: Whose Government he found to be defamed for Antichristian; her Sacraments affirmed to be defiled with Superstition; her Liturgie reproached for Popish, and in some part Heathenish; and finally, her Ordinations to be made no better then those of *Baal's* Priests amongst the Jews. Not able to abide longer in a Church so impure and filthy, he puts himself over into *Zealand*, and joyns with *Cartwrights* new Church in the City of *Middleborough*. But finding there some few remainders of the old impiety, he resolves to constitute a new Church of his own Projectment, which should have nothing in it but what was most pure and holy. The Draught whereof, he comprehended in a Book which he printed at *Middleborough*, *An.* 1582, intituled, *A Treatise of Reformation:* and having sent as many of them into *England* as might serve his turn, he followed after in pursuit of his new Plantation.

30. The *Dutch* had then a Church at *Norwich*, as before was said, more numerous then any other Church or Congregation within the Precincts of that City. Many of which enclining of themselves to the *Anabaptists*, were apt enough to entertain any new Opinions which held Conformity with that Sect. Amongst them he 1583.

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begins, and first begins with such amongst them as were most likely to be ruled and governed by him; he being of an imperious nature, and much offended with the least dissent or contradiction, when he had uttered any Paradox in his discourses. Having gotten into some Authority amongst the *Dutch*, whose Language he had learned when he lived in *Middleborough*, and grown into a great opinion for his Zeal and Sanctity, he began to practise with the English; using therein the service and assistance of one *Richard Harrison*, a Country School-master, whose ignorance made him apt enough to be seduced by so weak a Prophet. Of each Nation he began to gather Churches to himself, of the last especially; inculcating nothing more to his simple Auditors, then that the Church of *England* had so much of *Rome*, that there was no place left for Christ, or his holy Gospel. But more particularly he inveighed against the Government of the Bishops, the Ordination of Ministers, the Offices, Rites and Ceremonies of the publick Liturgie, according as it had been taught out of *Cartwrights* Books; descending first to this Position, *That the Church of* England *was no true and lawful Church.* And afterwards to this conclusion, *That all true Christians were obliged to come out of* Babylon, *to separate themselves from those impure and mixt Assemblies, in which there was so little of Christs Institution; and finally, that they should joyn themselves to him and to his Disciples, amongst whom there was nothing to be found which savoured not directly of the Spirit of God; nothing of those impurities and prophanations of the Church of* England. Hereupon followed a defection from the Church it self; not as before amongst the *Presbyterians*, from some Offices in it. *Browns* Followers (which from him took the name of *Brownists*) refusing obstinately to joyn with any Congregation, with the rest of the people, for hearing the Word preached, the Sacraments administred, and any publick act of Religious Worship. This was the first gathering of Churches which I finde in *England*; and for the justifying hereof, he caused his Books to be dispersed in most parts of the Realm. Which tending as apparently to Sedition, brought both the Dispersers of them within the compass of the Statute 23 *Eliz. cap.* 2. Of which we are informed by *Stow*, that *Elias Thasker* was hanged at *Bury* on the fourth of *June*; and *John Copping*, on the sixth of the same Month, for spreading certain Books, seditiously penned by *Robert Brown* against the Book of Common-prayer established by the Laws of this Realm; as many of their Books as could be found, being burnt before them.

31. As for the Writer of the Books, and the first Author of the Schism, he was more favourably dealt with then these wretched instruments, and many other of his Followers in the times succeeding. Being convented before Dr. *Edmond Freak*, then Bishop of *Norwich*, and others of the Queens Commissioners in conjunction with him; he was by them upon his refractory carriage com-

committed to the custody of the Sheriff of *Norwich*. But being a near kinsman by his Mother to the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, he was at his request released from his imprisonment, and sent to *London*, where some course was taken to reclaim him, if it might be possible, totally, or in part at least, as God pleased to bless it. *Whitgift* by this time had attained to the See of *Canterbury*; a man of excellent patience and dexterity in dealing with such men as were so affected. By whose fair usage, powerful Reasons, and exemplary piety, he was prevailed upon so far, as to be brought unto a tolerable compliance with the Church of *England*. In which good humour he was favourably dismist by the Arch-bishop, and by the Lord-Treasurer *Burleigh*, to the care of his Father; to the end that being under his eye, and dealt with in a kinde and temperate manner, he might in time be well recovered, and finally withdrawn from all the Reliques of his fond opinions. Which Letters of his bear date on the 3 of *October* 1585. But long he had not staid in his Fathers house, when he *returned unto his vomit*, and proving utterly incorrigible, was dismist again; the good old Gentleman being resolved upon this point, that he would not own him for a Son, who would not own the Church of *England* for his Mother. But at the last, though not till he had passed through two and thirty prisons, as he used to brag, by the perswasions of some Friends, and his own necessities (the more powerful Orators of the two) he was prevailed with to accept of a place called *A Church* in *Northamptonshire*, beneficed with cure of Souls; to which he was presented by *Thomas* Lord *Burleigh*, after Earl of *Exon*, and thereunto admitted by the Bishop of *Peterborough*, upon his promise not to make any more disturbances in the proceedings of the Church: A Benefice of good value, which might tempt him to it, the rather, in regard that he was excused as well from preaching, as from performing any other part of the publick Ministry; which Offices he discharged by an honest Curate, and allowed him such a competent maintainance for it, as gave content unto the Bishop, who had named the man. And on this Benefice he lived to a very great age, not dying till the year 1630; and then dying in *Northampton* Gaol, not on the old account of his inconformity, but for breach of the Peace. A most unhappy man to the Church of *England*, in being the Author of a Schism which he could not close; and most unfortunate to many of his Friends and Followers, who suffered death for standing unto those conclusions, from which he had withdrawn himself divers years before.

32. But it is time that we go back again to *Cartwright*, upon whose principles and positions he first raised this Schism. Which falling out so soon upon the Execution which was done on *Stubs*, could not but put a great rebuke upon his spirit; and might perhaps have tended more to his discouragement, had not his sorrows been allayed and sweetned by a Cordial which was sent from *Beza*, sufficient to revive a half-dying brother. Concern-

ing which there is no more to be premiſed, but that *Geneva* had of late been much waſted by a grievous peſtilence, and was ſomewhat diſtreſſed at this time by the Duke of *Savoy*. Their peace not to be otherwiſe procured, but by paying a good ſum of money, and money not to be obtained but by help of their Friends. On this account he writes to *Travers*, being then Domeſtick Chaplain to the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*; but ſo, that *Cartwright* was to be acquainted with the Tenour of it; that by the good which the one might do upon the Queen by the means of his Patron, and the great influence which the other had on all his party, the contribution might amount to the higher pitch. But as for ſo much of the ſaid Letter as concerns our buſineſs, it is this that followeth; *viz. If as often, dear Brother, as I have remembred thee and our* Cartwright, *ſo often I ſhould have written unto thee, you had been long ſince overwhelmed with my Letters; no one day paſſing, wherein I do not onely think of you and your matters; which not onely our ancient Friendſhip, but the greatneſs of thoſe affairs wherein you take pains, ſeems to require at my hands. But in regard that you were fallen into ſuch times, wherein my ſilence might be ſafer far then my writing, I have, though moſt unwillingly, been hitherto ſilent. Since which time, underſtanding that by God's Grace the heats of ſome men are abated, I could not ſuffer this my Friend to come unto you without particular Letters from me, that I may teſtifie my ſelf to be the ſame unto you as I have been formerly; as alſo, that at his return I may be certified of the true ſtate of your affairs.* After which Preamble, he acquaints him with the true cauſe of his writing, the great extremities to which that City was reduced, and the vaſt debts in which they were plunged; whereby their neceſſities were grown ſo grievous, that except they were relieved from other parts, they could not be able to ſupport them: And then he addes, *I beſeech thee, my dear Brother, not onely to go on in health with thy daily prayers; but that if you have any power to prevail with ſome perſons, ſhew us by what honeſt means you can, how much you love us in the Lord.* Finally, having certified him of other Letters which he had writ to certain Noblemen, and to all the Biſhops, for their aſſiſtance in that caſe; not without ſome complaints of a diſ-reſpect which he had found to ſome of his late Addreſſes, he concludes it thus; viz. *Farewel my dear Brother; the Lord Jeſus every day more and more bleſs thee, and all that earneſtly deſire his glory.*

33. This Letter dated in the beginning of *October*, 1582. came very ſeaſonably both to comfort *Cartwright*, who could not but be much afflicted with his late misfortunes, and encouraged him to proceed in purſuit of that buſineſs in which they had took ſuch pains. This was enough to make them haſten in the work, who wanted no ſuch Spurs to ſet them forwards. Till this time they had no particular Form, either of Diſcipline or Worſhip, which generally was allowed of for the uſe of their Churches; But every man gathered ſome directions out of *Cartwrights* books,

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as ſeemed moſt proper for that purpoſe. But *Cartwright* having now drawn up his form of Diſcipline, mentioned before amongſt the reſt of his practices, 1580, that book of his was looked on as the onely Rule, by which they were to regulate their Churches in all publick duties. But in regard of the great ſcandal given by *Brown*, the execution done at *Bury* upon *Thacker* and *Copping*, and the ſeverity of the Laws in that behalf; it was thought fit to look before them, and ſo to carry on the buſineſs as to make no rupture in the Church, and to create no eminent danger to themſelves. In reference to which ends, they held a General Aſſembly, wherein they agreed upon ſome order for putting the ſaid Diſcipline in execution, but with as little violation of the peace of the Church as they could poſſibly deviſe: And therefore that they might proceed with the greater ſafety, it was adviſed and reſolved on, 1. *That ſuch as are called unto the Miniſtery of any Church, ſhould be firſt approved by the Claſſis, or ſome greater Aſſembly, and then commended to the Biſhop by their ſpecial Letters, to receive their Ordination at his hands.* 2. *That thoſe Ceremonies in the Book of Common-Prayer which ſeemed to have been uſed in the times of Popery, were totally to be omitted, if it might be done without being deprived of their Miniſtery; or otherwiſe the matter to be left to the conſideration of the Claſſis, or other greater Aſſembly, that by the judgement thereof it might be determined what was moſt fitting to be done.* 3. *That if Subſcription to the Articles of Religion and the Book of Common-prayer ſhould be urged again, that they might be then ſubſcribed unto, according to the Statute of* 13 Eliz. *that is to ſay, to ſuch of them onely as contain the ſum of Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments. But* 4. *That for many weighty cauſes, neither the reſt of the ſaid Articles, nor the Book of Common-Prayer were to be ſubſcribed; no, though a man ſhould be deprived of his Miniſtery upon ſuch refuſal.*

34. A Conſultation was held alſo in the ſaid Aſſembly, *That without changing of the names, or any ſenſible alteration in the ſtate of the Church, the Church-Wardens and Collectors of every Pariſh might ſerve in the place of Elders and Deacons; and to that end, that notice might be given of their election, about the ſpace of* 15 *days before the times appointed for it by the Law of the Land: To the intent that the Church might join in prayer to God to be ſo directed, as to make choice of fit men to ſupply thoſe Miniſteries.* It was adviſed alſo; *That before the ordinary times of the ſaid Elections, the Ordinance of Chriſt ſhould be publickly intimated to the Congregation, concerning the appointment of Watchmen and Overſeers in the Church; it being their duty to foreſee that no offence or ſcandal ariſe in the Church; and that if any ſuch offence or ſcandal ſhould happen, it might be ſeaſonably remedied and aboliſhed by them: as alſo that the names of the parties choſen be publiſhed on the next Lords Day; their duties toward the Church, and the Churches duty toward them, being then declared; and then the ſaid Officers to be admitted to*

their ſeveral Miniſteries with the general Prayers of the whole Church. Orders were alſo made for a diviſion of the Churches into Claſſical and Synodical Meetings, according to the tenor of the Book of Diſcipline; for keeping a Regiſtry of the Acts of the Claſſis and Synods; for dealing with Patrons to preſent fit men, when any Church fell void belonging to their Preſentations; for making Collections at the General Aſſemblies (which were then held for the moſt part at the Act in *Oxon*, or the Commencement in *Cambridge*) towards the relief of the poor, but moſt eſpecially of thoſe who had been deprived of their Benefices for their not ſubſcribing; as alſo of ſuch Miniſters of the Kirk of *Scotland*, as for their factiouſneſs and diſobedience had been forced to abandon that Kingdom: and finally, for nominating ſome ſet-time at the end of each Provincial Synod, in which the ſaid Provincial Synod was to ſit again; as alſo for the ſending of fit men to the General Synods, which were to be held either in times of Parliament, or at ſuch other times as ſeemed moſt convenient.

35. By theſe diſguiſings it was thought that they might breed up their Presbytery under the Wing of Epiſcopacie, till they ſhould finde it ſtrong enough to ſubſiſt of it ſelf, and bid defiance to that power which had given it ſhelter. It was reſolved alſo, that inſtead of Propheſying, which now began to be ſuppreſt in every place, Lectures ſhould be ſet up in ſome chief Towns in every County: to which the Miniſters and Lay-brethren might reſort ſecurely, and thereby proſecute their deſigne with the like indempnity. But no diſguiſe could fit them in their alterations of the Forms of Worſhip; of which nothing was to be retained by *Cartwrights* Rules, but that which held conformity with the Church of *Geneva*. According to the Rules whereof, the Miniſter had no more to do on the days of Worſhip, but to Preach his Sermon, with a long Prayer before it, and another after it, of his own deviſing; the people being entertained both before and after with a *Pſalm* in Meter, according to ſuch Tune or Tunes as the Clerk ſhould bid. For having diſtributed the whole Worſhip of God into theſe three parts; that is to ſay, Prayers, Praiſes, and Propheſyings; the ſinging of the *Pſalms* (which they conceived to be the onely way of giving praiſe) became, in fine, as neceſſary as the Prayers or Preachings. Their other aberrations from the publick Liturgie in Sacraments and Sacramentals, may beſt be found in *Cartwrights* practice, as before laid down; it being not to be ſuppoſed that he would practiſe one thing and preſcribe another, or that his own practice might not be a ſufficent Canon, to direct all the Churches of this Platform. But theſe alterations being ſo groſs, that no Cloak could cover them; another expedient was deviſed ſomewhat more chargeable then the other, but of greater ſafety. For neither daring to reject the publick Liturgie, and being reſolved not to conform themſelves unto it; they fell upon a courſe of hiring ſome

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Lay-brother, (as *Snape* did a Lame Souldier of *Barwick*) or possibly some ignorant Curate, to read the Prayers to such as had a minde to hear them; neither themselves, nor their Disciples coming into the Church, till the singing of the *Psalm* before the Sermon. Concerning which, one of the brethren writes to *Field*, [a] *That having nothing to do with the prescribed form of Common-prayer, he preached every Lords day in his Congregation; and that he did so by the counsel of the Reverend Brethren; by whom (such was Gods goodness to him) he had been lately called to be one of the Classis, which once a week was held in some place or other.*

[a] *Ego singulis Sabbatis cum prescripta Liturgias Formula nihil habens commercii, in Cœtu Concionem habeo, &c.* Dat. April. 14.

36. In this condition stood the Affairs, when the Reverend *Whitgift* came to the See of *Canterbury*. A man that had appeared so stoutly in the Churches quarrels, that there could be no fear of his *Grindallizing*, by winking at the plots and practices of the *Puritan Faction*. So highly valued by the Queen, that when she first preferred him to the See of *Worcester*, *Anno* 1576, she gave him the disposing of all the Prebendaries of that Church, to the end he might be served with the ablest and most Learned men. Nor was he less esteemed for his civil prudence; which moved Sir *Henry Sidney* to select him before all others to be his Vice-President in *Wales*, at such time as he was to go Lord-Deputy for the Realm of *Ireland*. Upon this man the Queen had always kept her eye since *Grindal* fell into disfavour, and willingly would have made him his Co-adjutor, if he could have been perswaded to accept the offer. Which moderation altered nothing of the Queens minde toward him, who was so constant in her choice and designations of fit men to serve her, that upon *Grindals* death, which happened on the 6 of *July* 1583, she preferred *Whitgift* to the place. To which he was actually translated before *Michaelmas* following, that he might have the benefit of the half-years rent. Which as it was another Argument of the Queens good affection to him (who otherwise was sufficiently intent on her personal profit) so for a further demonstration of it, she caused one hundred pounds to be abated in his Tenths and first Fruits, which had been over-charged on his Predecessor. And, which was more then both together, she suffered him to Commence a Suit against Sir *James Crofts*, Comptroller of her Houshold, Governour of the Town of *Barwick*, and a privy Councellor, for the recovery of some Lands, to the quantity of one thousand Acres, which had been first alienated to the Queen, and by the Queen was given to *Crofts* on a Court-petition. Which suit, as he had courage enough to take in hand, so had he the felicity of an happy Issue, in the recovering of those Lands from such Potent Competitors, without loosing any part of her Majesties favour: But these things are not pertinent to my present business, unless it be to shew upon what ground he stood, and that he was resolved to abate of nothing

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which concerned the Honour of the Church, who was so vigilant and intent (without fear of envy or displeasure) on the profit of it.

37. The Queen was set upon a point of holding her Prerogative-Royal at the very height; and therefore would not yield to any thing in Civil matters, which seemed to tend to any sensible diminution of it. And in like sort she was resolved touching her Supremacy, which she considered as the fairest Jewel in the Regal Diadem; and consequently, could as little hearken to such Propositions as had been made in favor of the *Puritan* Faction by their great Agents in the Court, though she had many times been sollicited in it. To ease herself of which Sollicitations for the time to come, she acquaints *Whitgift* at his first coming to the place; that she determined to discharge herself from the trouble of all Church-concernments, and leave them wholly to his care: That he should want no countenance and encouragement for carrying on the great trust committed to him: That she was sensible enough into what disorder and confusion the affairs of the Church were brought, by the connivance of some Bishops, the obstinancy of some Ministers, and the power of some great Lords both in Court and Countrey; but that notwithstanding all these difficulties, he must resolve, not onely to assert the Episcopal Power, but also to restore that Uniformity in Gods Publick Worship, which by the weakness of his Predecessor was so much endangered. Thus authorized and countenanced, he begins his Government. And for the first Essay thereof, he sends abroad three Articles to be subscribed by all the Clergy of his Province. The Tenour of which Articles, because they afterwards created so much trouble to him, I shall here subjoyn. First therefore, he required the Clergy to subscribe to this, *That the Queen had Supreme Authority over all persons born within her Dominions, of what condition soever they were; and that no other Prince, Prelate or Potentate, either had, or ought to have any jurisdiction Civil or Ecclesiastical within her Realms and Dominions.* 2. *That the Book of Common-prayer, and the Ordination of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, contained nothing contrary to the Word of God, but might lawfully be used; and that they would use that and no other.* 3. *That he allowed the Articles of Religion, agreed in the Synod holden at* London, *in the year of our Lord* 1562, *and published by the Queens Authority; and did believe them to be consonant to the Word of God.*

38. It is not easie to imagine what clamours were raised amongst the Brethren upon this occasion; how they moved Heaven and Earth, the Court and Country, and all the Friends they had of the Clergie or Laity, to come to their assistance in this time of their tryal. By means whereof, they raised so strong an opposition against his proceedings, that no man of less courage then *Whitgift*, and none but *Whitgift* so well backed and countenanced

tenanced by a gracious Mistress, could have withstood the violence and fury of it. But by the Queens constancie on the one side, who gave *Semper Eadem* for her Motto, to shew that she was always one; and by his most invincible patience on the other side, whose *Motto* being *Vincit qui patitur*, declared what hopes he had, that by a discreet patience he might get the Victory; he had the happiness to see the Church reduced to her former lustre, by the removing of all obstacles which lay before him. The first of which was laid by some of his own Dioceſs, who being required by him to subscribe for an Example to others, not onely refused so to do, but being thereupon suspended for their contumacy in due Form of Law, they petitioned to the Lords of the Council for relief against him: the like Petition was presented to them, by some Ministers of the Dioceſs of *Norwich*, against Dr. *Edmond Freak* their Bishop; to whom the planting of so many Dutch Churches in the principal City, and other of the chief Towns of his Dioceſs, had given trouble enough. To the Petition of the *Kentish* Ministers, which concerned himself, he was required to answer at the Council-Table, on the Sunday following. Instead whereof, he lays before them in the Letter, *That the Petitioners, for the most part, were ignorant and raw young men, few of them licensed Preachers, and generally disaffected to the present Government: That he had spent the best part of two or three days in labouring to reduce them to a better understanding of the points in question; but not being able to prevail, he had no otherwise proceeded then the Law required: That it was not for him to sit in that place, if every Curate in his Dioceſs might be permitted so to use him; nor possible for him to perform the Duty which the Queen expected at his hands, if he might not proceed to the execution of that power by her Majesty committed to him, without interruption: That he could not be perswaded, that their Lordships had any purpose to make him a party, or to require him to come before them to defend those actions, wherein he supposed that he had no other Judge but the Queen her self; and therefore in regard that he was called by God to that place and function, wherein he was to be their Pastor, he was the rather moved to desire their assistance in matters pertaining to his Office, for the quietness of the Church, the credit of Religion, and the maintainance of the Laws in defence thereof, without expecting any such attendance on them as they had required, for fear of giving more advantage to those wayward persons, then he conceived they did intend.* And thereunto he added this protestation, *That the three Articles whereunto they were moved to subscribe, were such, as he was ready by Learning to defend, in manner and form as there set down; against all opponents, either in* England *or elsewhere.*

39. In reference to the paper of the *Suffolk* Ministers, he returns this answer: *It seemeth something strange to me, that the Ministers of* Suffolk *finding themselves agrieved with the doings of*

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their Dioceſans ſhould leave the ordinary courſe of proceeding by the Law, (which is to appeal unto me) and extraordinarily trouble your Lordſhips in a matter not ſo incident (as I think) to that honourable Board, ſeeing it hath pleaſed her Majeſty her owne ſelf in expreſs words to commit theſe cauſes Eccleſiaſtical to me, as to one who is to make anſwer unto God and her Majeſty in this behalf; my Office alſo and place requiring the ſame. In anſwer unto their complaint; touching their ordinary proceedings with them, I have herewith ſent your Lordſhips a Copy of a Letter lately received from his Lordſhip, wherein I think that part of their Bill to be fully anſwered. Touching the reſt, I know not what to judge of it; but in ſome points it talketh (as I think) modeſtly and charitably. They ſay, they are no Jeſuits ſent from Rome to reconcile, &c. True it is, neither are they charged to be ſo; but notwithſtanding, they are contentious in the Church of England, *and by their contentions miniſter occaſion of offence to thoſe which are ſeduced by* Jeſuits; *and give the Sacraments againſt the form of publick Prayer uſed in this Church, and by Law eſtabliſhed, and thereby increaſe the number of them, and confirm them in their wilfulneſs. They alſo make a Schiſm in the Church, and draw many other of her Majeſties Subjects to a miſliking of her Laws and Government in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. So far are they from perſwading them to obedience; or at the leaſt; if they perſwade them to it in the one part of her Authority, it is in Cauſes Civil; they diſſwade them from it as much in the other, that is, in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical: ſo that indeed they pluck down with the one hand, that which they ſeem to build with the other.*

40. More of which Letter might be added, were not this ſufficient, as well to ſhew how perfectly he underſtood both his place and power, as with what courage and diſcretion he proceeded in the maintenance of it. Which being obſerved by ſome great men about the Court, who had ingaged themſelves in the *Puritan* quarrels, but were not willing to incur the Queens diſpleaſure by their oppoſition; it was thought beſt to ſtand a while behind the Curtain, and ſet *Beal* upon him; of whoſe impetuoſity and edge againſt him they were well aſſured. This *Beal* was in himſelf a moſt eager *Puritan*, trained up by *Walſingham* to draw dry-foot after Prieſts and Jeſuits; his extream hatred to thoſe men, being looked on as the onely good quality which he could pretend to. But being over-blinded by zeal and paſſion, he was never able to diſtinguiſh rightly between truth and falſhood; between true Sanctity, and the counterfeit appearance of it. This made him firſt conceive, that whatſoever was not *Puritan*, muſt needs be *Popiſh*; and that the Biſhops were to be eſteemed no otherwiſe then the ſons of Antichriſt; becauſe they were not looked upon as Fathers by the holy Brotherhood. And ſo far was he hurried on by theſe diſ-affections, that though he was preferred to be one of the Clerks of the Council, yet he preferred the intereſt of the Faction before that of the Queen.

Inſomuch,

Insomuch that he was noted to jeer and gibe at all such Sermons as did most commend Her Majesties Government, and move the Auditory to obedience; not sparing to accuse the Preachers upon such occasions to have broached false Doctrine, and falsly to alledge the Scriptures in defence thereof. This man had either writ or countenanced a sharp Discourse against Subscription, inscribed to the Archbishop, and presented to him; and thereupon caused speeches to be cast abroad, that the three Articles to which Subscription was required, should shortly be revoked by an Act of the Council: which much encreased the obstinacy of the self-willed Brethren. But after, fearing lest the Queen might have a sight of the Papers, he resolved to get them out of his hands; and thereupon went over to *Lambeth*, where he behaved himself in such a rude and violent manner, as forced the Archbishop to give an account thereof by Letter to the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, who hitherto had stood fair towards him, in these following words:

41. *I have born* (saith he) *with Mr.* Beals *intemperate speeches, unseemly for him to use, though not in respect of my self, yet in respect of Her Majestie whom he serveth, and of the Laws established, whereunto he ought to shew some duty. Yesterday he came to my house, as it seems to demand the Book he delivered unto me. I told him, That the book was written unto me, and therefore no reason why he should require it again, especially seeing I was assured that he had a Copy thereof; otherwise I would cause it to be written out for him: Whereupon he fell into very great passions with me (which I think was the end of his coming) for proceeding in the execution of the Articles,* &c. *and told me in effect, that I would be the overthrow of this Church, and a cause of tumult; with many other bitter and hard speeches, which I heard patiently, and wished him to consider with what spirit he was moved to say so: For I said, it could not be by the Spirit of God, which worketh in men Patience, Humility and Love; and your words declare (said I) that you are very Arrogant, Proud, Impatient and Uncharitable. Moreover, the Spirit of God,* &c. *And all this while* (saith he) *I talked with him in the upper end of my Gallery: My Lord of* Winchester *and divers strangers being in the other part thereof. But Mr.* Beal *beginning to extend his voyce that all might hear, I began to break off. Then he being more and more kindled, very impatiently uttered very proud and contemptuous speeches in the justifying of his book, and condemning the Orders established, to the offence of all the hearers. Whereupon, being very desirous to be rid of him, I made small answer; but told him that his speeches were intolerable, that he forgot himself, and that I would complain of him to Her Majestie: whereof he seemed to make small account; and so he departed in great heat.* Which said, he lets his Lordship know, *That though he was never more abused by any man in his life, then since his coming to that place he had been by* Beal, *and that upon no other ground but for doing his duty, yet that he*

was not willing to do him any ill office with the Queen about it, or otherwise to proceed any further in it then his Lordship should think most convenient.

42. Finding by these Experiments how little good was to be done upon him either way, it was resolved to make some tryal on the opposite party, in hope to bring them by degrees unto some attonement. The Lord *Burleigh* shall first break the ice; who upon some complaint made against the Liturgie by some of the brethren, required them to compose another, such as they thought might generally be accepted by them. The first *Classis* thereupon devised a new one, agreeable in most things to the Form of *Geneva*. But this Draught being offered to the consideration of a second *Classis* (for so the wise States-man had of purpose contrived the plot) there were no fewer then six hundred Exceptions made against it, and consequently so many alterations to be made therein, before it was to be admitted. The third *Classis* quarrelled at those Alterations, and resolved therefore on a new Model, which should have nothing of the other: And against this, the fourth was able to pretend as many Objections as had been made against the first. So that no likelihood appearing of any other Form of Worship, either better or worse, to be agreed upon between them, he dismist their Agents for the present; with this assurance, that whensoever they could agree upon any Liturgie which might be universally received amongst them, they should find him very ready to serve them in the settling of it. Just so *Pacuvius* dealt with the people of *Capua*, when they resolved to put all their Senators to death. For when he had advised them not to execute that sentence upon any one Senator, till they were agreed upon another to supply the place, there followed such a division amongst them in the choice of the new, and so many Exceptions against every man which was offered to them, that at the last it was resolved to let the old Senate stand in force, till they could better their condition in the change of the persons. *Walsingham* tries his fortune next, in hope to bring them to allow of the English Liturgie, on the removal of such things as seemed most offensive. And thereupon he offered, in the Queens name, that the three Ceremonies at which they seemed most to boggle; that is to say, *Kneeling at the Communion*; *The Surplice*; and, *The Crosse in Baptisme*, should be expunged out of the Book of Common-Prayer, if that would content them. But thereunto it was replied in the words of *Moses*, *Ne ungulam esse relinquendum*; That they would not leave so much as a hoof behind. Meaning thereby, that they would have a total abolition of the Book, without retaining any part or Office in it in their next new-nothing. Which peremptory answer did much alienate his affection from them; as afterwards he affirmed to *Knewstubs*, and *Knewstubs* to Dr. *John Burges* of *Colshil*; from whose pen I have it.

43. The

43. The Brethren on the other side finding how little they had gotten by their application to the Lords of the Council, began to steer another course, by practising upon the temper of the following Parliaments, into which they had procured many of their chief Friends to be retained for Knights or Burgesses, as they could prevail. By whose means (notwithstanding that the Queen had charged them not to deal in any thing which was of concernment to the Church) they procured a Bill to pass in the House of Commons 1585, for making tryal of the sufficiency of such as were to be ordained or admitted Ministers by twelve Lay-men; whose approbation and allowance they were first to pass, before they were to receive *Institution* into any Benefice. Another Bill was also past, for making Marriage lawful at all times of the year; which had been formerly attempted by the Convocation, and tendred to the Queen amongst other Articles there agreed upon, but was by her disrellished and rejected, as before was said. They were in hand also with a third, concerning Ecclesiastical Courts, and the Episcopal Visitations; pretending onely a redress of some Exorbitances in excessive Fees, but aiming plainly at the overthrow of the Jurisdiction. Of which particulars, *Whitgift* gives notice to the Queen; and the Queen so far signified her dislike of all those proceedings, that all those Projects dyed in the House of Commons, without ever coming into Acts. The like attempts were made in some following Sessions; in which some Members shewed themselves so troublesome to sober men, so alienated from the present Government, and so dis-respective toward the Queen, that she was fain to lay some of them by the heels, and deprive others of their places, before she could reduce them to a better temper. Of which we shall speak more hereafter, in the course of this History.

The end of the seventh Book.

AERIUS REDIVIVUS:

OR,

The Hiſtory

OF THE

PRESBYTERIANS.

LIB. VIII.

Containing

The Seditious Practiſes and Poſitions of the Engliſh Puritans, *their Libels, Railing, and Reviling, in order to the ſetting up of the Holy Diſcipline, from the year* 1584, *to the year* 1589. *The undutiful Carriage of the* French, *and the horrible Inſolencies of the* Scotch Presbyters, *from the year* 1585, *to the year* 1592.

HAving thus proſecuted the Affairs of the *Presbyterians* in *England*, to the ſame point of time where before we left the *Scots*, the *French*, and thoſe of the ſame Party in the *Belgick* Provinces: we ſhall hereafter treat of them as they come before us with reference to the Practiſes and Proceedings of their *Engliſh* Brethren. And firſt, beginning with the *Scots*, it is to be remembred, that we left them at a very low ebb; the Earl of *Goury* put to death, many of the Nobility exiled into Forreign Countreys, and the chief Zealots of the Faction amongſt the Miniſters, putting themſelves into a voluntary Baniſhment, becauſe they could not have their wills on the King and Council. 1584.

England, as neareſt hand, was the common Sanctuary, to which ſome Lords, and almoſt all the Refractory Miniſters had retired themſelves. Much countenanced by Mr. Secretary *Walſingham*, who had ſet them on work; and therefore was obliged to gratifie them in ſome fit proportion. To ſuch of the Nobility as had fled into *England*, he aſſigned the Iſle of *Lindisfarm*, (commonly called the *Holy Iſland*) not far from *Berwick*; with order to the Lord *Hundſdon*, who was then Governour of that Town, to give them the poſſeſſion of it. But *Hundſdon*, though he had leſs Zeal, had ſo much knowledg of his Duty, as to diſobey him; conſidering the great conſequence of the place, and that there was no impoſſibility in it, but that the *Scots* might make uſe of it to the common prejudice, if they ſhould prove Enemies to this Crown, as perhaps they might. A matter, which the Secretary would not have paſſed over in ſo light a manner, but that an Ambaſſador was ſent at the ſame time from the King of *Scots*, by whom it was deſired that the Fugitives of that Nation, whatſoever they were, might either be remitted home, or elſe commanded not to live ſo near the Borders, where they had opportunity, more than ſtood with the good of that Kingdom, to pervert the Subjects. Which Reaſonable Deſire being yeelded unto, the Lords and Great men of that Nation were ordered to retire to *Norwich*, and many of the Miniſters, permitted to prepare for *London*, *Oxon*, *Cambridg*, and ſome other places; where ſome of them procured more miſchief to the Church of *England*, than all of them could have done to their own Countrey, had they ſtaid at *Berwick*.

2. At *London* they are ſuffered, by ſome zealous Brethren, to poſſeſs their *Pulpits*, in which they rail, without comptroll, againſt their King, the Council of that Kingdom, and their natural Queen; as if by the practiſes of the one, and the connivence of the other, the Reformed Religion was in danger to be rooted out. Some Overtures had been made at that time by the Queen of *Scots*, by which it was deſired that ſhe might be reſtored unto the Liberty of her perſon, aſſociating with the young King in the Government of the Realm of *Scotland*; and be ſuffered to have the Maſs ſaid in her private Cloſet, for her ſelf and her Servants. The news whereof being brought to *London*, filled all the *Pulpits* which the *Scots* were ſuffered to invade, with terrible Complaints and Exclamations; none of them ſparing to affirm, That her Liberty was inconſiſtent with Queen *Elizabeth's* Safety: That both Kingdoms were undone, if ſhe were admitted to the joynt-Government of the Realm of *Scotland*; and, That the Reformed Religion muſt needs breathe its laſt, if the *Popiſh* were permitted within the Walls of the Court. Which points they preſſed with ſo much vehemence and heat, that many were thereby inflamed to join themſelves in the Aſſociation againſt that Queen, which ſoon after followed. Againſt their King they railed ſo bitterly, and with ſuch reproach, (one *Davinſon* more than any other) that upon complaint made by the *Scottiſh* Ambaſſador, the Biſhop of *London* was commanded to ſilence all the *Scots* about the City; and the like Order given to the reſt of the

Biſhops,

Bishops, by whom they were inhibited from preaching in all other places. But the less noise they made in the Church, the more closely and dangerously they practised on particular persons, in whom they endeavoured to beget an ill opinion of the present Government, and to engage them for advancing that of the *Presbyterian* in the place thereof. But this they had followed more successfully at the Act in *Oxon*, where they are liberally entertained by *Genebrand* and the rest of the Brethren; amongst which, *Wilcox*, *Hen*, and *Ackton*, were of greatest note. And at this time a question was propounded to them concerning the proceeding of the Minister in his duty, without the assistance or tarrying for the Magistrate. How they resolved this question, may be easily guessed, partly by that which they had done themselves when they were in *Scotland*; and partly by the Actings of their *English* Brethren, in pursuance of it.

3. For presently after, *Gelibrand* deals with divers Students in their several Colledges, to put their hands unto a paper, which seemed to contain somewhat in it of such dangerous nature, that some did absolutely refuse, and others required further time of deliberation: of which *Gelibrand* thus writes to *Field*, on the 12*th* of *Jan.* then next following: *I have already* (saith he) *entred into the matters whereof you write, and dealt with three or four several Colledges, concerning those amongst whom they live. I find that men are very dangerous in this point, generally favouring Reformation; but when it comes to the particular point, some have not yet considered of the things for which others in the Church are so much troubled: others are afraid to testifie any thing with their hands, lest it breed danger before the time: and many favour the Cause of the Reformation, but they are not Ministers, but young Students; of whom there is good hope, if they be not cut off by violent dealing before the time. As I hear by you, so I mean to go forward where there is any hope, and to learn the number, and certifie you thereof*, &c. But that these secret practises might not be suspected, they openly attend the *Parliament* of this year, as at other times, in hope of gaining some advantage against the Bishops, and the received Orders of the Church: For in the *Parliament* of this year, which began on the Twenty third of *November*, they petitioned, amongst other things, That a Restraint might be laid upon the Bishops, for granting of Faculties, conferring of Orders, as also in the executing of Ecclesiastical Censure, the Oath *Ex Officio*, permitting Non-residence, and the like. But the Queen would not hearken to it, partly because of the dislike she had of Innovations, which commonly tend unto the worse; but chiefly, in regard that all such Applications as they made to the *Parliament*, were by her looked on as derogatory to her own Supremacy. So that instead of gaining any of those points at the hands of the *Parliament*, they gained nothing but displeasure from the Queen, who is affirmed by *Stow* to have made a Speech at the end of their Session, and therein to have told the Bishops, That if they did not look more carefully to the discharge of their Duties, she must take order to deprive them. Sharp words! and such as might necessitate the Bishops to look well about them.

4. It happened also, that some of the great Lords at Court whom they most relyed on, began to cool in their affections to the Cause, and had informed the Queen of the weakness of it, upon this occasion. The Earl of *Leicester*, *Walsingham*, and some others of great place and power, being continually prest unto it by some Leading-men, prevailed so far on the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, as to admit them (in their hearing) to a private Conference: To which the Arch-bishop condescends; and having desired the Arch-bishop of *York*, and the Bishop of *Wincheſter*, to associate with him, that he might not seem to act alone in that weighty business; he was pleased to hear such Reasons as they could alledg for refusing to conform themselves to the Orders of the Church established. At which time though the said most Reverend Prelate sufficiently cleared all their Doubts, and satisfied all Exceptions which they had to make; yet at the earnest request of the said great persons, he gave way unto a second Conference to be held at *Lambeth*; at which such men were to be present, whose Arguments and Objections were conceived unanswerable, because they had not yet been heard. But when the points had been canvased on both sides for four hours together, the said great persons openly professed before all the Company, That they did not believe the Arch-bishops Reasons to have been so strong, and those of the other side so weak and trivial, as they now perceived them. And having thanked the Lord Arch-bishop for his pains and patience, they did not only promise him to inform the Queen in the truth of the business; but endeavoured to perswade the opposite Party to a present Conformity. But long they did not stay in so good a humour; of which more hereafter.

5. With better fortune sped the Lords of the *Scottish* Nation, in the advance of their Affairs: Who being admitted to the Queens presence by the means of *Walsingham*, received such countenance and support, as put them into a condition of returning homewards, and gaining that by force and practise, which they found impossible to be compassed any other way. All matters in that Kingdom were then chiefly governed by the Earl of *Arran*, formerly better known by the name of Captain *Jones*, who being of the House of the *Stuarts*, and fastening his dependence on the Duke of *Lenox*, at his first coming out of *France*, had on his instigation undertaken the impeaching of the Earl of *Morton*: after which, growing great in favour with the King himself, he began to ingross all Offices and Places of Trust, to draw unto himself the managery of all Affairs, and finally to assume the Title of Earl of *Arran*, at such time as the Chiefs of the *Hamiltons* were exiled and forfeited. Grown great and powerful by these means, and having added the Office of Lord Chancellor to the rest of his Honours, he grew into a general hatred with all sorts of people: And being known to have no very good affections to the Queen of *England*, she was the more willing to contribute towards his destruction. Thus animated and prepared, they make toward the Borders, and raising the Countrey as they went, marched on to *Sterling* where the

the King then lay. And shewing themselves before the Town with Ten thousand men, they publish a Proclamation in their own terms, touching the Reasons which induced them to put themselves into Arms. Amongst which it was none of the least, "That "Acts and Proclamations had, not long before, been published "against the Ministers of the Kirk, inhibiting their Presbyteries, "Assemblies, and other Exercises, Priviledges, and Immunities, by "reason whereof the most Learned and Honest of that number "were compelled for safety of their Lives and Consciences, to "abandon their Countrey. To the end therefore that all the afflicted "Kirk might be comforted, and all the said Acts fully made in "prejudice of the same, might be cancelled, and for ever aboliſh-"ed, they commanded all the King's Subjects to come in to aid "them."

6. The King perceiving by this Proclamation what he was to trust to, first thinks of fortifying the Town: but finding that to be untenable, he betakes himself unto the Castle, as his surest strength. The Conquerors having gained the Town on the first of *October*, possest themselves also of the Bulwarks about the Castle; which they inviron on all sides, so that it was not possible for any to escape their hands: In which extremity the King makes three Requests unto them, *viz.* That his Life, Honour, and Estate, might be preserved. That the Lives of certain of his Friends might not be touched. And that all things might be transacted in a peaceable manner. They, on the other side, demand three things for their security and satisfaction, *viz.* 1. That the King "would allow of their intention, and subscribe their Proclamation, "until further Order were established by the Estates, *&c.* and that "he would deliver into their hands all the Strong-holds in the Land. "2. That such as had disquieted the Common-wealth, might be de-"livered to them, and abide their due tryal by Law. And, 3. That "the old Guard might be removed, and another placed, which "was to be at their disposal. To which Demands the King consents at last, as he could not otherwise; though in their Second they had purposely run a-cross to the Second of his, wherein he had desired that the Lives of such as were about him, might not be endangered. Upon the yeelding of which points, which in effect was all that he had to give unto them, he puts himself into their hands, hath a new Guard imposed upon him, and is conducted by them whereſoever they please. And now the Ministers return in triumph to their Widowed Churches, where they had the Pulpits at command, but nothing else agreeable to their expectation. For the Lords having served their own turns, took no care of theirs; insomuch that in a Parliament held in *Lithgoe*, immediately after they had got the King into their power, they caused an Act to pass for ratifying the appointment betwixt them and the King; by which they provided well enough for their own Indempnity. But then withall, they suffered it to be Enacted, *That none should either publikely declare, or privately speak or write in reproach of his Ma-*

jeſties Perſon, Eſtate, or Government. Which came ſo croſs upon the ſtomacks of the Miniſters, whom nothing elſe could ſatisfie but the repealing of all former Statutes which were made to their prejudice, that they fell foul upon the King in a ſcandalous manner: inſomuch that one *Gibſon* affirmed openly in a Sermon at *Edenborough*, That heretofore the Earl of *Arran* was ſuſpected to have been the *Perſecutor*, but *now they found it was the King*; againſt whom he denounced the Curſe that fell on *Jeroboam*, *That he ſhould dye Childleſs, and be the laſt of his Race.* For which, being called to an account before the Lords of the Council, he ſtood upon his juſtification without altering, and was by them ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Blackroſs.*

7. Of the ſame temper were the reſt; who notwithſtanding the late Acts of Parliament inhibiting all Aſſembly and Claſſical Conventions, without leave from the King, held a new Synod at St. *Andrews*, in the *April* following, conſiſting (for the moſt part) of Barons and Lay-Gentlemen, Maſters of Colledges, and ignorant School-Maſters. Which Synod (if it may be called ſo) was purpoſely indicted by *Andrew Melvin*, for cenſuring the Arch-biſhop of that City, whom they ſuſpected and gave out to be the chief Contriver of the Acts of Parliament made in 1584, ſo prejudicial to the Kirk; and to have penned the Declaration in defence thereof. And hereunto he found the reſt ſo ready to conform themſelves, that they were upon the point of paſſing the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him, before he was cited to appear; moſt of them crying out aloud, *It was the Cauſe of God*; and, *That there needed no citation, where the iniquity was ſo manifeſt.* But being cited, at the laſt, he appears before them, puts up his Proteſtation concerning the unlawfulneſs of that Convention, and his diſowning any Juriſdiction which they challenged over him; and ſo demanded of them, What they had to ſay? His Accuſation was, That he had deviſed the Acts of Parliament in --84, to the ſubverſion of the Kirk, and the Liberties of it. To which he anſwered, That he only had approved, and not deviſed the ſaid Acts; which having paſt the approbation of the Three Eſtates, were of a nature too Supreme for ſuch Aſſemblies; and thereupon appealed unto the King, the Council, and the following Parliament. But notwithſtanding this Appeal, the Sentence of Excommunication is decreed againſt him, drawn into Writing, and ſubſcribed. Which when neither the Moderator, being a meer Layick, nor any of the Miniſters themſelves, had confidence enough to pronounce and publiſh; one *Hunter*, a Pedagogue in the Houſe of *Andrew Melvin*, (profeſſing that he had the Warrant of the Spirit for it) took the charge upon him, and with ſufficient audacity pronounced the Sentence.

8. The informality and perverſneſs of theſe proceedings, much diſpleaſed the King; but more he feared what would be done in the next Aſſembly, appointed to be held at *Edenborough*, and then near at hand. *Melvin* intended in the ſame, not only to make good whatſoever

ſoever had been done at the former Meeting, but to diſpute the nature and validity of all Appeals which ſhould be made againſt them on the like occaſions. To break which blow, the King could find no other way, but to perſwade the Arch-biſhop to ſubſcribe to theſe three points, *viz.* That he never publickly profeſſed or intended to claim any Superiority, or to be judg over any other Paſtors and Miniſters, or yet avowed the ſame to have any warrant in Gods Word: That he never challenged any Juriſdiction over the late Synod at St. *Andrews*; and muſt have erred, by his contempt of the ſaid Meeting, if he had ſo done. And thirdly, That he would behave himſelf better for the time to come; deſiring pardon for the overſight of his former Actions; promiſing to be ſuch a Biſhop from thenceforth, as was deſcribed by St. *Paul*: And finally, ſubmitting both himſelf and Doctrine, to the Judgment of the ſaid Aſſembly, without appealing from the ſame in the times to come. To ſuch unworthy Conditions was the poor man brought, only to gain the King ſome peace, and to reſerve that little Power which was left unto Him; though the King loſt more by this Tranſaction, than poſſibly He could have done by his ſtanding out. For, notwithſtanding the Submiſſions on the part of the Biſhop, the Aſſembly would deſcend no lower than to declare, That they would hold the ſaid Sentence for not pronounced, and thereby leave the Biſhop in the ſame eſtate in which they found him; and not this neither, but upon ſome hopes and aſſurance given them, that the King would favourably concurr with them in the building of the Houſe of God. Which Agreement did ſo little ſatisfie the adverſe party, that they juſtified their former proceſs, and peremptorily confirmed the Sentence which had been pronounced. Which, when it could not be obtained from the greater part of the Aſſembly, who were not willing to loſe the glory of ſo great a Victory; *Hunter* ſtands up, by the advice of *Andrew Melvin*, and publickly proteſted againſt it; declaring further, That notwithſtanding any thing which had been done to the contrary, the Biſhop ſhould be ſtill reputed for an Excommunicated perſon, and one delivered unto Satan. It was moved in this Aſſembly alſo, That ſome Cenſure ſhould be laid upon the Miniſters, who had ſubſcribed the Acts of Parliament made in --84. But their number proved ſo great, that a Schiſm was feared; and they were wiſe enough to keep all together, that they might be the better able upon all occaſions to oppoſe the King. Somewhat was alſo done concerning the Eſtabliſhment of their *Presbyteries*, and the defining of their Power: of which the King would take no notice, reſerving his diſguſt of ſo many Inſolencies, till he ſhould find himſelf in a condition to do them Reaſon.

9. In theſe Exorbitances, they are followed by the *Engliſh Puritans*, who had been bad enough before, but henceforth ſhowed themſelves to have more of the *Scot* in them, than in former times. For preſently upon the news of the good ſucceſs which their *Scottiſh* Brethren had at *Sterling*, a ſcandalous Libel, in the nature of

of a *Dialogue*, is publiſhed, and diſperſed in moſt parts of *England*: in which the ſtate of this Church is pretended to be laid open in a Conference between *Diotrephes*, (repreſenting the perſon of a Biſhop) *Tertullus*, (a *Papiſt*, brought in to plead for the Orders of our Church) *Demetrius*, an Uſurer, (ſignifying ſuch as live by unlawful Trades) *Pandocheus*, an Inn-keeper, (a receiver of all, and a ſoother of every man for his Gain) and *Paul*, (a *Preacher of the Word of God*) ſuſtaining the place and perſon of the *Conſiſtorians*). In the contrivance of which piece, *Paul* falls directly on the Biſhop, whom he uſed moſt proudly, ſpightfully, and ſlanderouſly. He condemneth both the Calling of Biſhops as *Antichriſtian*, and cenſureth their proceedings as Wicked, Popiſh, Unlawful, and Cruel. The Biſhop is ſuppoſed to have been ſent out of *England* into *Scotland*, for ſuppreſſing the *Presbyteries* there, and is made upon his return homewards, to be the Reporter of the *Scottiſh* Affairs; and withall, to ſignifie his great fear leſt he, and the reſt of the Biſhops in *England*, ſhould be ſerved ſhortly as the Biſhops had lately been in *Scotland*, viz. at *Edenborough*, *St. Andrews*, &c. *Tertullus*, the *Papiſt*, is made the Biſhop's only Counſellor in the whole courſe of the Government of the Church; by whoſe Advice the Biſhops are made to bear with the *Popiſh Recuſants*, and that ſo many ways are ſought to ſuppreſs the *Puritans*: And he, together with *Pandocheus* the Hoſt, and *Demetrius* the Uſurer, relate unto the Biſhop ſuch Occurrences as had happened in *England* during his ſtay amongſt the *Scots*. At which, when the Biſhop ſeemed to wonder, and much more marvelled that the Biſhops had not yet ſuppreſſed the *Puritans* ſome way or other; *Pandocheus* is made to tell him, That one of their Preachers had affirmed in the Pulpit, That there were One hundred thouſand of them in *England*; and that their Number in all places did encreaſe continually.

10. By this laſt brag about their Numbers, and ſomewhat which eſcaped from the mouth of *Paul*, touching his hopes of ſeeing the Conſiſtorian Diſcipline, erected ſhortly; it may be gathered, That they had a purpoſe to proceed in their Innovations, out of a hope to terrifie the State to a compliance, by the ſtrength of their Party. But if that failed, they would then do as *Penry* had adviſed and threatned; that is to ſay, they would preſent themſelves with a Petition to the Houſes of Parliament, to the delivering whereof, One hundred thouſand Hands ſhould be drawn together. In the mean time, it was thought fit to diſſemble their purpoſes, and to make tryal of ſuch other means as appeared leſs dangerous. To which end they preſent with one Hand a Petition to the Convocation, in which it was deſired, That they might be freed from all Subſcriptions; and with the other, publiſh a ſeditious Pamphlet, entituled, *A Complaint of the Commons for a Learned Miniſtry*. But, for the putting of their Counſels in execution, they were for the preſent at a ſtand. The Book of Diſcipline, upon a juſt examination, was not found ſo perfect, but that it needed a review; and the review thereof is referred to *Traverſe*. By whom being finiſhed, after a tedious

tedious expectation, it was commended to the Brethren, and by them approved. But the worſt was, it was not ſo well liked of in the Houſes of Parliament, as to paſs for current; which ſo incenſed thoſe meek-ſpirited men, that they fell preſently to threatning and reviling all who oppoſed them in it. They had prepared their way to the Parliament then ſitting, *Anno* 1586, by telling them, "That if the Reformation they deſired, were not granted, they "ſhould betray God, his Truth, and the whole Kingdom, that "they ſhould declare themſelves to be an Aſſembly, wherein the "Lords Cauſe could not be heard, wherein the felicity of miſera-"ble men could not be reſpected; wherein Truth, Religion, and "Piety, could bear no ſway; an Aſſembly that willingly called for "the Judgments of God upon the whole Realm; and finally, that "not a man of their ſeed ſhould proſper, be a Parliament-man, or "bear rule in *England* any more.

11. This neceſſary preparation being thus premiſed, they tender to the Parliament, A Book of the form of Common-Prayer by them deſired, containing alſo, in effect, the whole pretended Diſcipline, ſo reviſed by *Traverſe*; and their Petition in behalf thereof, was in theſe words following, *viz. May it therefore pleaſe your Majeſty*, &c. *that the Book hereunto annexed*, &c. *Entituled*, A Book of the Form of Common-Prayers, and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, &c. *and every thing therein contained*, &c. *may be from henceforth put in uſe, and practiſed through all your Majeſty's Dominions*, &c. But this ſo little edified with the Queen, or that Grave Aſſembly, that in the drawing up of a General Pardon to be paſſed in Parliament, there was an Exception of all thoſe that committed any offence againſt the Act for the Uniformity of Common-Prayers, or that were Publiſhers of Seditious Books, or Diſturbers of Divine Service. And to ſay the truth, the Queen had little reaſon to approve of that Form of Diſcipline in which there was ſo little conſideration of the Supreme Magiſtrate in having either vote or place in any of their Synodical Meetings, unleſs he be choſen for an Elder, or indicting their Aſſemblies, either Provincial or National, or what elſe ſoever; or inſomuch as nominating the particular time or place, when, and where to hold them; or finally, in requiring his aſſent to any of their Conſtitutions. All which, they challenge to themſelves with far greater arrogancy than ever was exerciſed by the Pope, or any Biſhop or inferior Miniſter under his Command, during the times of greateſt Darkneſs. But the Brethren not conſidering what juſt Reaſon the Queen had to reject their Bill, and yet fearing to fall foul upon her, in regard of the danger; they let flye at the Parliament in this manner; that is to ſay, That they ſhould be in danger of the terrible Maſs of God's Wrath, both in this life, and that to come; and that for their not abrogating the *Epiſcopal* Government, they might well hope for the Favour and Entertainment of *Moſes*, that is, the Curſe of the Law: the Favour and loving-Countenance of Jeſus Chriſt, they ſhould never ſee.

12. It may seem strange that Queen *ELIZABETH* should carry such a hard hand on her *English Puritans*, as well by severe Laws, and terrible Executions, as by excluding them from the benefit of a General Pardon; and yet protect and countenance the *Presbyterians* in all places else. But that great Monster in Nature, called *Reason of State*, is brought to plead in her defence; by which she had been drawn to aid the *French Hugonots* against their King; to supply the Rebel-*Scots* with Men, Money, Arms and Ammunition, upon all occasions; and hitherto support those of the *Belgick* Provinces, against the *Spaniard*. Now she receives these last into her protection, being reduced at that time unto great Extremities, partly by reason of the death of the Prince of *Orange*; and partly in regard of the great Successes of the Prince of *Parma*. In which extremity they offered her the Soveraignty of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *West-Friesland*; to which they frame for her an unhandsom Title, grounded on her descent from *Philippa*, Wife of *Edward* the third, Sister of *William* the third, Earl of *Heynalt*, *Holland*, &c. But she not harkning to that offer about the Soveraignty, as a thing too invidious, and of dangerous consequence; cheerfully yeelded to receive them into her protection, to raise an Army presently toward their defence, consisting of Five thousand Foot, and One thousand Horse, with Money, Ammunition, Arms, and all other necessaries; and finally, to put the same Arms so appointed, under the Command of some Person of Honour, who was to take the charge and trust of so great a Business. The Confederates, on the other side, being very prodigal of that which was none of their own, delivered into her hands the Keys of the Countrey, that is to say, the Towns of *Brill* and *Flushing*, with the Fort of *Ramekins*. And more then so, as soon as the Earl of *Leicester* came amongst them, in the Head of this Army, which most ambitiously he affected for some other Ends; they put into his hands the absolute Government of these Provinces, gave him the Title of His Excellency, and generally submitted to him with more outward cheerfulness than ever they had done to the King of *Spain*. It is not to be thought, but that the *Presbyterian* Discipline went on successfully in those Provinces, under this new Governor; who having countenanced them in *England* against the Laws, might very well afford them all his best assistances, when Law and Liberty seemed to speak in favour of it. But being there was nothing done by them, which was more than ordinary; as little more than ordinary could be done amongst them, after they had betrayed their Countrey to the Power of Strangers; We shall leave him to pursue their Warrs, and return for *England*, where we shall find the Queen of *Scots* upon the point of acting the last part of her Tragedy.

13. Concerning which, it may not be unfit to recapitulate so much of Her story as may conduct us fairly to the knowledg of her present condition. Immediately on the death of Queen *MARY*, she had taken on her self the Title and Arms of *England*; which though she did pretend to have been done by the command of her

her Husband, and promiſed to diſclaim them both in the Treaty of *Edenborough*; yet neither were the Arms obliterated in her Plate and Hangings, after the death of that Husband; nor would ſhe ever ratifie and confirm that Treaty, as had been conditioned. On this firſt grudg, Queen *ELIZABETH* furniſheth the *Scots* both with Men and Arms, to expel the *French*; affords them ſuch a meaſure both of Money and Countenance, as made them able to take the Field againſt their Queen, to take her Priſoner, to depoſe her; and finally, to compel her to forſake the Kingdom. In which Extremity, ſhe lands in *Cumberland*, and caſts her ſelf upon the favour of Queen *ELIZABETH*; by whom ſhe was firſt confined to *Carliſle*, and afterwards committed to the cuſtody of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*. Upon the death of *FRANCIS* the Second, her firſt Husband, the King of *Spain* deſigned her for a Wife to his Eldeſt Son. But the Ambition of the young Prince ſpurred him on ſo faſt, that he brake his Neck in the Career. The Duke of *Norfolk* was too great for a private Subject; of a Revenue not inferior to the Crown of *Scotland*: inſomuch that the Queen was counſelled, when ſhe came firſt to the Throne, either to take him for her Husband, or to cut him off. He is now drawn into the Snare, by being tempted to a hope of Marriage with the Captive-Queen; which *Leiceſter* and the reſt, who had moved it to him, turned to his deſtruction. Don *John* of *Auſtria*, Governour of the *Netherlands* for the King of *Spain*, had the like deſign, that by her Title he might raiſe himſelf to the Crown of *England*. To which end he recalled the *Spaniſh* Soldiers out of *Italy*, to whoſe diſmiſſion he had yeelded when he firſt came to that Government; and thereby gave Q. *ELIZABETH* a ſufficient colour to aid the Provinces againſt him. But his aſpirings coſt him deer; for he fell ſoon after. The *Guiſards* and the Pope had another project, which was, To place her firſt on the Throne of *England*, and then to find an Husband of ſufficient Power to maintain her in it. For the effecting of which Project, the Pope commiſſionated his Prieſts and Jeſuits; and the *Guiſards* employed their Emiſſaries of the *Engliſh* Nation, by Poyſon, Piſtol, open Warr, or ſecret practiſes, to deſtroy the one, that ſo they might advance the other to the Regal Diadem.

14. With all theſe Practiſes and Deſigns, it was conceived that the Impriſoned Queen could not be ignorant; and many ſtrong preſumptions were diſcovered to convict her of it: Upon which grounds, the Earl of *Leiceſter* drew the form of an *Aſſociation*, by which he bound himſelf, and as many others as ſhould enter into it, *To make enquiry againſt all ſuch perſons as ſhould attempt to invade the Kingdom, or raiſe Rebellion, or ſhould attempt any evil againſt the Queen's Perſon, to do her any manner of hurt, from, or by whomſoever that layed any claim to the Crown of England. And that, that Perſon by whom, or for whom they ſhall attempt any ſuch thing, ſhall be altogether uncapable of the Crown, ſhall be deprived of all manner of Right thereto, and perſecuted to the death by all the Queen's Loyal Subjects, in caſe they ſhall be found guilty of any ſuch Invaſion, Re-*

bellion, or Treason, and should be so publickly declared. Which Band or Association, was confirmed in the Parliament of this year, ending the 29*th* of *March*, *Ann.* 1585, exceedingly extolled for an Act of Piety, by those very men who seemed to abominate nothing more, than the like Combination made not long before between the Pope, the *Spaniard*, and the House of *Guise*, called the *Holy League*; which League was made for maintenance of the Religion then established in the Realm of *France*, and the excluding of the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the rest of the House of *Bourbon*, from their succession to the Crown, as long as they continued Enemies to that Religion. The Brethren in this case not unlike the *Lamiæ*, who are reported to have been stone-blind when they were at home, but more than Eagle-sighted when they went abroad. But that they might not trust to their own strength only, Queen *ELIZABETH* tyes the *French* King to her, by investing him with the Robes and Order of St. *George*, called the Garter: She draws the King of *Scots* to unite himself unto her in a League Offensive and Defensive against all the World; and under colour of some danger to Religion by that *Holy League*; she brings all the Protestant Princes of *Germany* to confederate with her.

15. And now the Queen of *Scots* is brought to a publick Tryal, accelerated by a new Conspiracy of *Babington*, *Tichborn*, and the rest; in which nothing was designed without her privity. And it is very strange to see how generally all sorts of people did contribute toward her destruction; the *English* Protestants, upon an honest apprehension of the Dangers to which the Person of their Queen was subject by so many Conspiracies: the *Puritans*, for fear lest she should bring in *Popery* again, if she came to the Crown: the *Scots*, upon the like conceit of over-throwing their Presbyteries, and ruinating the whole *Machina* of their Devices, if ever she should live to be Queen of *England*. The Earl of *Leicester* and his Faction in the Court, had their Ends apart; which was, To bring the Imperial Crown of this Realm, by some means or other, into the Family of the *Dudley's*. His Father had before designed it, by marrying his Son *Guilford* with the Lady *Jane*, descended from the younger Sister of K. *HENRY* the Eighth. And he projects to set it on the Head of the Earl of *Huntington*, who had married his Sister, and looked upon himself as the direct Heir of *George* Duke of *Clarence*. And that they might not want a Party of sufficient strength to advance their Interest, they make themselves the Heads of the *Puritan* Faction; the Earl of *Leicester* in the Court, and the Earl of *Huntingdon* in the Countrey. For him, he obtaineth of the Queen the command of the *North*, under the Title of *Lord President of the Councel in York*, to keep out the *Scots*: and for himself, the Conduct of the *English* Armies which served in the Low-Countreys, to make sure of all. He takes a course also to remove the Imprisoned Queen from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and commits her to the custody of *Paulet*, and *Drury*, two notorious *Puritans*, though neither of them were so base as to serve his turn, when he practised on them to assassinate her in a private

vate way. I take no pleasure in recounting the particulars of that Horrid Act, by which a Soveraign Queen, lawfully Crowned and Anointed, was brought to be arraigned before the Subjects of her neareſt Kinſwoman, or how ſhe was convicted by them; what Artifices were deviſed to bring her to the fatal Block; or what diſſimulations practiſed to palliate and excuſe that Murther.

16. All I ſhall note particularly in this woful ſtory, is the behaviour of the *Scots*, (I mean the *Presbyters*) who being required by the King to recommend her unto God in their publick Prayers, refuſed moſt unchriſtianly ſo to do, except only *David Lindeſay* at *Leith*, and the King's own Chaplains. And yet the Form of Prayer preſcribed, was no more than this, *That it might pleaſe God to illuminate her with the Light of his Truth, and ſave her from the apparent danger wherein ſhe was caſt.* On which default, the King appointed ſolemn Prayers to be made for her in *Edenborough*, on the third of *February*; and nominates the Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews* to perform that Office. Which being underſtood by the Miniſters, they ſtirred up one *John Cooper*, a bold young man, and not admitted into Orders, of their own conferring to invade the Pulpit, before the Biſhop had an opportunity to take the place: Which being noted by the King, he commanded him to come down, and leave the Pulpit to the Biſhops, as had been appointed; or otherwiſe, to perform the Service which the Day required. To which the ſawcy Fellow anſwered, That he would do therein *according as the Spirit of God ſhould direct him in it.* And then perceiving that the Captain of the Guard was coming to remove him thence, he told the King with the ſame impudence as before, *That this day ſhould be a witneſs againſt him in the Great Day of the Lord*: And then denouncing a Wo to the Inhabitants of *Edenborough*, he went down; and the Biſhop of St. *Andrews* entring the Pulpit, did the Duty required. For which intollerable Affront, *Cooper* was preſently commanded to appear before the Lords of the Council, and he took with him *Watſon* and *Belcanqual*, two of the Preachers of *Edenborough*, for his two Supporters: Where they behaved themſelves with ſo little reverence, that the two Miniſters were diſcharged from preaching in *Edenborough*, and *Cooper* was ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Blackneſs*. But ſo unable was the King to bear up againſt them, that having a great deſire that *Montgomery*, Arch-biſhop of *Glaſgow*, might be abſolved from the Cenſures under which he lay, he could no otherwiſe obtain it, than by releaſing this *Cooper*, together with *Gibſon* before-mentioned, from their preſent Impriſonment: which, though it were yeelded to by the King, upon condition that *Gibſon* ſhould make ſome acknowledgment of his Offence in the face of the Church; yet, after many triflings, and much tergiverſation, he took his flight into *England*, where he became a uſeful Inſtrument in the Holy Cauſe.

17. For ſo it was, that notwithſtanding the Promiſe made to Arch-biſhop *Whitgift*, by *Leiceſter*, *Walſingham*, and the reſt, as before is ſaid, they gave ſuch encouragements under-hand to the

Presbyterians, that they resolved to proceed toward the putting of the Discipline in execution, though they received small countenance in it from the Queen and Parliament. Nor were those great Persons altogether so unmindful of them, as not to entertain their Clamours, and promote their Petitions at the Council-Table, crossing and thwarting the Arch-bishop whensoever any Cause which concerned the Brethren, had been brought before them. Which drew from him several Letters to the Lords of the Council, each syllable whereof, (for the great Piety and Modesty which appears in them) deserves to have been written in Letters of Gold. Now the sum of these Letters, as they are laid together by Sir *George Paul*, is as followeth.

18. "God knows, (saith he) how desirous I have been from time "to time, to have my doings approved by my ancient and honou- "rable Friends: for which cause, since my coming to this place, I "have done nothing of importance against these Sectaries, without "good Advice. I have risen up early, and sate up late, to yeeld "Reasons, and make Answer to their Contentions, and their Sedi- "tious Objections. And shall I now say, I have lost my labour? "Or, shall my just dealing with disobedient and irregular persons, "cause my former professed and ancient Friends to hinder my just "proceedings, and make them speak of my doings, yea, and of my "self, what they list? *Solomon* saith, *An old Friend is better than "a new*: I trust those that love me indeed, will not so lightly cast "off their old Friends, for any of these new-fangled and factious "Sectaries, whose fruits are to make division, and to separate old "and assured Friends. In my own private Affairs, I know I shall "stand in need of Friends; but in these publick Actions, I see no "cause why I should seek any, seeing they to whom the care of the "Commonwealth is committed, ought of duty therein to joyn with "me. And if my honourable Friends shall forsake me, (especially "in so good a Cause) and not put their helping-hand to the redress "of these Enormities, (being indeed a matter of State, and not of "the least moment) I shall think my coming unto this Place to have "been for my punishment; and my hap very hard, that when I think "to deserve best; and, in a manner, consume my self to satisfie that "which God, Her Majesty, and the Church, requireth of me, I "should be evilly rewarded. *Sed meliora spero.* It is objected, by "some, that my desire of Uniformity, by way of Subscription, is "for the better maintenance of my Book. They are mine Enemies "that say so; but I trust my Friends have a better opinion of me. "Why should I seek for any confirmation of my Book, after twelve "years approbation? Or what shall I get thereby, more than al- "ready I have? Yet, if Subscription may confirm it, it is confirmed "long ago, by the Subscription of almost all the Clergy of *England*, "before my time. Mine Enemies' likewise, and the slanderous "Tongues of this uncharitable Sect, report that I am revolted, be- "come a *Papist*, and I know not what. But it proceedeth from their "Leudness, and not from any desert of mine.

19. I

19. "I am further burthened with Wilfulneſs: I hope my Friends "are better perſwaded of me, to whoſe Conſciences I appeal. It is "ſtrange that a man of my place, dealing by ſo good a warrant as I "do, ſhould be ſo encountred; and, for not yeelding, counted Wilful. "But I muſt be content, *Vincit qui patitur*. There is a difference be-"twixt Wilfulneſs and Conſtancy. I have taken upon me, by the "Place which I hold under Her Majeſty, the defence of the Reli-"gion and the Rites of the Church of *England*, to appeaſe the "Schiſms and Sects therein, to reduce all the Miniſters thereof to "Uniformity, and to due Obedience, and not to waver with every "wind; which alſo, my Place, my Perſon, the Laws, Her Majeſty, "and the goodneſs of the Cauſe, do require of me; and wherein "the Lords of Her Highneſs Privy Council, (all things conſidered) "ought in duty to aſſiſt and countenance me. But, How is it poſſi-"ble that I ſhould perform what I have undertaken, after ſo "long Liberty and lack of Diſcipline, if a few perſons ſo meanly "qualified, (as moſt of theſe Factious Sectaries are) ſhould be coun-"tenanced againſt the whole ſtate of the Clergy, of greateſt ac-"count both for Learning, Years, Stayedneſs, Wiſdom, Religion, "and Honeſty; and open Breakers and Impugners of the Law, "young in Years, proud in Conceit, contentious in Diſpoſition, "ſhould be maintained againſt their Governours, ſeeking to reduce "them to Order and Obedience? *Hæc ſunt initia Hæreticorum, & "ortus, atq; conatus Schiſmaticorum male cogitantium, ut ſibi pla-"ceant, ut præpoſitum ſuperbo tumore contemnant: ſic de Eccleſiâ re-"editur, ſic altare profanum foris collocatur, ſic contra Pacem Chriſti "& Ordinationem, atq; Veritatem Dei Rebellatur.* The firſt Fruits of "Hereticks, and the firſt Births and Endeavours of Schiſmaticks, are, "To admire themſelves, and in their ſwelling-pride to contemn any "that are ſet over them. Thus do men fall from the Church of God; "thus is a Forreign Unhallowed Altar erected; and thus is Chriſt's "Peace, and God's Ordination and Unity, rebelled againſt.

20. "For my own part, I neither have done, nor do any thing in "theſe matters, which I do not think my ſelf in Conſcience and Du-"ty bound to do, and which Her Majeſty hath not with earneſt "Charge committed unto me, and which I am not well able to ju-"ſtifie to be moſt requiſite for this Church and State; whereof, "next to Her Majeſty, (though moſt unworthy, if not moſt unhap-"py) the chief Care is committed to me; which I will not (by the "Grace of God) neglect, whatſoever come upon me there-for. "Neither may I endure their notorious Contempts, unleſs I will "become *Æſop*'s Block; and undo all that which hitherto hath been "done. It is certain, that if way be given unto them, upon their "unjuſt Surmiſes and Clamours, it will be the cauſe of that confu-"ſion which hereafter the State will be ſorry for. I neither care for "the honour of this Place I hold, (which is *onus* unto me) nor the "largeneſs of the Revenue, neither any Worldly thing (I thank "God) in reſpect of doing my duty; neither do I fear the diſplea-"ſure of man, nor the evil Tongue of the uncharitable, who call

me

"me Tyrant, Pope, Knave, and lay to my charge things that I never "did or thought. *Scio enim hoc eſſe opus Diaboli, ut ſervos Dei mendaciis "laceret, & opinionibus falſis glorioſum nomen infamet; ut, qui Con-"ſcientiæ ſuæ luce clareſcunt, alienis Rumoribus ſordidentur*: For I "know, that this is the work of that Accuſer the Devil, that he may "tear in pieces the Servants of God with Lyes, that he may diſho-"nour their glorious Name, with falſe ſurmiſes, that they who "through the clearneſs of their own Conſciences are ſhining "bright, may have the filth of other men's ſlanders caſt upon them. "So was *Cyprian* himſelf uſed, and other godly Biſhops, to whom I "am not comparable. But that which moſt of all grieveth me, and "is to be wondered at and lamented, is, That ſome of thoſe who "give countenance to theſe men, and cry out for a Learned Mini-"ſtry, ſhould watch their opportunity, and be Inſtruments and "Means to place moſt unlearned men in the chiefeſt Places and Li-"vings of the Miniſtry, thereby to make the ſtate of the Biſhops "and Clergy contemptible, and, I fear, ſalable. This Hypocriſie "and Diſſembling with God and Man, (in pretending one thing, "and doing another) goeth to my heart, and maketh me think, "that God's Judgments are not far off. The day will come, when "all mens hearts ſhall be opened. In the mean time, I will depend "upon Him who never faileth thoſe that put their truſt in Him.

21. It may be gathered from this Abſtract, what a hard Game that Reverend Prelate had to play, when ſuch great Maſters in the Art, held the Cards againſt him: For at that time the Earls of *Huntington* and *Leiceſter*, *Walſingham* Secretary of Eſtate, and *Knolls* Comptroller of the Houſhold (a profeſſed *Genevian*), were his open Adverſaries; *Burleigh*, a Neutral at the beſt; and none but *Hatton* (then Vicechamberlain, and afterwards Lord Chancellor) firmly for him. And him he gained but lately neither; but gained him at the laſt by the means of Dr. *Richard Bancroft*, his Domeſtick Chaplain, of whom we ſhall have cauſe to ſpeak more hereafter. By his procurement he was called to the Council-Table, at ſuch time as the Earl of *Leiceſter* was in *Holland*; which put him into a capacity of going more confidently on (without checks or croſſes, as before) in the Church's Cauſe. A thing which *Leiceſter* very much ſtomacked at his coming back; but knowing it was the Queen's pleaſure, he diſguiſed his trouble, and appeared fair to him in the publick, though otherwiſe he continued his former Favours to the *Puritan* Faction. Sure of whoſe countenance, upon the perfecting and publiſhing of the Book of Diſcipline, they reſolved to put the ſame in practiſe in moſt parts of the Realm, as they did accordingly. But it was no where better welcome, than it was in *London*, the Wealth and Pride of which City, was never wanting to cheriſh and ſupport thoſe men which moſt apparently oppoſed themſelves to the preſent Authority, or practiſed the introducing of Innovations, both in Church and State. The ſeveral Churches, or Conventicles rather, which they had in that City, they reduced into one great

great and general Classis, of which *Cartwright*, *Egerton*, or *Traverse*, were for the most part Moderators; and whatsoever was there ordered, was esteemed for current: from thence the Brethren of other places did fetch their light; and as doubts did arise, thither they were sent to be resolved; the Classical and Synodical Decrees of other places, not being Authentical indeed, till they were ratified in this, which they held the Supreme Consistory and chief Tribunal of the Nation. But in the Countrey, none appeared more forward than they did in *Northampton-shire*, which they divide into three *Classes*; that is to say, the Classis of *Northampton*, *Daventry*, and *Kettring*: and the device forthwith is taken up in most parts of *England*, but especially in *Warwick-shire*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Essex*, &c. In these *Classes*, they determined in points of Doctrine, interpreted hard places of Scripture, delivered their Resolution in such Cases of Conscience as were brought before them, decided Doubts and Difficulties touching Contracts of Marriage. And whatsoever was concluded by such as were present (but still with reference to the better judgment of the *London*-Brethren) became forthwith binding to the rest; none being admitted into any of the aforesaid *Classes*, before he hath promised under his hand, That he would submit himself, and be obedient unto all such Orders and Decrees as are set down by the Classis to be observed. At these Classes they enquired into the Life and Doctrine of all that had subscribed unto them; censuring some, deposing others, as they saw occasion; in nothing more severe, than in censuring those who had formerly used the Cross in Baptism, or otherwise had been conformable to the Rules of the Church. And unto every Classis there belonged a Register, who took the Heads of all that passed, and saw them carefully entred in a Book for that purpose, that they might remain upon Record.

22. It may seem strange, that in a constituted Church, backed by Authority of Law, and countenanced by the Favour of the Supreme Magistrate; a distinct Government or Discipline should be put in practise in contempt of both: but more, that they should deal in such weighty matters as were destructive of the Government by Law established. Some Questions had before been started at a Meeting in *Cambridg*, the final decision whereof, was thought fit to be referred to the *Classis* of *Warwick*, where *Cartwright* governed as the perpetual Moderator: And they accordingly assembling on the tenth day of the fourth Month, (for so they phrased it) did then and there determine in this manner follow: 'That private Baptism is 'unlawful: That it is not lawful to read Homilies in the Church: and 'that the sign of the Cross is not to be used in Baptism: That the 'Faithful ought not to communicate with unlearned Ministers, al'though they may be present at their Service, in case they come of 'purpose to hear a Sermon (the reading of the Service being look'ed on as a Lay-man's Office): That the Calling of Bishops, &c. is 'unlawful: That, as they deal in Causes Ecclesiastical, there is no duty 'belonging to them, nor any publickly to be given them: That it is not 'lawful to be ordained by them into the Ministry, or to denounce 'either Suspensions or Excommunications sent by their Authority: that

'it is not lawful for any man to reſt in the Biſhop's deprivation of 'him from his Charge, except upon conſultation it ſeem good un- 'to his Flock and the Neighbouring-Miniſters; but that he continue 'in the ſame, until he be compelled to the contrary by Civil Force. 'That it is not lawful to appear in a Biſhop's Court, but with a Pro- 'teſtation of their unlawfulneſs. That Biſhops are not to be ac- 'knowledged either for Doctors, Elders, or Deacons, as having no 'ordinary Calling in the Church of Chriſt. That touching the re- 'ſtauration of the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, it ought to be taught to 'the people (*datâ occaſione*) as occaſion ſhould ſerve; and that as 'yet the people are not to be ſollicited publickly to practiſe the 'Diſcipline, till they be better inſtructed in the knowledg of it. And 'finally, That men of better underſtanding are to be allured pri- 'vately to the preſent allowing the Diſcipline, and the practiſe of 'it, as far as they ſhall be well able with the *Peace of the Church*.

23. But here we are to underſtand, That this laſt Caution was ſubjoined in the cloſe of all; not that they had a care of the *Church*'s *Peace*, but that they were not of ſufficient ſtrength to diſturb the ſame, without drawing ruine on themſelves; which ſome of the more hot-headed Brethren were reſolved to hazzard: of which they had ſome loſs this year, by the Impriſonment of *Barrow*, *Greenwood*, *Billet*, *Boudler*, and *Studley*; who building on their Principles, and following the Example of *Robert Brown*, before remembred, had brake out into open Schiſm, when their more cunning Brethren kept themſelves within the Pale of the Church. But theſe we only touch at now, leaving the further proſecution of them to a fitter place: Suffice it, that their preſent ſufferings did ſo little moderate the heats of ſome fiery ſpirits, that they reſolved to venture all for the Holy Diſcipline, as appears by *Pain*'s Letter unto *Feild*: *Our zeal to Gods Glory* (ſaith he), *our love to his Church, and the due planting of the ſame in this For-headed Age, ſhould be ſo warm and ſtirring in us, as not to care what adventure we give, or what cenſures we abide, &c. For otherwiſe, the Diabolical boldneſs of the Jeſuits and Seminaries, will cover our faces with ſhame*, &c. And then he adds, *It is verily more than time to regiſter the Names of the fitteſt and hotteſt Brethren round about our ſeveral dwellings, whereby to put the godly Counſel of* Specanus *in execution*, (Note, that *Specanus* was one of the firſt Presbyterian Miniſters in the *Belgick* Churches) that is to ſay, *Si quis objiciat*, &c. *If any man object, That the ſetting up the lawful practiſe of the Diſcipline in the Church, be hindred by the Civil Magiſtrate; let the Magiſtrate be freely and modeſtly admoniſhed of his duty in it; and if he eſteem to be accounted either a Godly or Chriſtian Magiſtrate, without doubt he will admit wholeſome Counſels: but if he do not, yet let him be more exactly inſtructed, that he may ſerve God in fear, and lend his Authority in defence of God's Church and his Glory. Marry if by this way there happen no good ſucceſs, then let the Miniſters of the Church execute their Office according to the appointment of Chriſt: for they muſt rather obey God than men. In which laſt point*, (ſaith *Pain*) *we have dolefully failed, which*

now

now or never ſtands us in hand to proſecute with all celerity, without lingring or ſtaying ſo long for Parliaments. But this Counſel of *Paine* being thought too raſh, in regard they could not find a ſufficient number of Brethren to make good the Action, it was thought fit to add the Caution above-mentioned. The Hundred thouſand Hands which they ſo much bragged of, were not yet in readineſs; and therefore it was wiſely ordered, That as yet the whole multitude were not to be allured publickly to the practiſe of it, until men were better inſtructed in the knowledg of ſo rare a Myſtery: Till when, it could not be ſafe for them to advance their Diſcipline in the way of force.

24. Now to prepare the people for the entertainment of ſo great a Change, it was found neceſſary in the firſt place to return an Anſwer to ſome Books which had been written in defence of *Epiſcopal* Government: and, in the next, to make the Biſhops ſeem as odious and contemptible in the eyes of their Proſelytes, as Wit and Malice could deviſe. Dr. *John Bridges*, Dean of *Sarum*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Oxford*, publiſhed a Book in the year 1587, entituled, *A Defence of the Government of the Church of* England; intended chiefly againſt *Beza*; but ſo, that it might ſerve to ſatisfie all Doubts and Cavils which had been made againſt that Government by the Engliſh *Puritans*. To which an Anſwer is returned by ſome zealous Brethren, under the Name of *A Defence of the godly Miniſters, againſt the Slanders of* Dr. Bridges. *Bridges* replies; and his Reply produceth a Rejoynder, *An.* 1588, bearing this Inſcription, viz. *A Defence of the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, againſt the Reply of Mr.* Bridges. Dr. *Some*, Maſter of *Peter-Houſe* in *Cambridg*, to check the ſawcineſs of *Penrie*, a moſt fiery *Puritan*, publiſhed a Diſcourſe at the ſame time, to detect his Follies: and preſently comes out a Libel, entituled, *Mr.* Some *laid open in his Colours*. The Brethren had been ſmart enough with Dr. *Bridges*, and might be thought to have been malepert enough with Dr. *Some*, if they had not carried themſelves with far more irreverence towards the Arch-Biſhop and the reſt of the Sacred Hierarchy: For now, in proſecution of the other part of their Deſign, which was, To make the Biſhops odious and contemptible in the eyes of their Proſelytes; four of the moſt ſeditious of all the Pack, (that is to ſay, *Penrie*, *Throgmorton*, *Udal*, and *Fenner*) lay their heads together. From which conjunction there proceeded ſuch a ſwarm of peſtiferous Libels, that the like miſchief (neither in *nature*, nor in *number*) did never exerciſe the Patience of a Chriſtian State. The Authors of them, masked under the borrowed Name of *Martin Mar-Prelate*; which Title they had taken on themſelves, not without good cauſe, as may appear unto any which have looked into theſe particulars; that is to ſay, *The Epiſtle to the Confocation-Houſe: The Epitome: The Demonſtration of Diſcipline: The Supplication: Diotrephes: Martins Minerals: Have you any work for a Cooper:* Penry's *Epiſtles ſent from* Scotland: *Theſes Martinianæ*, or *Martin Junior: The Proteſtation of Martin: Martin Senior: More Work for the Cooper: A* DIALOGUE,

ſetting forth the Tyrannical dealing of the Biſhops againſt God's Children. Read over *Dr.* Bridges, *&c.* with many others of like ſtrain, of which it is hard to ſay, whether their Malice or Uncharitableneſs had the moſt predominancy. In all which doings, *Cartwright* was either of the Council in the firſt Deſign, or without doubt a great approver of them upon the poſt-fact; and thereupon he is affirmed to have uſed theſe words, *That ſince the Biſhops lives would not amend by grave Books and Advertiſements, it was fit they ſhould be ſo dealt with to their further ſhame.*

25. For printing theſe peſtiferous Libels, they chiefly made uſe of *Walgrave*'s Preſs, which he removed from place to place, for his greater ſafety; that is to ſay, at *Moulſey*, near *Kingſton* upon *Thames*; thence to *Fauſly* in *Northampton-ſhire*, ſo to *Norton*; afterwards to *Coventry*, and ſo to *Welſtome* in *Warwick-ſhire*; and from thence, finally, to the Town of *Mancheſter*, where both the Work-men and the Preſs were ſeized on by the Earl of *Darby*, as they were Printing the bold Pamphlet, called *More Work for Cooper.* For the diſperſing of theſe Libels, they made uſe of one *Newman*, a Cobler, a Fellow fit for ſuch a buſineſs; and it had been great pity if they had employed any other Inſtrument. But for their countenance and ſupport, (eſpecially as to the bearing of their Charges) they had the Purſe of *Knightly* of *Fauſley*, (at whoſe Houſe ſome of them were Printed) being a Gentleman of good Note, but of greater Zeal, whom *Snape*, and other Leading-men of that County, had inveigled to them. But he and all the reſt might have payed deer for it, if he whom they moſt wronged, had not ſtood their Friend: For, being called into the Starr-Chamber, and there deeply Cenſured, they were upon ſubmiſſion, at the humble and moſt earneſt ſuit of the Arch-Biſhop, releaſed from their Impriſonment, and their Fines remitted. And it is worth the obſervation, That the *Puritans* were then moſt buſie, as well in ſetting up their Diſcipline, as in publiſhing theſe Railing and Seditious Pamphlets, when the *Spaniards* were hovering on the Seas with their terrible Navy. At what time they conceived, and that not improbably, that the Queen and Council would be otherwiſe buſied, than to take notice of their Practiſes, or ſuppreſs their doings; or rather, that they durſt not call them into queſtion for their Words or Actions, for fear of alienating the Affections of ſo ſtrong a Party as they had raiſed unto themſelves. The ſerious apprehenſion of which miſchievous Counſels, prevailed ſo far on *Leiceſter* and *Walſingham*, that they did abſolutely renounce any further interceſſion for them; profeſſing, That they had been horribly abuſed with their Hypocriſie; which poſſibly might happen better for themſelves, than it did for the Church; the Earl of *Leiceſter going to his own Place*, before the end of this Year; and *Walſingham* being gathered to his Fathers within Two years after.

26. I am aſhamed to rake in theſe filthy Puddles, though it be neceſſary that the bottom of the Cinque be opened, that notice may be taken of that ſtinch and putrefaction which proceeded from them.

In

In which respect I hope the *Reader* will excuse me, if I let him know, that they could find no other Title for the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, than *Belzebub* of *Canterbury*, *Pope of Lambeth*, the *Canterbury-Caiaphas*, *Esau*, *A Monstrous Antichristian Pope*, *A most bloody Opposer of God's Saints*, *A very Antichristian Beast*, *A most vile and cursed Tyrant*. They tell us further of this humble and meek-spirited man, That *no Bishop ever had such an aspiring and ambitious mind as he*; *no, not Cardinal* Wolsey: *None so proud as he*; *no, not* Stephen Gardiner *of* Winchester: *None so tyrannical as he*; *no, not* Bonner *the Butcher of* London. In general, he tells us both of Him, and the rest of the Bishops, That they are *Unlawful*, *Unnatural*, *False*, *and Bastardly Governours of the Church*, *the Ordinances of the Devil*, *Petty Popes*, *Petty Antichrists*, *Incarnate Devils*, *Bishops of the Devil*, *Cogging*, *Cozening Knaves*, *and will lye like Dogs*. That they are *Proud*, *Popish*, *Presumptuous*, *Prophane*, *Paltry*, *Pestilent*, *Pernicious Prelates and Usurpers*; *Enemies of God*, *and the most pestilent Enemies of the State*; and, *That the worst* Puritan *in* England, *is an Honester man than the best Lord Bishop in Christendom*. Nor do they speak any better of the Inferior Clergy, than they do of the Bishops; of whom they tell us in like manner, That *they are Popish Priests*, *or Monks*, *or Friars*, *or Ale-haunters*, *or Boys and Lads*, *or Drunkards and Dolts*; *That they will wear a Fool's Hood for a Living-sake*: *That they are Hogs*, *Dogs*, *Wolves*, *Foxes*, *Simoniaks*, *Usurpers*, *Proctors of Antichrist's Inventions*, *Popish Chap-men*, *halting Neutrals*, *greedy Dogs to fill their Paunches*, *a multitude of desperate and forlorn Atheists*, *a Cursed*, *Uncircumcised*, *Murthering Generation*, *a Crew or Hoop of Bloody Soul-murtherers*, *and Sacrilegious Church-Robbers*, *and Followers of Antichrist*.

27. Behold the Bishops and Clergy in their Convocation, and we shall see them termed by one of the Captains of this Crew, *Right puissant*, *poysoned*, *persecuting*, *and terrible Priests*, *Clergie-Masters of the Confocation-House*, *the Holy-League of Subscription*, *the Crew of monstrous and ungodly Wretches*, *that mingle Heaven and Earth together*: *Horned Monsters of the Conspiration-House*: *An Antichristian Swinish Rabble*, *Enemies of the Gospel*, *most covetous wretched Popish priests*, *and the Convocation-House of Devils*, *and* Belzebub *of* Canterbury *the chief of these Devils*. The like Reproaches they bestow on the Common-Prayer, of which they say, That *it is full of Corruption*; *and that many of the Contents thereof*, *are against the Word of God*; *the Sacraments wickedly mangled and prophaned therein*, *the Lord's Supper not eaten*, *but made a Pageant or Stage-play*; *and that the Form of publick Baptism*, *is full of Childish Superstitious Toys*. So that we are not to admire, if the *Brownists* please themselves in their separation from a Church so polluted and unreformed, from men so wicked and prophane, from *such a Cinque of Satan*, such a *Den of Devils*. But much less can we wonder that the Papists should make use of these horrible Slanders, not only to confirm, but encrease their Party, By shewing them, from the Pens of their greatest Adversaries, what ugly Monsters had the Govern-

ment of the Church of *England*; from what Impieties they were preserved, by not joyning with them. One, I am sure, that is, *Parsons* in his Book of *Three Conversions*, reports these Calumnies and Slanders for undoubted Truths; That *Martin Mar-Prelate* is affirmed by Sir *Edwine Sandys*, to pass in those times for unquestion'd Credit in the Court of *Rome*; his Authority much insisted on to disgrace this Church; and finally, that * *Kellison*, one of later date, doth build as much upon the Credit of these Libels, to defame the Clergy, as if they had been dictated by the same Infallible Spirit which the Pope pretends to. Such excellent Advantages did these Saints give unto the Devil, that all the *Locusts* in the *Revelation* which *came out of the Pit*, never created so much scandal to the Primitive times.

* *Appellant Episcopum* Cantiarienſem, *Pseudo-Episcopum, principem Demoniorum, Caiapham, Esaum, Monstrosum, Antichristianum Papam, & Beam; alios autem Episcopos Angliæ, degeneres, pernicioſos usurpatores, deteriores Monachis, Latrones, Lupos Episcopos Diaboli, &c.* Mason. lib. 3. cap. 16.

28. To still these Clamours, or at the least to stop the mouths of these Railing *Rabshecha's*, that so the abused people on all sides might be undeceived; as good a course was took by *Whitgift* and the rest of the Prelates, as Human Wisdom could devise. For first, A grave Discourse is published in the year next following, entituled, *An Admonition to the People of England*, in answer to the slanderous Untruths of *Martin* the Libeller: But neither this nor any other grave Refutal, would ever put them unto silence, till they were undertaken by *Tom Nash*, a man of a Sarcastical and jeering Wit; who by some Pamphlets written in the like loose way, which he called, *Pasquill*, and *Marforius*, *The Counter-Scuffle*, *Pappe with a Hatchet*, and the like; stopped their mouths for ever, none of them daring to deal further in that Commodity, when they saw what Coyn they should be paid in by so frank a Customer. Mention was made before of a sorry Pamphlet, entituled, *The Complaint of the Commons for a Preaching-Ministry*; which *Penry* seconded by another called by the Name of, A *Supplication* for Preaching in *Wales*: In both which it was intimated to all sorts of people, That the Gospel had no free passage amongst us: That there was no care taken for Preaching the Word of God for the instruction of the people; for want whereof they still remained in darkness and the shadow of death. For the decrying of which scandalous and leud suggestions, Order was given unto the Bishops to take the Names and Number of the Preachers in their several Dioceses, and to present a true and perfect Catalogue of them, in the Convocation, which was then at hand. By which Returns it will appear, That at this time when so much noise was made for want of Preaching, there were within the Realm of *England*, and the Dominion of *Wales*, no fewer than Seven thousand four hundred sixty three Preachers and Catechisers; which last may be accounted the best sort of Preachers for the instruction of the people. Of which great Number there were found to be no fewer than One hundred forty-five Doctors in Divinity, Three hundred forty eight Batchelors

lors of Divinity, Thirty one Doctors of both Laws, Twenty one Batchelors of the same; Eighteen hundred Masters in Arts, Nine hundred forty six Batchelors of Arts, and Two thousand seven hundred forty six Catechisers. So that neither the number of bare Reading-Ministers was so great, nor the want of Preaching so deplorable, in most parts of the Kingdom, as those Pamphlets made it; the Authors whereof ought rather to have magnified the Name of God for sending such a large Encrease of Labourers in his Heavenly Husbandry, as could not any where be parallel'd in so short a time; there passing no more than Thirty years between the first beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and the rendring of this Account to the Convocation.

29. And that the Parliament might receive the same satisfaction, a most excellent and judicious Sermon was Preached at St. *Paul's* Cross, on *Sunday* the ninth of *February*, being the first *Sunday* after their Assembling, by Dr. *Richard Bancroft*; being then Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, preferred within some few years after to the See of *London*, and from thence to *Canterbury*. In the performance of which Service, he selected for the Theam or Subject of his Discourse, 1 *John* 4. 1. viz. *Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God: for many false prophets are gone out into the world.* In canvasing which Text, he did so excellently set forth the false Teachers of those times in their proper colours, their Railing against Bishops, their Ambition, their Self-love, their Covetousness, and all such Motives as had spurred them on to disturb this Church, as satisfied the greatest part of that huge Congregation, touching the Practises and Hypocrisies of these holy Brethren. He also shewed on what a weak Foundation they had built their Discipline, of which no tract or footsteps could be found in the Church of Christ from the Apostles days to *Calvin*; and with what Infamy the *Aerian* Hereticks were reproached in the Primitive times, for labouring to introduce that Parity which these men designed. He further laid before them the great danger which must needs ensue, if private men should take upon them to deny or dispute such matters as had been setled in the Church by so good Authority: Against which troublesome Humour many Provisions had been made by the Canons of Councils, and the Edicts of Godly and Religious Emperors. To which he added, the necessity of requiring Subscription, in a Church well constituted, by all the Ministers of the same; which he justified by the example of *Geneva*, and the Churches of *Germany*, to be the best way to *try the spirits whether they be of God or not*, as his Text required. Next, he insisted on the excellency of the Common-Prayer-Book, applauded by the Divines of Foreign Churches; approved by *Bucer*, *Fox*, *Alesius*, the Parliaments and Convocations of this Kingdom; and after, justified by Arch-bishop *Cranmer* against the Papists; by Bishop *Ridley* against *Knox*; and by divers others: showing withall, the many gross Absurdities found in *extemporary* Prayers, to the great dishonour of God, and the shame of Religion. Hence he proceeds to justifie the Superiority of Bi-

shops,

ſhops, and the Supremacy of the Queen, together with the dangerous Practiſes and Deſigns of the Diſciplinarians, exemplified by their Proceedings in *Scotland*, and their Poſitions in *England*, of which more anon. All which particulars, with many more upon the by, he proved with ſuch evidence of demonſtration, ſuch great variety of Learning, and ſtrength of Arguments, that none of all that Party could be found to take Arms againſt them, in defence either of their leud *Doctrine*, or more ſcandalous *Uſes*. And this being done, he cloſed up all with a grave and ſerious Application, in reference to the prevalency and malignity of the preſent Humours: which wrought ſo much upon his Auditors of both Houſes of Parliament, that in the paſſing of a general Pardon at the end of the Seſſions, there was Exception *of Seditious Books, Diſturbances of Divine Service, and Offences againſt the Act of Uniformity in the Worſhip of God.*

30. And yet it is not altogether improbable, but that this Exception was made rather at the Queen's Command, or by ſome Caveat interpoſed by the Houſe of Peers, than by the ſole Advice, or any voluntary Motion of the Houſe of Commons; in which the *Puritans* at that time had a very ſtrong Party. By whoſe Endeavour, a ſmart Petition is preſented to the Lords, in the Name of the Commons, for rectifying of many things which they conceived to be amiſs in the ſtate of the Church. The whole Petition did conſiſt of Sixteen particulars, of which the firſt Six did relate to a Preaching-Miniſtry; the want of which, was much complained of in a Supplication which had been lately Printed and preſented to them; but ſuch a Supplication, as had more in it of a Factious and Seditious Libel, than of a Dutiful Remonſtrance. In the other Ten it was deſired, "1. That no Oath or Subſcription might be tendred to any "at their entrance into the Miniſtry, but ſuch as was preſcribed by "the Statutes of the Realm, and the Oath againſt corrupt Entring. "2. That they may not be troubled for omiſſion of ſome Rites or "Offices preſcribed in the Book of Common-Prayer. 3. That ſuch "as had been ſuſpended or deprived for no other offence, but only "for not ſubſcribing, might be reſtored. 4. That they may not be "called and urged to anſwer before the Officials and Commiſſaries, "but before the Biſhops themſelves. 5. That they might not be "called into the High Commiſſion, or Moot of the Dioceſs where "they lived, except for ſome notable Offence. 6. That it might be "permitted to them in every Arch-Deaconry, to have ſome com-"mon Exerciſes and Conferences amongſt themſelves, to be limited "and preſcribed by the Ordinaries. 7. That the high Cenſure of "Excommunication may not be denounced or executed for ſmall "matters: 8. Nor by Chancellors Commiſſioners or Officials, but by "the Biſhops themſelves, with the aſſiſtance of grave perſons. 9. That "Non-reſidency may be quite removed out of the Church. Or, 10. "That at leaſt, according to the Queen's Injunctions (*Art.* 44.), no "Non-reſident, having already a Licenſe or Faculty, may enjoy it, "unleſs he depute an able Curate, that may weekly Preach and Catechiſe,

Catechiſe, as was required by Her Majeſty in the ſaid Injunctions. Againſt the violence of this Torrent, Arch-biſhop *Whitgift* interpoſed both his Power and Reaſon; affirming with a ſober confidence in the H. of Peers, not only that *England* flouriſhed more at that time with able Miniſters, than ever it had done before; but that it had more able men of eminent Abilities in all parts of Learning, than the reſt of *Chriſtendom* beſides. But, finding that the Lord *Gray*, and others of that Houſe, had been made of the Party, he drew the reſt of the Biſhops to joyn with him in an humble Addreſs to Her Sacred Majeſty; in which they repreſented to Her the true eſtate of the Buſineſs, together with thoſe many Inconveniences which muſt needs ariſe to the State preſent and to come, to the Two Univerſities, to all Cathedral Churches, and the Queen Her Self, if the Commons might have had their will, though in no other Point than in that of Pluralities. All which they preſt with ſuch a Dutiful and Religious Gravity, that the Queen put an end to that Diſpute, not only for the preſent, but all Parliaments following.

31. Somewhat there muſt be in it, which might make them ſo afraid of that Subſcription which was required at their hands to the Queen's Supremacy, as well as to the Conſecration of Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, to the Liturgy, and to the Articles of Religion by Law eſtabliſhed: and therefore it will not be amiſs (as we have done already in all places elſe) to touch upon the Principles and Poſitions of our *Engliſh Puritans*, that we may ſee what Harmony and Conſent there is betwixt them and their dear Brethren of the Diſcipline in other Nations: For if we look into the Pamphlets which came out this Year, we ſhall find theſe Doctrines taught for more Sacred Truths, viz. *That if Princes do hinder them that ſeek for this Diſcipline, they are Tyrants both to the Church and Miniſters; and being ſo, may be depoſed by their Subjects. That no Civil Magiſtrate hath pre-eminence by ordinary Authority, either to determine of Church-Cauſes, or to make Eccleſiaſtical Orders and Ceremonies. That no Civil Magiſtrate hath ſuch Authority, as that without his conſent it ſhould not be lawful for Eccleſiaſtical perſons to make and publiſh Church-Orders. That they which are no Elders of the Church, have nothing to do with the Government of it. That if their Reformation be not haſtned forward by the Magiſtrate, the Subjects ought not any longer to tarry for it, but muſt do it themſelves. That there were many thouſands which deſired the Diſcipline: And, That great Troubles would enſue if it were denied them. That their Presbyteries muſt prevail: And, That if it be brought about by ſuch ways and means as would make the Biſhops hearts to ake, let them blame themſelves.* For explication of which laſt paſſage, *Martin Mar-Prelate* in his firſt Book, threatens only *fiſts*; but in the ſecond, he adviſeth the Parliament then aſſembled, *to put down Lord Biſhops, and bring in the Reformation which they looked for, whether Her Majeſty would or not.*

32. But theſe perhaps were only the Evaporations of ſome idle Heads, the Freaks of Diſcontent and Paſſion, when they were croſſed in their Deſires: Let us ſee therefore what is taught by *Thomas*

Cartwright, the very *Calvin* of the *Engliſh*; as highly magnified by *Martin*, and the reſt of that Faction, as the other was amongſt the *French*. Dr. *Harding* in his Anſwer to Biſhop *Jewel*, aſſures us, That the Office of a King is the ſame in all places, not only amongſt Chriſtians, but amongſt the Heathen. Upon which Premiſes he concludes, That a Chriſtian Prince hath no more to do in deciding of Church-matters, or in making Ceremonies and Orders for the ſame, than hath a Heathen. *Cartwright* affirms himſelf to be of the ſame opinion; profeſſing ſeriouſly his diſlike of all ſuch Writers as put a difference between the Rights of a Prophane and a Chriſtian Magiſtrate. *Specanus*, a ſtiff *Presbyterian* in the *Belgick* Provinces, makes a diſtinction between *poteſtas Facti*, and *poteſtas Juris*; and then infers upon the ſame, That the Authority of determining what is fit to be done, belongs of right unto the Miniſters of the Church, though the execution of the Fact in Civil Cauſes, doth properly appertain to the Supreme Magiſtrate. And more than this, the greateſt Clerks amongſt themſelves would not give the Queen, If ſhe aſſume unto Her ſelf the exerciſe of Her farther Power, in ordering Matters of the Church according to the lawful Authority which is inherent in the Crown, She ſhall preſently be compared unto all the wicked Kings, and others, of whom we read in the Scriptures; that took upon them, unlawfully to intrude themſelves into the Prieſt's Office; as unto *Saul*, for his offering of Sacrifice; unto *Oſias* for burning Incenſe upon the Altar; unto *Gideon*, for making of an *Ephod*: and finally, to *Nadab* and *Abihu*, for offering with ſtrange fire unto the Lord.

33. According to theſe Orthodox and ſound Reſolves, they hold a Synod in St. *John's* Colledg in *Cambridg*, taking the opportunity of *Sturbridg*-Fayr, to cloak their meeting for that purpoſe. At which Synod (*Cartwright* and *Perkins* being preſent amongſt the reſt) the whole Book-Diſcipline, reviewed by *Traverſe*, and formally approved of by the Brethren in their ſeveral Claſſes, received a more Authentick approbation: inſomuch, that firſt it was decreed amongſt them, That all which would might ſubſcribe unto it, without any neceſſity impoſed upon them ſo to do. But not long after, it was made a matter neceſſary, ſo neceſſary, as it ſeems that no man could be choſen to any Eccleſiaſtical Office amongſt them, nor to be of any of their Aſſemblies, either Claſſical, Provincial, or National, till he had firſt ſubſcribed to the Book of Diſcipline. Another *Synod* was held at *Ipſwich*, not long after, and the Reſults of both confirmed in a Provincial and National Synod held in *London*, which gave the Book of Diſcipline a more ſure eſtabliſhment than an Act of State. It is reported, that the night before the great Battel in the Fields of *Theſſaly*, betwixt *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, the *Pompeyan* Party was ſo confident of their good ſucceſs, that they caſt Dice amongſt themſelves for all the great Offices and Magiſtracies of the City of *Rome*, even to the Office of the Chief-Prieſt-hood, which then *Cæſar* held. And the like vanity or infatuation had poſſeſſed theſe men, in the opinion which they had of their

their Strength and Numbers: Insomuch that they entred into this consideration, how Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Chancellors, Deans, Cannons, Arch-Deacons, Commissaries, Registers, Apparitors, &c. (all which, by their pretended Reformation, must have been thrust out of their Livings) should be provided for, that the Commonwealth might not be thereby pestered with Beggars. And this they did upon the confidence of some unlawful Assistance to effect their purposes, if neither the Queen, nor the Lords of the Council, nor the Inferior Magistrates in their several Counties (all which they now sollicited with more heat than ever) should co-operate with them. For about this time it was, that *Cartwright* in his Prayer before his Sermon, was noted to have used these words, viz. *Because they* (meaning the Bishops) *which ought to be Pillars in the Church, combine themselves against Christ and his Truth; therefore, O Lord, give us Grace and Power, all, as one man, to set our selves against them.* Which words he used frequently to repeat, and to repeat with such an earnestness of spirit, as might sufficiently declare that he had a purpose to raise Sedition in the State, for the imposing of that Discipline on the Church of *England*, which was not likely to be countenanced by any lawful Authority; which put the Queen to a necessity of calling him, and all the rest of them, to a better account; to which they shall be brought in the years next following.

33. In the mean time we must pass over into *France*, where we find *HENRY* the Third, the last King of the House of *Valoise*, most miserably deprived of his Life and Kingdom; driven out of *Paris* first by the *Guisian* Faction; and afterwards assassinated by *Jaques Clement*, a Dominican Fryar, as he lay at St. *Cloud*, attending the reduction of that stubborn City. Upon whose death the Crown descended lineally on *HENRY* of *Bourbon*, King of *Navarre*, and Duke of *Vendosme*, as the next Heir-male: For the excluding of which Prince, and the rest of that House, the *Holy League* was first contrived, as before is said. There was at that time in the late King's Army, a very strong Party of *French Catholicks*, who had preferred their Loyalty to their Natural Prince, before the private Interest and Designs of the House of *Guise*; and now generally declare in favour of the true Successor. By their Assistance, and the concurring-Forces of the *Hugonot*-Faction, it had been no hard matter for him to have Mastered the Duke of *Maine*, who then had the Command of the *Guisian Leagues*. But in the last he found himself deceived of his expectation. The *Hugonots*, which formerly had served with so much cheerfulness under his Command their King, would not now serve him in his just and lawful Warrs against his Enemies: Or, if they did, it shall be done upon Conditions so intolerable, that he might better have pawned his Crown to a Forreign Prince, than on such terms to buy the favour of his Subjects. They looked upon him as reduced to a great necessity; most of the Provinces, and almost all the Principal Cities, having before engaged against *HENRY* the Third, and many others falling off

when they heard of his death. So that they thought the new King was not able to subsist without them; and they resolved to work their own Ends out of that Necessity. Instead of leading of their Armies, and running cheerfully and couragiously towards his defence, who had so oft defended them, they sent Commissioners or Delegates to negotiate with him, that they may know to what Conditions he would yeeld for their future advantage, before they acted any thing in order to his preservation: and their Conditions were so high, so void of all Respects of Loyalty, and even common Honesty, that he conceived it safer for him, and far more honourable in it self, to cast himself upon the Favour of the Queen of *England*, than condescend to their unreasonable and unjust demands. So that, in fine, the *Hugonots*, to a very great number, forsook him most disloyally in the open Field, drew off their Forces, and retired to their several dwellings, inforcing him to the necessity of imploring succours from the professed Enemies of his Crown and Nation. Nor did he find the Queen unwilling to supply him both with Men and Money on his first desires. For which She had better reason now, than when She aided him and the rest of the *French Hugonots*, in their former Quarrels. And this She did with such a cheerful openness both of Heart and Hand, as did not only make him able to keep the Field, but to gain ground on the untractable and insulting Rebels. Which when the *Hugonots* observed, and saw that he was like enough to do well without them, they then came freely to his aid, and were content to take such terms as he pleased to give them.

1587. 34. And now again we are for *Scotland*, where we shall find the King's Affairs grown from bad to worse. We left him in a great vexation, for not being able to prevail in any thing in behalf of *Montgomery*, unless he relinquished his pursuit against *Gibson* and *Cooper*. For so it was, that he must do and suffer more than he had done hitherto, before he could give himself any hopes of living peaceably amongst them. A Parliament is therefore summoned to be held at *Edenborough*, in the end of *July*: In which he was contented to pass some Acts for ratifying all Laws made in his Minority, in favour of the Kirk of *Scotland*, for trying and censuring the Adversaries of true Religion; as also, for the punishing of such as did menace or invade the Ministers. But that which gave them most content, was an Act of Parliament for Annexing of all the Temporalties of Bishopricks, Abbeys, and other Religious Houses, which had not otherwise been disposed of to the Crown of that Realm; which they promoted under colour of improving the Royal Patrimony, that the King might have Means to bear forth the Honour of his Estate, and not trouble his Subjects with Taxations; but in plain truth, to overthrow the Calling and Estate of Bishops, which they presumed that no man of Quality would accept, when the Lands were aliened. And this the King was the more willing to consent to, in regard that he had been perswaded by some about him, That the Episcopal Houses being reserved out of that Grant, together

gether with the Tythes of the Churches formerly annexed to their Benefices, would be sufficient to maintain their Dignity in some fit proportion. But the King soon found himself abused: For the rest of the Temporalties which formerly had been disposed of amongst the Laity, being setled and confirmed upon them in the present Parliament, there remained so little to the Crown by this Annexation, as left him nothing behind, but the envy of so high a Sacriledg, the gain and benefit whereof was injoyed by others. And of that little which remained unto him by the Annexation, he received very small contentment, most of it being squandered away by some begging Courtiers till he had left himself unable to reward or gratifie a deserving Minister. But this he did not find till it was too late; though the disease was past all remedy, had he found it sooner. But what he could not do himself when he lived in *Scotland*, he first commended to the doing of his Son Prince *Henry*, in his Book called *Basilicon Doron*; and after lived to see it remedied, in part, when he reigned in *England*.

35. There hapned also a Dispute in the present Parliament, betwixt the Ministers of the Kirk, and such of the Gentry as formerly had possessed themselves of Abbeys and Priories, and thereby challenged to themselves a place in Parliament: Concerning which we are to know, that most of the Monasteries and Religious Houses, had been founded upon Tythes and Impropriations, though not without some good proportion of Demesnes, which were laid unto them. But when the *Scots* were set upon the humour of Reformation, and set upon it in a way which shewed them rather to proceed upon private Ends, than the publick Interest of Religion; the principal men amongst them seized on all which they could lay hands on, and after kept it to themselves by no better Title than that of the first Usurpation only, and no more than so. Some of the Bishops and Abbots also, seeing how things were like to go, and that the Church's Patrimony was not like to hold in the same Successions which had conveyed it unto them, dismembred the best Tythes and Mannors from them, or otherwise resigned the whole to the hands of such as appeared most able to protect them. And so it stood, till *Murrey* was made Regent of the Realm in the King's first Infancy; who did not only wink at those Usurpations, (the questioning whereof would most infallibly have estranged the Occupants from adhering to him) but suffered many of the Layards and Gentlemen to invade the Tythes, which had not formerly been appropriated to Religious Houses, and to annex them to the rest of their own Estates. By means whereof, some of them were possessed of six, ten, twelve, or twenty Tythings, united into one Estate, as they lay most convenient for them. The Ministers being put off with beggerly stipends, amounting in few places to ten pounds *per annum* of good *English* money. These, with the rest, they called the *Lords of new erection*; and they did Lord it over the poor people with pride and tyranny enough: For, neither would they suffer the Occupant or Land-holder to carry away his nine parts of the Fruits, till they

they had taken off their Tenth; and sometimes out of spight, or self-will, or any other pessant humour, would suffer their tenth part to lye at waste in the open Field, that the poor Labourer of the Earth might suffer the more damage by it. But that which did most grieve the Ministers in the present exigent, was, That such Lairds and Gentlemen as had robbed the Church, and plumed their own Nests with the Feathers of it, should sit and vote in Parliament as Spiritual Persons, and they themselves be quite excluded from those publick Councils. A great heat hereupon was struck in the present Session, by *Pont* and *Lindsey*, commissionated by the Kirk for that employment; who openly propounded, in the Name of the Kirk, That the said pretended Prelates might be removed at the present, and disabled for the time to come, to sit in Parliament, as having no Authority from the Church, and most of them no Function or Calling in it. *Bruce*, Commendator of *Kinloss*, was chosen for the mouth of the rest; and he appeared so strongly in it, that the Petition of the Ministers was referred to the Lords of the Articles, and by them rejected; though afterwards they had their Ends in it, by a following Parliament.

36. Being made secure from any further fear of Bishops, by reason of the Poor Submission which was made by *Montgomery*, and the annexing of Arch-bishops Lands to the Royal Patrimony; the Ministers became more insolent and imperious than they had been formerly; and in that jolly humour they so vexed and terrified him, that he could find no other way in point of King-craft, to preserve himself against their insolences and attempts, but by giving some encouragement to the Popish party. The exercise whereof brought out many Priests and Jesuits; some of them more particularly to negotiate in behalf of the King of *Spain*, who was then a setting forward his great *Armada*. But the King well knowing of what consequence that imployment was, and how destructive of his Interest to the Crown of *England*, commanded them by publick Proclamation to avoid the Kingdom. But withal gave them day till the last of *January*, that they might not complain of being taken unprovided: Which small Indulgence so offended the unquiet brethren, that they called a number of Noble-men, Barons, and Commissioners of *Burgly* (without so much as asking the King's leave in it) to meet at *Edenborough* on the sixt of *February*, to whom they represented the Churches dangers, and thereupon agreed to go all together in a full body to the Court, to attend the King; to the end that by the terror of so great a company, they might work him to their own desires. But the King hearing of their purpose, refused to give access to so great a multitude; but signified withall that he was ready to give audience unto some few of them which should be chosen by the rest. But this affront the King was forced to put up also, to pass by the unlawfulness of that Convention, to acknowledg their grievances to be just, and to promise a redress thereof in convenient time. Which drew him into Action against *Maxwel* and some others of the Popish Lords and for the same received the publick thanks of the next Assembly,

that

that being no ordinary favour in them; and was so far gratified withall, as to be suffered to take Mr. *Patrick Galloway* from his Charge in *Perth*, to be one of the Preachers at the Court. Of which particular I had perhaps took little notice, but that we are to hear more of him on some other occasion.

37. The next fine pranck they plaid, relates to the Crowning of Queen *Ann*, with whom the King landed out of *Denmark* at the Port of *Leith*, on the 20*th*. of *May* 1590. and designed her Coronation on the morrow after. None of the Bishops being at hand, the King was willing to embrace the opportunity to oblige the Kirk, by making choice of one of their own Brethren, to perform that Ceremony; to which he nominated Mr. *Robert Bruce*, a Preacher at *Edenborough*, and one of the most moderate men in a whole Assembly. But when the fitness of it came to be examined by the rest of the Brethren, it was resolved to pretermit the Unction (or Annointing of Her) as a *Jewish* Ceremony, abolished by Christ, restored into Christian Kingdoms by the Pope's Authority, and therefore not to be continued in a Church Reformed. The Doubt first started by one *John Davinson*, who had then no Charge in the Church, though followed by a Company of ignorant and seditious people, whom *Andrew Melvin* set on work to begin the Quarrel, and then stood up in his defence to make it good. Much pains was taken to convince them by the Word of God, That the Unction, or Annointing of Kings, was no *Jewish* Ceremony: but *Melvin*'s Will was neither to be ruled by Reason, nor subdued by Argument; and he had there so strong a Party, that it passed in the Negative. Insomuch that *Bruce* durst not proceed in the Solemnity, for fear of the Censures of the *Kirk*. The King had notice of it, and returns this word, That if the Coronation might not be performed by *Bruce*, with the wonted Ceremonies, he would stay till the coming of the Bishops, of whose readiness to conform therein, he could make no question. Rather than so, said *Andrew Melvin*, let the Unction pass: better it was that a Minister should perform that honourable Office, in what Form soever, than that the Bishops should be brought again unto the Court upon that occasion. But yet, unwilling to prophane himself by consenting to it, he left them to agree about it, as to them seemed best; and he being gone, it was concluded by the major part of the Voices, That the Annointing should be used. According whereunto, the Queen was Crowned and Annointed on the Sunday following, with the wonted Ceremonies, but certainly with no great State; there being so short an interval betwixt Her Landing, and the appointed day of Her Coronation.

38. It was not long before, that they had a quarrel with the Lords of the Session, touching the Jurisdiction of their several Courts; but now the Assembly would be held for the chief Tribunal. One *Graham* was conceived to have suborned a publick Notary to forge an Instrument, which the Notary confessed on Examination, to have been brought to him ready drawn, by one 1591.

of

of the ſaid *Graham*'s Brethren. *Graham* enraged thereat, enters an Action againſt *Sympſon*, the Miniſter of *Sterling*, as one who had induced the man, by ſome ſiniſter Practiſes, to make that Confeſſion. The Action being entred, and the Proceſs formed, *Sympſon* complains to the Aſſembly, and they give Order unto *Graham* to appear before them, to anſwer upon the ſcandal raiſed on one of their Brethren. *Graham* appears, and tells them, That he would make good his Accuſation before competent Judges, which he conceived not them to be. And they replyed, That he muſt either ſtand to their judgment in it, or elſe be cenſured for the ſlander. The Lords of the Seſſion hereupon interpoſe themſelves, deſiring the Aſſembly not to meddle in a Cauſe which was then dependent in their Court in due form of Law. But the Aſſembly made this Anſwer, That *Sympſon* was a Member of theirs: That they might proceed in the purgation of one of their own number, without intrenching on the Jurisdiction of the Civil Courts; and therefore, that their Lordſhips ſhould not take it ill, if they proceeded in the Tryal. But let the Lords of the Seſſion, or the Party intereſted in the Cauſe, ſay what they pleaſed, the Aſſembly vote themſelves to be Judges in it; and were reſolved to proceed to a Sentence againſt him as a falſe Accuſer. In fine, the buſineſs went ſo high on the part of the Kirk, that the Lords of the Seſſion were compelled to think of no other Victory than by making a drawn Battel of it; which by the Mediation of ſome Friends was at laſt effected.

39. The Kirk is now advancing to the higheſt pitch of her *Scotch* Happineſs, in having her whole Diſcipline, that is to ſay, their National and Provincial Aſſemblies, together with their Presbyteries and Parochial Seſſions; confirmed by the Authority of an Act of Parliament. In order whereunto, they had ordained in the Aſſembly held at *Edenborough*, on the 4th of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1590. That *all ſuch as then bore Office in the Kirk, or from thenceforth ſhould bear any Office in it, ſhould actually ſubſcribe to the Book of Diſcipline.* Which Act being ſo material to our preſent Hiſtory, deſerves to be exemplified *verbatim*, as it ſtands in the Regiſters, and is this that followeth, *viz.*

Aug. 4. 1590. 40. "Foraſmuch that it is certain, That the Word of God "cannot be kept in the own ſincerity, without the *Holy Diſ-* "*cipline* be had in obſervance: It is therefore by the common "conſent of the whole Brethren and Commiſſioners preſent, "concluded, That whoſoever hath born Office in the Miniſtry "of the Kirk within this Realm, or that preſently bears, or "ſhall hereafter bear Office therein, ſhall be charged by every "particular Presbytery, where their reſidence is, to ſubſcribe "the Heads of the Diſcipline of the Kirk of their Realm, "at length ſet down and allowed by Act of the whole Aſ- "ſembly, in the Book of Polity, which is regiſtrate in the "Aſſembly-Books, and namely the Heads controverted by "Enemies of the Diſcipline of the Reformed Kirk of this "Realm,

"Realm, betwixt this and the next Synodal Aſſemblies of "the Provinces, under the pain of Excommunication to be "executed againſt the Non-ſubſcribers: and the Presbyte-"ries which ſhall be found remiſs and negligent herein, to "receive publick rebuke of the whole Aſſembly. And to "the effect the ſaid Diſcipline may be known as it ought to "be, to the whole Brethren; it is ordained, That the Mo-"derator of each Presbytery ſhall receive from the Clerk "of the Aſſembly, a Copy of the ſaid Book, under his Sub-"ſcription, upon the Expences of the Presbytery, betwixt "this and the firſt day of *September* next to come, under "the pain of being openly accuſed in the face of the whole "Aſſembly.

41. This Preparation being made, they preſent their whole deſires to the King, in the following Parliament, convened at *Edenborough*, in the Month of *June*, 1592. In which it was propoſed, "1. That the Acts of Parliament made in the year 1584, againſt "the Diſcipline of the Kirk, and the Liberty thereof, ſhould be "abrogated and annulled; and a Ratification of the Diſcipline "granted, whereof they were then in practiſe. 2. That the Act of "Annexation ſhould be repealed, and reſtitution made of the "Church's Patrimony. 3. That the Abbots, Priors, and other "Prelates, bearing the Titles of Kirk-men, and giving Voices for "the Kirk without Power and Commiſſion from the ſame, ſhould "not be permitted in time coming, to give Voice in Parliament, "or convene in the Name of the Kirk. And, 4. That a ſolid Or-"der might be taken for purging the Realm of Idolatry and Blood, "wherewith it was miſerably polluted. On the ſecond and third of theſe Deſires, the King took longer time of deliberation, as being points of great concernment to Himſelf and others, touching the main of their Eſtates. But He reſolved to give them ſatisfaction in the firſt and laſt. It was anſwered therefore to the firſt part of the laſt Article, *That ſaying of Maſs, receiving of Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts, and Trafficking Papiſts, againſt the King's Majeſty and Religion preſently profeſſed, ſhould be a juſt cauſe to infer the pain of Treaſon*: with this Proviſo notwithſtanding, *That if the Jeſuits and Seminary Prieſts did ſatisfie the Prince and the Church, the foreſaid Penalty ſhould not be laid on the Receivers.* And to the ſecond part thereof, concerning Blood, it was anſwered, That the ſame ſhould be remitted to the Courts of Juſtice. In like manner it was anſwered to the firſt branch of their firſt Propoſal, *That the ſaid Statutes ſhould be no ways prejudicial, nor derogatory to the Priviledges that God had given to the ſpiritual Office-bearer in the Church, concerning Heads of Religion, matters of Hereſie, Excommunication, Collation, or Deprivation of Miniſters, or any ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, grounded and having warrant of the Word of God.* But to the ſecond branch thereof, he gave his Plenary aſſent, according to the tenor of the Act here following; which in regard

it contains the ſum of all their Projects for life-time then paſt, and the ground of all their Inſolencies for the times enſuing; it ſhall not grieve me to ſubjoyn, nor be troubleſome to the *Reader* to paſs it over, if he have not patience enough to go thorow with it. Now the tenor of the ſaid Act is as followeth.

At the Parliament holden at Edenborough, June 5. *in the Year of God*, 1592.

42. 'Our Soveraign Lord, and Eſtates of this preſent 'Parliament, following the Laudable and Good Example 'of their Predeceſſors, hath ratified and approved, and by 'the tenor of this preſent Act ratifies and approves all Li- 'berties, Priviledges, Immunities, and Freedoms, whatſoever, 'given and granted by His Highneſs, his Regents in His 'Name, or any of His Predeceſſors, to the True and Holy 'Kirk, preſently eſtabliſhed within this Realm, and declared 'in the firſt Act of His Highneſs Parliament, the *20th* day of '*Octob.* 1579. And all and whatſoever Acts of Parliaments and 'Statutes made of before by His Highneſs and His Regents, 'anent the Liberty and Freedom of the ſaid Kirk; and ſpeci- 'ally the firſt Act of Parliament holden at *Edenborough*, the '*24th* of *October*, in the year of God 1581, with the whole 'particular Acts there mentioned; which ſhall be as ſufficient 'as if the ſame were here mentioned: and all other Acts 'of Parliament made ſince, in favour of the true Kirk, and 'ſuch like; ratifies and approves the general Aſſemblies ap- 'pointed by the ſaid Kirk; and declares, That it ſhall be law- 'ful to the Kirk and Miniſters every year, at leaſt, or oftner, '*pro re natâ*, as occaſion and neceſſity ſhall require, to hold 'and keep general Aſſemblies, providing, that the King's Ma- 'jeſty, or His Commiſſioners with Him, to be appointed by 'His Highneſs, be preſent at ilk general Aſſembly, before 'the diſſolving thereof, to nominate and appoint time and 'place, when and where the next general Aſſembly ſhall be 'holden. And in caſe neither His Majeſty nor His Commiſ- 'ſioners be preſent for the time, in that Town where the 'next general Aſſembly is holden; then, and in that caſe, it 'ſhall be leſum to the ſaid general Aſſembly, by themſelves 'to nominate and appoint time and place where the next 'general Aſſembly of the Kirk ſhall be kept and holden, as 'they have been uſed to do in times by-paſt. And alſo, rati- 'fies and approves the Provincial and Synodal Aſſemblies, 'to be holden by the ſaid Kirk and Miniſters twice ilk year, 'as they have been, or preſently are in uſe to do, within eve- 'ry Province of this Realm. And ratifies and approves theſe 'Presbyteries, and particular Seſſions appointed by the ſaid 'Kirk, with the whole Diſcipline and Juriſdiction of the 'ſame, agreed upon by His Majeſty, in conference had by

His

'His Highneſs, with certain of the Miniſters convened to 'that effect: of the which Articles, the tenour follow-'eth.

1. *Matters to be intreated in Provincial Aſſemblies.*

43. 'Their Aſſemblies are conſtitute for weighty mat-'ters, neceſſary to be intreated by mutual conſent and aſſiſt-'ance of Brethren within the Province, as need requires. 'This Aſſembly hath Power to handle, order, and redreſs, 'all things omitted or done amiſs in the particular Aſſem-'blies. It hath Power to depoſe the Office-bearers of the 'Province, for good and juſt cauſes deſerving deprivation. 'And generally, theſe Aſſemblies have the whole Power of 'the particular Elderſhips, whereof they are collected.

2. *Matters to be intreated in the Presbyteries.*

'The Power of the Presbyteries, is, To uſe diligent labours 'in the bounds committed to their charge, that the Kirks be 'kept in good order: To enquire diligently of naughty and 'ungodly perſons, and to travel to bring them into the way 'again, by Admonition, or Threatning of God's Judg-'ments, or by Correction. It appertains to the Elderſhip 'to take heed that the Word of God be purely preached 'within their bounds, the Sacraments rightly miniſtred, the 'Diſcipline entertained, and Eccleſiaſtical Goods uncor-'ruptly diſtributed. It belongeth to this kind of Aſſem-'blies, To cauſe the Ordinances made by the Aſſemblies 'Provincial, National, and general, to be kept and put in 'execution: To make Conſtitutions which concern τὸ πρέπον 'in the Kirk, for decent Order in the particular Kirk where 'they govern; providing, that they alter no Rules made by 'the Provincial and General Aſſemblies: and that the Pro-'vincial Aſſemblies aforeſaid, be privy to the Rules that they 'ſhall make, and to aboliſh Conſtitutions tending to the 'hurt of the ſame. It hath power to excommunicate the ob-'ſtinate, formal proceſs being had, and due interval of times 'obſerved. 'Anent particular Kirks, if they be lawfully ru-'led by ſufficient Miniſters, and Seſſion, they have Power 'and Juriſdiction in their own Congregation, in matters Ec-'cleſiaſtical: and decrees and declares the Aſſemblies, Pres-'byteries, and Seſſions-Juriſdiction, and Diſcipline aforeſaid, 'to be in all times coming moſt juſt, good, and godly, in it 'ſelf; notwithſtanding whatſoever Statutes, Acts, Canons, 'Civil and Municipal Laws made to the contrary: to which, 'and every one of them, theſe Preſents ſhall make expreſs 'derogation.

44. And becauſe there are divers Acts of Parliament 'made in favour of the Papiſtical Church, tending to the 'prejudice of the Liberty of the true Kirk of God, pre- 'ſently profeſſed within this Realm, Juriſdiction and Diſci- 'pline thereof, which ſtand yet in the Books of the Acts of 'Parliament not abrogated nor annulled: Therefore His 'Highneſs and Eſtates foreſaid, hath abrogated, caſted, and 'annulled, and by the tenour hereof, abrogates, caſts, 'and annuls all Acts of Parliament made by any of His 'Highneſs Predeceſſors for maintenance of Superſtition and 'Idolatry; with all, and whatſoever Acts, Laws, and Sta- 'tutes, made at any time before the day and date hereof, 'againſt the Liberty of the true Kirk, Juriſdiction and Diſ- 'cipline thereof, as the ſame is uſed and exerciſed within 'this Realm. And in ſpecial, that Act of Parliament holden 'at *Sterling*, the 4*th* of *November*, 1543, commanding obe- 'dience to be given to *Eugenius* the Pope for the time: the 'Act made by K. *James* the 3d, in His Parliament holden at '*Edenborough*, the 24*th* of *February*, in the year of God 1480. 'And all other Acts whereby the Pope's Authority is eſta- 'bliſhed. The Act of the ſaid King *James* in his Parliament 'holden at *Edenborough*, the 20*th* of *November*, 1469, anent 'the *Saturday*, and other Vigils, to be Holy-day from Even- 'ſong to Even-ſong. *Item*, That part of the Act made by 'the Queen-Regent, holden at *Edenborough* the firſt day of '*February* 1551, giving ſpecially Licenſe for holding of 'of *Paſch*, and *Zuil*.

45. 'And further, the King's Majeſty and Eſtates afore- 'ſaid, declare, That the 129*th* Act of Parliament holden 'at *Edenborough*, the 22*d* of *May*, in the year of God 1584, 'ſhall no ways be prejudicial, or derogate any thing from 'the Priviledg that God hath given the Spiritual Office- 'bearers in the Kirk, concerning Heads of Religion, Mat- 'ters of Hereſie, Excommunication, Collation, or Depri- 'vation of Miniſters, or any ſuch like Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, 'ſpecially grounded, and having warrant of the Word of 'God. *Item*, Our Soveraign Lord and Eſtates of Parlia- 'ment foreſaid, abrogates, caſts, and annihilates the Acts of 'the ſame Parliament holden at *Edenborough* the ſame year, '1584; granting Commiſſion to Biſhops and other Judges, 'conſtitute in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, to receive His Highneſs 'Preſentation to Benefices, to give Collation thereupon, 'and to put Order to all Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, which His 'Majeſty and Eſtates foreſaid, declares to be expired in the 'ſelf, and to be null in time coming, of none avail, force 'or effect. And therefore ordains all Preſentations to Be- 'nefices to be direct to the particular Presbyteries in all 'time coming, with full Power to give Collation thereupon, 'and to put Order to all Matters and Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical

'within

'within their bounds, according to the Diſcipline of the Kirk:
'Providing the foreſaid Presbyters be bound and aſtricted
'to receive and admit whatſoever qualified Miniſter preſent-
'ed by His Majeſty or Laick Patrons.

46. Such was the Act by which the Presbyterian Diſcipline was ſetled in the Kirk of *Scotland*. They had given Him trouble enough before, when they had no authority of Law to confirm their actions. But now He muſt expect much more; and they will ſee His expectation ſatisfied to the very full. So that it may be much admired that He yeelded to it, the rather in regard the Reaſons of it are not certainly known, nor very eaſie to be gueſſed at. Whether it were, that he were not well enough informed touching the low condition which the *Engliſh Puritans* were at this time brought to, or that He ſtood ſo much in fear of the Earl of *Bothwell*, (whoſe treacherous practiſes threatned Him with continual danger) that He was under a neceſſity of conforming to them for His own preſervation; or that He thought it His beſt way to let them have their own Wills, and purſue their own Counſels, till they had wearied both themſelves and the reſt of the Subjects, by the miſgovernment of that Power which He had given them; or whether it were all, or none of theſe, it is hard to ſay. Nor is it leſs to be admired, that the Nobility of *Scotland*, who had found the weight of that heavy yoke in the times fore-going, ſhould take it ſo eaſily on their necks, and not joyn rather with the King to caſt it off. But they had gotten moſt of the Church-Lands into their poſſeſſion, and thought it a greater piece of wiſdom to let the Presbytery over-top them in their ſeveral Conſiſtories, than that the Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters, or any other who pretended unto their Eſtates, ſhould be reſtored again to their Power and Places, and thereby brought to a capacity of contending with them for their own. In which reſpect they yeelded alſo to another Act againſt the everting of Church-Lands and Tenths into Temporal Lordſhips: for, To what purpoſe ſhould they ſtrive for ſuch empty Titles, as added little to their profit, and not much to their pleaſures? There alſo paſſed ſome other Acts which ſeemed much to favour both the Kirk and the Kirk-men; as namely, For the ratification of a former Act, 1587, in favour of the Miniſters, their Rents and Stipends; for enabling Lay-Patrons to diſpoſe of their Prebendaries and Chaplinaries unto Students; and that no Benefices with Cure pay any Thirds. There paſſed another Act alſo which concerned the Glebes and Manſes in Cathedral Churches, preſerved of purpoſe by the King (though they thought not of it) that when he found it neceſſary to reſtore Epiſcopacy, the Biſhops might find Houſes, and other fit Accommodations, near their own Cathedrals.

47. Thus have the Presbyterians gained two Acts of great importance; The one for ſetling their Presbyteries in all parts of the Kingdom: The other for repreſſing all thoughts of reſtoring Epiſ-

copacy, by paſſing over the Church-Lands to the uſe of the Crown. And to make as ſure of it as they could, (becauſe a three-fold Cord is not eaſily broken) they had before called upon the King to reinforce the Band, or National Covenant, which had been made for their adhæſion to the true Religion, and renouncing Popery. For ſo it was, that ſome ſuſpitions had been raiſed by the Presbyterians, That the King was miſerably ſeduced, and enclined to Popery; and that the Earl of *Lenox* had been ſent from *France* for no other purpoſe, but to work Him to it. And thereupon the King gave order unto Mr. *J. Craige*, being then a Preacher in the Court, to form a ſhort Confeſſion of Faith; wherein not only all the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome* in point of Doctrine, but even thoſe alſo which related unto Diſcipline and Forms of Worſhip, were to be ſolemnly abjured. Which Confeſſion, for example to others, the King Himſelf, with all His Court and Council, did publickly both ſubſcribe and ſwear, *Anno* 1580. And the next year He required the like Oath and Subſcription from all His Subjects, for the ſecuring of thoſe Fears and Jealouſies which the Kirk had of Him. But in regard this general Confeſſion was not found ſufficient to hinder the encreaſe of Popery, for want of ſome ſtrict Combination amongſt the Subjects which profeſſed the Reformed Religion; it was deſired, that a *Solemn League or Band* might be authorized, by which they ſhould be bound to ſtand to one another in defence thereof; that is to ſay, both of their Covenant and Religion, againſt all Opponents. The *Guiſian* Papiſts had projected the like League in *France*, to ſuppreſs the Goſpel; and why ſhould they in *Scotland* be leſs zealous for the true Religion, than the *Guiſian Papiſts* for the falſe? Upon which ground the King was eaſily entreated to conſent unto it: and firſt ſubſcribed the Band Himſelf, with all His Family, *An.* 1589; which the next year he cauſed to be ſubſcribed by all ſorts of people, as the General Aſſembly had deſired.

48. Now in this Covenant and Confeſſion, they did not only bind themſelves to renounce the Pope, together with all the Superſtitions and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*; but in particular, *to continue in obedience to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Kirk of* Scotland; *and to defend the ſame according to their vocation and power, all the days of their lives.* And though it cannot be conceived, that under thoſe general words of *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline*, there could be any purpoſe to abjure the Epiſcopal Government, which was in being when that Confeſſion was firſt framed, and for many years after: yet being now received and ſubſcribed unto, and their Presbyteries eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, it was interpreted by the *Covenanters* of ſucceeding times, *Anno* 1638, to contain in it an expreſs renouncing of Epiſcopacy, as alſo of ſuch Rites and Ceremonies as had been introduced amongſt them by the Synod of *Perth*, *Anno* 1618. The ſad Effects whereof, the King foreſaw not at the preſent; but He took order to redreſs them in the time to come: For now the Temporal Eſtates of Biſhops being alienated and annexed to the Crown by Act of Parliament,

Anno

Anno 1587. *Episcopacy* tacitly abjured by Covenant, and that Covenant strengthned by a Band or Association, *Anno* 1590. And finally, their *Presbyteries* setled by like Act of Parliament in this present year *Anno* 1592. it was not to be thought that ever Bishops or Episcopacy could revive again, though it otherwise happened. It cannot be denied, but that K. *JAMES* did much despise this Covenant, (commonly called the Negative Confession) when He came into *England*: for, taking occasion to speak of it in the Conference of *Hampton-Court*, he lets us know, That Mr. *Craige* (the Compiler of it) *with his renouncings and abhorrings, his detestations and abrenounciations, did so amaze the simple people, that few of them being able to remember all the said particulars, some took occasion thereby to fall back to Popery, and others to remain in their former ignorance.* To which he added this short note, *That if he had been bound to that Form of* Craige's, *the Confession of his Faith must have been in his Table-Book, and not in his Head.* But what a mean opinion soever K. *JAMES* had of it, the *Puritans* or *Presbyterians* of both Kingdoms, made it serve their turns for raising a most dangerous Rebellion against his Son, and altering the whole Frame of Government both in Church and State, which they new-molded at their pleasure: and sure I am, that at the first entring into this Band, the *Presbyterians* there grew so high and insolent, that the King could get no Reason of them in his just demands. The King had found by late experience, how much they had encroached upon his Royal Prerogative, defamed the present Government, and reviled his Person. And thereupon, as he had gratified them in confirming their Discipline, so he required them not long after to subscribe these Articles; that is to say, *That the Preacher should yeeld due obedience unto the King's Majesty. That they should not pretend any priviledg in their Allegiance. That they should not meddle in matters of State. That they should not publikely revile His Majesty. That they should not draw the people from their due obedience to the King. That, when they are accused for their Factious Speeches, or for refusing to do any thing, they should not alledg the inspiration of the Spirit, nor feed themselves with colour of Conscience, but confess their faults like Men, and crave pardon like Subjects.* But they were well enough, they thanked him; and were resolved to hold their own Power, let Him look to His.

AERIUS REDIVIVUS:

OR,

The Hiſtory

OF THE

PRESBYTERIANS

LIB. IX.

Containing

Their Diſloyalty, Treaſons, and Seditions, in France, *the Country of* Eaſt-Frieſland, *and the Iſles of* Brittain; *but more particularly, in* England. *Together with the ſevere Laws made againſt them, and the ſeveral Executions in purſuance of them, from the year* 1559 *to the year* 1595.

THUS have we brought the *Presbyterians* to their higheſt pitch in the Kirk of *Scotland*, when they were almoſt at their loweſt fall in the Church of *England*: theſe being at the very point of their *Crucifixion*, when the others were chanting their *Hoſanna's* for their good ſucceſs. The *Engliſh* Brethren had loſt their principal Support, by the death of *Leiceſter*, though he was thought to have cooled much in his affections towards their Affairs. But what they loſt in him, they ſtudied to repair by the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe Father's Widow he had married, trained him up for the moſt part under *Puritan* Tutors, and married him at the laſt to *Walſingham*'s Daughter. Upon theſe hopes they made their

applications to him, and were chearfully welcomed; the Gentleman being young, ambitious, and exceeding popular, and therefore apt enough to advance their Interest, and by theirs his own. And he appeared the rather for them at the first, to cry quits with *Whitgift*; who, when he might have been elected Chancellor of the University of *Oxon*, on the death of *Leicester*, chose rather to commend his dear Friend, the Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, to the place, than to assume it on himself; and after *Hatton*'s death, to nominate the Lord *Buckhurst* to them, who was also chosen. The young Earl had an eye upon that great Office, that he might be as powerful amongst men of the Gown, as he was amongst Gentlemen of the Sword; and took it for an high affront, that the Arch-bishop should presume to commend any other to that Honour, which he designed unto himself. But the Queen easily took him off, and made him so far Friends with *Whitgift*, as not to make any open profession of displeasure toward him, by which the opposite Faction might be animated to their former Insolencies, which notwithstanding the Arch-bishop kept a vigilant eye upon all his actions, as one that was not to be told of his private practises, the secret intelligence which he had with the Heads of that Party, and saw that most of his Allies and Kindred were engaged that way. For, though upon the reconciliation which was made between them, the Earl had offered him to run a course in Clergy-Causes, according to his directions and advice; yet what he did therein, proceeded rather from a fear of the Queen's displeasure, than from any love to *Whitgift*, or the Church it self; as afterwards appeared most evidently in the course of his actions.

2. But that which gave the Brethren their greatest blow, was, the death of *Walsingham*, who dyed on the sixt of *April*, 1590. The Queen had lately been more sensible of those manifold dangers which both the Principles and Practises of the *Disciplinarians* did most apparently threaten to her whole Estate; more now than ever, by the coming out of a Pamphlet, called, *The humble Motion*: In which it was affirmed, That thousands did sigh for the Discipline, ten thousands had sought it; and, that the most worthy men of every Shire had consented to it: That the *Eldership* was at hand: That the people were inflamed with a zeal to have it; and, that it was hard, dangerous, and impossible, to stand against it. Incensed thereat, and fearing the sad consequences of such pestilent Pamphlets, She resolved upon some speedy course to prevent the mischief: and therefore gave the greater countenance to the Arch-bishops, Bishops, and their subordinate Officers, for proceeding with them. On which encouragement, the seeming-neutrality of the Earl of *Essex*, and the sickness of *Walsingham*, *Snape*, and some others of their principal Leaders, were called before the High-Commission at *Lambeth*, in the first beginning of *Easter*-Term: which, though it seemed both strange and unwelcome to them, yet there was no remedy. Appear they did, because they must; but were resolved, that their appearance should conduce as little as might be to their disadvantage.

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For, being required to take their Oaths, according to the use of the Court, to answer punctually to all such Interrogatories as were to be propounded to them; the Oath is absolutely refused, unless the Interrogatories might be shewed unto them. First, therefore, they were made acquainted with the substance of them, but that would not serve. They were assured in the next place, That they should be required to answer no further unto any of them, than they were bound to do by the Laws of the Land. But that served as little. In fine, it was resolved, That the Interrogatories should be shewed unto them, (here contrary to the practise of all Courts in Criminal Causes) which served least of all: For now *Snape* finding what was like to be charged upon them, gave notice of the same to the rest of the Brethren, and did not only refuse the Oath; as before he did; but put the rest upon a course of premeditation, both whether it were fit to answer upon Oath, or not; and then, what Answer they would make, if they were put to it. But so it hapned, that his Letters, being intercepted, were produced against him; upon which he was clapped up in Prison, and a great terror thereby struck into all the Brethren, who now began to apprehend the dangers they were fallen into by their former Insolencies.

3. It may be gathered by those Letters, that no small diligence had been used by such as had employed themselves in it, to search into the bottom of their deepest Counsels, and most secret Purposes; and that so perfect a discovery had been made thereof, as might warrant the High Commissioners to proceed severely, without the least fear of being foyled in their undertakings. For *Snape* confesseth in those Letters, That *they had the knowledg not only of Generals, but of Specials, and Particulars also*; that is to say, touching the places where they met, *Oxford, London, Cambridg*, &c. the times of their accustomed Meetings, as, *Sturbridg-Faire, Acts, Terms*, &c. the persons which assembled at them, as, *Cartwright, Perkins, Travers, Clark*, &c. and finally, the very matters which they dealt in, and agreed upon. Much troubled the good man seemed to be, in guessing at that false Brother who had made the discovery: but, that they were discovered, he is sure enough; for he affirmeth, that their Actings neither were, or could be any longer concealed; and therefore, that the Lord called upon them to be resolute in the present case. And thereupon it was propounded, *Whether it were better and more safe, that one man (with the consent of the rest) should boldly, freely, and wisely confess, and lay open*, &c. or, *that some weak or wicked man should without consent, and in evil sort, acknowledg*, &c. He tells them, That the matter aimed at by High Commissioners, was, To bring them within danger of Law for holding *Conventicles*: That in Causes of Murther, and the like, it was commonly asked, Whether the Party fled upon it; and therefore, that they should do well to consider of it, in reference to the present case, and so advising, That *T. C.* should be sent to with all speed, he concludes his Letter.

4. This Letter coming up ſo cloſe to the former diſcoveries, brings *Cartwright* into play in *September* following. But firſt, a conſultation muſt be had amongſt them, at the Houſe of one *Gardiner*, Whether, and if at all, how far it might be fit for him to reveal all or any of the matters which had paſſed in conference or diſputation in any of their former Aſſemblies. And, as it ſeems, it was determined in the *Negative*, (according to the Doctrine of the old *Priſcilianiſts*) that he ſhould not do it. For, when the Oath was offered to him, he refuſed to take it. The High-Commiſſion-Court was at that time held in the Biſhop of *London*'s *Conſiſtory*, in the Church of St. *Paul*. At which were preſent, amongſt others, the Lord Biſhop of *London*, the two Chief Juſtices, Serjeant *Puckering*, afterwards Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; Mr. Juſtice *Gaudie*, and *Popham*, then Attorney-General, but afterwards Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas. All which did ſeverally and diſtinctly aſſure him upon their Credits, That by the Laws of the Realm he was bound to take the Oath required, for making a true anſwer unto the Interrogatories which were to be propounded to him. To which he made no other Anſwer, but that he could find no ſuch thing in the Law of God; and ſo continuing in his obſtinacy, was committed alſo. But the Commiſſioners having ſpent ſome time in preparing the matter, and thinking the cognizance thereof more fitter for the Star-Chamber, referred both the Perſons and the Cauſe to the care of that Court. In which an Information was preferred againſt them by the Queen's Attorney, for ſetting forth and putting in practiſe (without warrant and authority) a new form of Common-Prayer and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, together with the Presbyterial Diſcipline not allowed by Law. Upon the news whereof, the Brethren enter into conſultation, as well about ſome courſe to be preſently taken for relief of the Priſoners, as for the putting of their Diſcipline into futher practiſe: What the reſult was, may be gathered from a Letter of *Wiggingtons*, (one of the hotteſt heads amongſt them) in which he thus writes to *Porter* of *Lancaſter*, viz. *Mr.* Cartwright *is in the* Fleet *for refuſing the Oath (as I hear); and Mr.* Knewſtubs *is ſent for, and ſundry worthy Miniſters are diſquieted, who have been ſpared long: So that we look for ſome bickering ere long, and then a Battel, which cannot long endure.*

5. But before any thing could be done upon either ſide, in order to the proceedings of the Conrt, or the releaſe of the Priſoners, there brake out ſuch a dangerous Treaſon, as took up all the thoughts of the Lords of the Council, and the Brethren too. The Brethren had ſo fixed their Fancies on the Holy Diſcipline, and entertained ſuch ſtrange devices to promote the ſame, beyond the warrant of God's Word, and the Rule of Law; that at the laſt God gave them up to ſtrong deluſions, and ſuffered them to be tranſported by their own ill ſpirits, to moſt dangerous downfalls. One *Coppinger*, a Gentleman of a very good Family, had been ſo wrought upon by ſome of the chief Factors to the *Presbyterians*, that he became a great admirer of their Zeal and Piety: and being acquainted with one *Arthington*,

Arthington, a Lay-*Genevian*, but very zealous in the Cauſe, he adviſeth with him of ſome means for the good of the Priſoners. But upon long deliberation, they could think of no courſe at all, unleſs it would pleaſe God by ſome extraordinary Calling to ſtir up ſome zealous Brethren to effect their deſires: and if God pleaſed to take that way, why might not one or both of them be choſen, as fit Inſtruments in ſo great a ſervice? than whom, they knew of none more able, and of few more zealous. On theſe Preparatories they betake themſelves to Prayer and Faſting, hold a ſtrict Faſt together on the 15*th* of *December*, and then began to find themſelves extraordinarily exerciſed, as appears by their Letters writ to *Lancaſter*, in whoſe Houſe they held it. Immediately upon this Fact, *Coppinger* takes a journey into *Kent*, and fancies (by the way) that he was admitted to a familiar Conference with God himſelf, that he received from Him many ſtrange Directions, to be followed by him whenſoever God ſhould pleaſe to uſe his ſervice for the good of His Church; and more particularly, that he was ſhewed a way to bring the Queen to repentance, and to cauſe all the Nobles to do the like out of hand; or elſe to prove them to be Traytors to Almighty God. Another Faſt is held by him and *Arthington* at his coming back, in which he finds himſelf more ſtrongly ſtirred to a matter of ſome great importance, than he was before: of which he gives notice unto *Gibſon* in *Scotland*, by his Letter of the laſt of *December*; and afterward to *Wiggington* above-mentioned; by them to be communicated to the reſt of the Brethren. Another Faſt follows upon this, at which *Wiggington* and ſome others did vouchſafe their preſence, who had before confirmed them in the fancy of ſome ſuch extraordinary Calling as he ſeemed to drive at. With the intention of this laſt, *Cartwright* and other of the Priſoners were made acquainted before-hand, to the intent that by the benefit of their ſecret prayers, the Action might be crowned with an End more glorious. And the ſame night, *Coppinger* finds himſelf in Heaven, exceedingly aſtoniſhed at the Majeſty of Almighty God, but very much comforted by the Viſion; and every day more and more encouraged to ſome great Work; which he communicates at ſeveral times, and by ſeveral Letters, to *Cartwright*, *Travers*, *Clark*, &c. amongſt the Preachers; and from the Lay-Brethren, unto *Lancaſter*, and Sir *Peter Wentworth*.

6. And now we muſt make room for another Actor, a greater Zealot than the other, and one that was to rob them of the glory of their Dreams and Dotages; *Hacket*, an inconſiderable Fellow both for Parts and Fortune, pretends to a more near Familiarity with Almighty God, than either of the other durſt aſpire to. A Wretch of ſuch a deſperate Malice, that bearing an old grudg to one that had been his School-Maſter, he bit off his Noſe. And when the poor man humbly prayed him to let him have it again, to the end it might be ſowed on before it was cold, he moſt barbarouſly chewed it with his teeth, and ſo ſwallowed it down. After this, having waſted that ſmall Eſtate which he had by his Wife, he becomes a Proſelyte, pre-

tends at first to more than ordinary zeal for a Reformation, and afterwards to extraordinary Revelations for the compassing of it. This brings him into the acquaintance of some zealous Ministers, who were then furiously driving on for the Holy Discipline; but none more than *Wiggington* before remembred, who brings him presently to *Coppinger*, at such time as the poor man was raised to the height of his Follies. *Hacket* had profited so well in the School of Hypocrisie, that by his counterfeit-holiness, his fervent and continual praying *ex tempore*, fasting upon the Lord's Days, making frequent brags of his Conflicts with *Satan*, and pretending to many personal Conferences with the Lord Himself, that he became of great esteem with the rest of the Brethren; insomuch that some of them did not stick to say, not only that he was one of God's beloved, but greater in His Favour than *Moses* or *John the Baptist*. And he himself made shew, That he was a Prophet, sent to foretell God's Judgments, where His Mercies were neglected; prophesying, That there should be no more Popes; and, that *England* this present Year should be afflicted with Famine, Warr, and Pestilence, unless the Lord's Discipline and Reformation were forthwith admitted. These men, being both governed by the same ill spirit, were mutually over-joyed at this new acquaintance, and forthwith entred into counsel for freeing *Cartwright*, *Snape*, and the rest of the Ministers, not only from the several Prisons in which they lay, but from the danger of their Censure in the *Starr-Chamber*, which was then at hand.

7. It was expected that the Censure would have passed upon them on the last day of *Easter*-Term; of which *Coppinger* gives *Hacket* notice, and sends him word withall, That he meant to be at the hearing of it; and that if any Severity should be used towards them, *he should be forced in the Name of the Great and Fearful God of Heaven and Earth, to protest against it.* The like expectation was amongst them in the Term next following, at what time *Coppinger* was resolved on some desperate act to divert the Sentence. For thus he writes to *Lancaster* before-remembred, *That if our Preachers in Prison do appear to morrow in the Starr-Chamber, and if our great men deal with them so as it is thought they will; and that if then God did not throw some fearful Judgment amongst them*, &c. that is to say, (for so we must make up the sense) let him give no more credit unto him or his Revelations. But the Hearing being deferred at that time also, and nothing like to be done in it till after *Michaelmas*, the Conspirators perceived they had time enough for new Consultations. And in these Consultations they resolve amongst them to impeach the two Arch-bishops, of High-Treason, that so they might be made uncapable of proceeding in a Legal way against the Prisoners, or otherwise to assassinate both together, with the Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, (whom they deadly hated) if any severe Sentence was pronounced against them. But *Hacket* was for higher matters. The Spirit of Infatuation had so wrought upon him, that he conceived himself to partake of the same Divine Nature with Almighty God.

God. That he was appointed by his God to be King of *Europe*; and therefore looked upon all Kings (but the Queen especially) as the Usurpers of the Throne, which belonged unto him. And against her he carried such a bitter hatred, that against her he often cast forth dangerous speeches, That she had lost her Right to the Crown; and spared not to do execution upon her in her Arms and Pictures, by stabbing his Dagger into both, whensoever he saw them. The people also must be dealt with, to make use of their Power, according unto that Maxim of the Disciplinarians, *That if the Magistrate will not reform the Church and State, then the People must.* And that he might wind them to this height, he scatter'd certain Rhimes or Verses amongst them; by which it was insinuated, That a true Christian, though he were a Clown or poor Countrey-man, (which was *Hacket*'s own case) might teach Kings how to manage their Scepters; and that they might depose the Queen, if she did not zealously promote the Reformation.

8. Finding to what an admiration he had raised himself in the esteem of *Coppinger* and his Fellow *Arthington*, he looks upon them as the fittest Instruments to advance his Treasons; perswading them, That they were endued not only with a Prophetical, but an Angelical Spirit. And they, believing what he said, performed all manner of obedience to him, as one that was appointed to reign over them, by God himself; setting themselves, from that time forward, to raise some Sedition, in which the people might be moved unto what they pleased. Being thus possest, they intimate to *Wiggington* fore-mentioned, That Christ appeared to them the night before, not in his own body, as He sits in Heaven; but in that especial Spirit by which he dwelt in *Hacket* more than in any other. They added also, That *Hacket* was the very Angel which should come before the Day of Judgment, with his Fan in the one hand, and his Shepherds Crook in the other, to distinguish the Sheep from the Goats, to tread down *Satan*, and ruine the Kingdom of *Antichrist*. What Counsel they received from *Wiggington*, is not certainly known, though it may be judged by the event. For presently on their going from him, which was on the sixteenth of *July*, they repair to *Hacket*, whom he found lazing in his bed in a private House at *Broken-wharf*; and casting themselves upon their knees, as if they were upon the point of Adoration; *Arthington* suddenly ariseth, and adviseth *Coppinger*, in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to annoint their King. But *Hacket* cunningly declines it, telling them, that he was already annointed by the Holy Ghost, and therefore that they were to do what he should command them: Which said, he ordains *Coppinger* to be his Prophet of Mercy, and *Arthington* to be his Prophet of Justice; and gives them their Mission in this manner: 'Go now (saith he), and tell up and down 'the City, That Jesus Christ is come with his Fan in his hand, to 'judg the World: if any ask you where he is, direct them to this 'place: if they will not believe you, let them come and see if they 'can kill me. As sure as God is in Heaven, no less assuredly is Christ

'now

now come to judg the World. With this Commiſſion flye the two new Prophets from one ſtreet to another, till they came to *Cheapſide*, crying out, *Chriſt is come*, *Chriſt is come*, all the way they went; and adding with as loud a voice, *Repent*, *Repent*. In *Cheapſide* they mount into a Cart, (a proper Pulpit for ſuch Preachers) proclaiming thence, that *Hacket* participated of Chriſt's glorified Body, by his eſpecial Spirit, and was now come with his Fan, to propagate the Goſpel, to *ſettle the Diſcipline*, (for that was the impulſive to all this madneſs) and to eſtabliſh in *England* a new Commonwealth: They added further, That themſelves were two Prophets, the one of Mercy, and the other of Juſtice; the truth whereof they took upon their ſalvation. That *Hacket* was the only Supreme Monarch of the World; and, That all the Kings of *Europe* held of him as his Vaſſals: That therefore he only ought to be obeyed, and the Queen depoſed; and, That Vengeance ſhould ſhortly fall from Heaven, not only on the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, but the Lord Chancellor *Hatton*.

9. Infinite were the throngs of people which this ſtrange Novelty had drawn together to that place; but they found none ſo mad as themſelves, none ſo beſotted as to cry, God ſave King *Hacket*: ſo that not able to be heard by reaſon of the Noiſe, nor to go forward in their Miſſion, becauſe of the Throng; they diſmounted their Chariot, and, by the help of ſome of their Friends, conveyed themſelves to *Hacket*'s Lodging. They had not ſtaid there long, when they were all three apprehended, and brought before the Lords of the Council; to whom they ſhowed ſo little reverence, that they never moved their Hats unto them; and told them, that they were above all Magiſtrates, of what rank ſoever. *Hacket* is afterward arraigned, *July* 26. and two days after drawn to his Execution, which was to be done upon him in that part of *Cheapſide* in which his two Prophets had proclaimed him. Neither the Sentence paſt upon him, nor the fear of death, mitigated any thing of that Spirit of Infatuation with which the Devil had poſſeſt him. Inſomuch, that he exclaimed moſt horribly (as he was drawn upon the *Hurdle*) all the way he paſſed, crying out in theſe words, *Jehovah the Meſſias, Jehovah the Meſſias: behold, Heaven is opened; behold, the Son of the Moſt High is coming down to deliver me.* With the like ill ſpirit he was governed when he came to the Gallows; at which he is affirmed to have made this Imprecation, (for I can by no means call it Prayer) viz. *Almighty Everlaſting God, Jehovah, Alpha and Omega, Lord of lords, King of kings, the Everlaſting God, thou knoweſt that I am the true Jehovah whom thou haſt ſent. Shew ſome Miracle from the Clouds for the converſion of theſe Infidels, and deliver me from my Enemies.* The reſt, too horrid and blaſphemous to be imparted to the eyes of a ſober Chriſtian, I forbear to add. Let it ſuffice, that after ſome ſtrugling with the Hang-man, and many fearful Execrations againſt God and man, he was turned off the Ladder, and preſently cut down, ript up, and quartered, according unto the Law in that behalf. Unto ſuch dangerous Precipices do men caſt

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themſelves, when they forſake the Rule of the Church, and will not be content with that ſobriety in the things of God, which makes men wiſe unto ſalvation. But as for his two Prophets, they found different ends, though they had ſteered the ſame courſe with him. *Coppinger* by a wilful abſtinence, ſtarved himſelf in Priſon within few days after. But *Arthington* lived to ſee his Errors, was pardoned upon his repentance, and publiſhed a Retractation of his Follies, as became a Chriſtian.

10. Many Endeavours have been uſed for freeing *Cartwright* and the reſt of the chief *Presbyterians*, from having any hand in theſe damnable practiſes. And it is true enough, that many of them were ſo wiſe, as neither to admit them to a perſonal Conference, nor to return Anſwer to thoſe Letters which were ſent unto them from the Parties. But then it is as true withall, that *Coppinger* had communicated his firſt thoughts touching his Extraordinary Calling, by ſeveral Letters writ to *Cartwright*, *Egerton*, *Travers*, *Chark*, *Gardiner*, *Cooper*, *Philips*, and others; not to ſay any thing of *Penry* or *Wiggington*, who ſeemed to have been of Counſel with them in the whole Deſign. And it is alſo true, that when he deſcended to particulars in reference to the courſe which he meant to take in the preſent Exigent, they would by no means entertain any Meſſages from him, by which they might be made acquainted with the Plot in hand. But then it cannot be denied, that knowing them to be intent upon ſome courſe which they could not juſtifie, they neither revealed it to the State, nor laboured to diſſwade them from it, but ſeemed content to let them run their full career, and then to take ſuch benefit of it as the iſſue and ſucceſs thereof ſhould afford unto them. And in this caſe it may be ſaid too juſtly in the Orator's language, that there was little difference between the adviſing of a Fact, and the rejoycing at it when it was once executed: and how they then could take the benefit of ſuch a miſchief, with which they had been pre-acquainted in the general notion, aud either not be joyful at it, and conſequently be in the ſame caſe with ſuch as had adviſed unto it, let them judg that liſt.

11. The dangers growing to the State by theſe odious practiſes, may be ſuppoſed to haſten the Arraignment of *Udal*, one of the four which had a hand in thoſe ſcurrilous Libels which ſwarmed ſo numerouſly in all parts of the Kingdom, *Anno* 1588, and the times ſince following. But more particularly, he ſtood charged for being the Author of a Book, called, *The Demonſtration of Diſcipline which Chriſt hath preſcribed in his Word for the Government of his Church, in all times and places, until the Worlds end.* In the Preface whereof occurreth theſe paſſages: Firſt, He inſcribes the ſame not to the Governours, but *to the ſuppoſed Governours of the Church of* England. And then he flyes upon them in theſe following words, viz. *Who can deny you, without bluſhing, to be the cauſe of all ungodlineſs? ſeeing your Government is that which giveth leave to a man to be any thing, ſaving a ſound Chriſtian. For certainly, it is more free in theſe days to be a* Papiſt, Anabaptiſt, *of the* Family of Love; *yea,*

yea, as any moſt wicked whatſoever, than that which we ſhould be. And I could live theſe twenty years, as well as any ſuch in England, (*yea in a Biſhop's Houſe, it may be*) *and never be moleſted for it: So true is that which you are charged with in a Dialogue lately come forth againſt you, and ſince burn'd by you, That you care for nothing but the maintenance of your Dignities, be it to the damnation of your own ſouls, and infinite millions more.* For which whole Book, but more eſpecially for this paſſage in the Preface of it, he was indicted at an Aſſizes held in *Croydon*, for the County of *Surrey*, on the 23*d* of *July*, *Anno* 1590; and by ſufficient Evidence found guilty of it. The Priſoner pleaded for himſelf, That his Indictment was upon the Statute of 23 *Eliz.* Cap. 2. for puniſhing Seditious words againſt the Queen; but that the Book for which he ſtood accuſed, contained no offenſive paſſages againſt the Queen, but the Biſhops only, and therefore could not come within the compaſs and intent of that Statute. But it was anſwered by the Judges, and reſolved for Law, *That they who ſpeak againſt Her Majeſty's Government in Caſes Eccleſiaſtical, Her Laws, Proceedings, or Eccleſiaſtical Officers, which ruled under Her, did defame the Queen.* Which Reſolution being given; and the Evidence heard; he had ſo much favour ſhewed him, by conſent of the Court, as to be put unto this queſtion, that is to ſay, Whether he would take it either on his Conſcience, or his Credit, that he was not the Author of that Book: Which if he would or could have done, it was conceived that both the Judges and the Jurors would have reſted ſatisfied. But he not daring to deny it, the Jurors could not otherwiſe do, than pronounce him *Guilty*, upon ſuch evident Proofs, and ſo many Witneſſes as were brought againſt him. But the Arch-biſhop, being then at his Houſe in *Croydon*, prevailed ſo far in his behalf, that the Judges did ſuſpend the Sentence of his Condemnation. This Tryal hapned in the interval, between the ſeveral Commitments of *Snape* and *Cartwright*, before-mentioned, when the State had taken up a reſolution to proceed ſeverely againſt the Diſturbers of Her Peace; which gave ſome occaſion of offence to the Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, that the Arch-biſhop, who ſeemed moſt concerned in the preſent caſe, ſhould ſhow ſuch favour to a man whom the Law condemned, and by whoſe ſeaſonable Execution, a ſtop might poſſibly be made to all further Troubles.

12. But *Snape* and *Cartwright* ſtill continuing obſtinate in refuſing the Oath, and the ſuſpition growing ſtrong of ſome new Deſigns, he was brought again unto the Barr at *Southwark*, in the *March* next following, and there received the Sentence of death in due form of Law. But ſuch was the exceeding Lenity of the good Arch-biſhop, that he looked more upon the Parts of the man, than upon his Paſſions, upon his Learning and Abilities, though too much abuſed, than the ill uſe that he made of them in thoſe ſtirring-times. And ſo far he engaged himſelf with his Royal Miſtreſs, (who uſed to call him Her Black Husband) that ſhe gave way to a Reprieve, though ſhe could not eaſily be induced to grant a Pardon.

Which

Which notwithstanding the Arch-bishop could not scape the lash of some virulent Tongues, by whom he stood more accused for the Condemnation, than he was magnified for the Reprieve of the man condemned. And therefore it was after pleaded in his justification, That *Udal*'s Book was clearly within the compass of the Statute 23 *Eliz.* cap. 2. for punishing *Seditious words against the Queen*, according to the Resolution of the Judges before laid down. That divers Seditious Sermons might have been objected against him, as well as the making of that Book, which would have rendred him more culpable in the sight of his Judges; and that whereas one *Catsfield* could have spoken more materially against him, than any of the rest of the Witnesses, he was never called unto the Barr to give in his Evidence, the Jurors being fully satisfied in the former Proofs. So that the whole Indictment being rightly grounded, the Prosecution favourable, and the Evidence full, the man remained a living-Monument of the Arch-bishop's extraordinary Goodness to him, in the preserving of that Life which by the Law he had forfeited. But how long he remained alive, I am not able to say; and therefore shall add only this, That he left a Son behind, called *Ephraim*, who afterwards was Beneficed at the Church of St. *Augustines*, near St. *Paul's* Church-yard, and proved as great a Zealot for Conformity, in the time of King *CHARLES*, as his Father was reputed for his Non-conformity in the times we write of. And he paid almost as deer for it, as his Father did, being sequestred about the year 1643, not submitting to some Oaths and Covenants then required of him; his bed-rid Wife turned out of doors, and left most unmercifully in the open Streets.

13. Now whilst the State was taken up in these Criminal Processes, the Learned men and others interessed on each side, were no less busied in defence of their own Concernments. *Adrian Saravia*, born in the *Lower-Germany*, but better studied in the Fathers than the most of his Rank, had found by search into their Writings, of what Antiquity and Necessity the Calling of Bishops had been reckoned in the Primitive times, even in the days of the Apostles; but finding no encouragement to maintain any such opinion in his Native Countrey, where the *Presbyteries* governed all, and Parity of Ministers was received as an Article of their publike Confession; he put himself upon the Favour and Protection of the Church of *England*. He had before fashioned his Reply to *Beza*'s Book, entituled, *De Triplici Episcopatu*, as before was said. But the first Piece published by him on his coming hither, was a right learned Work, entituled, *De diversis gradibus Ministrorum Evangelii*: In which he proved by undeniable Arguments, That Bishops were a different Order, as well as by Degrees superior to all other *Presbyters*. This Book he dedicates to the Ministers of the *Belgick* Churches, as appears by his Epistle dated *March* 26, *Anno* 1590. Amongst whom, though he could not hope for much approbation, yet he received but little or no opposition. But so it prov'd not at *Geneva*, where *Beza* governed, backed by *Danæus*, and the rest of 1590.

the *Consistorians*, who looked upon it as destructive to their whole Contrivements. *Beza* had other Work in hand, and therefore leaves him for the present to the lash of *Danæus*, who falls upon him with Reproaches instead of Arguments, (as *Saravia* complained in his Reply) reckoning his Corpulency for a Crime, calling him *Swineherd*, *Hog*, a man born only for the stuffing of a filthy paunch; with many the like scurrilous strains of *Genevian* Rhetorick. *Beza* comes slowly on, but he comes at last; not publishing his Answer to it, till the third year after: to which *Saravia* replies in the year next following, *Anno* 1594. In which he made an exact parallel (amongst other things) betwixt the practises of *Hacket* and the *Puritan* Faction, on the one side, and those of *John* of *Leyden* and the *Anabaptists*, when they reigned in *Munster*. In the end, *Beza* gave him over; which raised him to such eminent note with the *English* Prelates, that he was made a Prebendary of the Church of *Westminster*, and otherwise well provided for to his full contentment.

14. In the mean time, the Minister of the *Italian* Church in the City of *London*, could not rest satisfied with the enjoying the same Priviledges which the *French* and *Dutch* Churches had before procured; but published a Book in maintenance and commendation of the Holy Discipline: which gave a just occasion to Dr. *Matthew Sutcliff*, then Dean of *Exon*, to set out a judicious Work in *Latin* touching the nature of the truly Catholick and Christian Church; wherein he grated somewhat hard on the point of *Presbytery*, and was the first *English* man that did so in the *Latin* Tongue. And though he named *Beza* only, and no more than named him; yet *Beza* thought his Name so sacred, or himself so high, that he conceived himself to be much dishonoured; reproaches him by the name of a petulant Railer, and complains of the affront in an Epistle to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. But he got nothing by the *Bargain*: For as he was handsomely shaked up for it by *Saravia* in his Replication; so the Arch-bishop in an Answer to the said Epistle, dated in *January*, 1593, severely reprehends him for his intermedling with the Church of *England*, and plainly lays before him all those disturbances which by his means had been occasioned in the same: so that being learnedly refuted by *Saravia* on the one side, and gravely reprehended on the other by that Reverend Prelate, he grows wise at last, leaving the *English Puritans* to their own defences. And more than so, in his Reply to his last Letter, he gives him his due Titles, of the *most Reverend Father in Christ*, and his *honoured Lord*; assuring him, *That in all his writings touching Church-Government, he impugned only the Romish Hierarchy, but never intended to touch the Ecclesiastical Polity of this Church of* England, *nor to exact of us to frame our selves or our Church to the pattern of their Presbyterian Discipline.* And thereunto he added this safe Conclusion, *That as long as the substance of Doctrine was uniform in the Church of Christ, they may lawfully vary in other matters, as the circumstance of time, place, and persons, requires, and as prescription of Antiquity may warrant.* And, *to that end he wished and hoped, that the*

De vera Catholica & Christiana Ecclesia

Convitiatorem petulantem vocari doleo. Sarav. Repl.

Sacred

Sacred and Holy Colledges of Bishops (for so he calls them) *would for ever continue and maintain such their Right and Title in the Church's Government, with all Equity and Christian Moderation.*

15. At this time grew the Heats also betwixt *Hooker* and *Travers*: the first being Master of the *Temple*, and the other Lecturer: *Hooker* received his Education in *Corpus Christi Colledg* in *Oxon*, from whence he came well stocked in all kind of Learning, but most especially in Fathers, Councils, and other approved Monuments of Ecclesiastical Antiquity. *Travers* was bred in *Trinity Colledg* in *Cambridg*, well skilled in the Oriental Tongues, and otherwise better studied in Words than Matter, being Cotemporary with *Cartwright*, and of his Affection: He sets up his studies in *Geneva*, and there acquaints himself with *Beza*, and the rest of that Consistory, of whom and their new Discipline he grew so enamoured, that before his coming into *England* he was made Minister (as well at least as such hands could make him) by the Presbytery of *Antwerp*, as appears by their Certificate, (for I dare not call them Letters of Orders) dated *May* 14, 1578. Thus qualified, he associates himself with *Cartwright*, whom he found there at his coming, in preaching to the Factory of *English* Merchants, and follows him not long after into *England* also. By the commendation of some Friends, he was taken into the House of *William* Lord *Burleigh*, whom he served first in the nature of a Pedagogue to his younger Son, and after as one of his Chaplains. Preferments could not chuse but come in his way, considering the Greatness of his Master, whose eminent Offices of Lord Treasurer, Chief Secretary, and Master of the Wards, could not but give him many opportunities to prefer a Servant to the best places in the Church. But *Travers* knew his incapacity to receive such Favours, as neither lawfully ordained, according to the Form prescribed by the Church of *England*, nor willing to subscribe to such Rites and Ceremonies as he found were used in the same. But being a great Factor for promoting the Holy Discipline, he gets himself into the Lecture of the *Temple*; which could not easily be denyed, when the Chaplain of so great a Councellor was a Suitor for it.

16. In this place he insinuates himself, by all means imaginable, into the good affections of many young Students, and some great Lawyers of both Houses, on whom he gained exceedingly by his way of Preaching, graced with a comely Gesture, and a Rhetorical manner of Elocution. By which advantages he possest many of the long Robe with a strong affection to the devices of *Geneva*, and with as great a prejudice to the *English Hierarchy*; the fruits whereof discovered themselves more or less in all following Parliaments, when any thing concerning the Church came in agitation. And by the opportunity of this Place, he had the chief managing of the Affairs of the *Disciplinarians*, presiding for the most part in their Classical Meetings, and from hence issuing their Directions to the rest of the Churches. And so it stood till *Hooker*'s coming to be Master; who being a man of other Principles, and better able to

defend them in a way of Argument; endeavoured to inſtruct his Auditors in ſuch Points of Doctrine as might keep them in a right perſwaſion of the Church of *England*, as well in reference to her Government, as her Forms of Worſhip. This troubled *Travers* at the heart, as it could not otherwiſe, to ſee that the fine Web which he had been ſo long in weaving, ſhould be thus unravell'd. Rather than ſo, *Hooker* ſhall tell them nothing in the Morning, but what he laboured to confute in the Afternoon; not doubting but that a great part of the Auditors would paſs Sentence for him, though the truth might run moſt apparently on the other ſide. *Hooker* endured it for ſome time; but being weary at the laſt of the oppoſition, he complains thereof to the Arch-biſhop, who had (deſervedly) a very great opinion of him; and this Complaint being ſeaſonably made in that point of time when *Cartwright*, *Snape*, and other Leading-men of the *Puritan* Faction, were brought into the High Commiſſion; it was no hard matter for him to procure an Order to ſuppreſs his Adverſary, ſilenced from preaching in the *Temple*, and all places elſe. Which Order was iſſued upon theſe grounds, that is to ſay, *That he was no lawfully ordained Miniſter according to the Church of* England: *That he took upon him to preach, without being licenſed*: and, *That he had preſumed openly to confute ſuch Doctrine as had been publickly delivered by another Preacher, without any notice given thereof to the lawful Ordinary, contrary to a Proviſion made in the Seventh year of the Queen, for avoiding Diſturbances in the Church.*

17. But *Travers* was too ſtiff, and too well ſupported, to ſit down on the firſt Aſſault: He makes his ſupplication therefore to the Lords of the Council, where he conceived himſelf as ſtrong and as highly favoured as *Hooker* was amongſt the Biſhops and the High Commiſſioners. In this Petition he complains of ſome obliquity in the proceedings had againſt him, for want of ſome Legalities in the conduct of it. But when he came to anſwer to the Charges which were laid upon him, his Defences appeared very weak and flat, and could not much conduce to his juſtification, when they were ſeriouſly examined in the ſcale of Judgment. His exerciſing the Miniſtry without lawful *Orders*, he juſtified no otherwiſe, than that by the Communion of Saints, all Ordinations were of like Authority in a Chriſtian Church. The Biſhop of *London* had commended him by two Letters unto that Society, to be choſen Lecturer; and That he took for a ſufficient Licenſe, as might enable him to preach to that Congregation. And as for his confuting in the Afternoon, what had been preached by Mr. *Hooker* in the morning before, he conceived that he had warrant for it from St. *Paul's* example, in withſtanding St. *Peter* to his face, for fear leſt otherwiſe God's Truth might receive ſome prejudice. The weakneſs and inſufficiency of which Defences, was preſently made known in *Hooker's* Anſwer to the Supplication. Which wrought ſo much upon the Lords, and was ſo ſtrongly ſeconded by the Arch-biſhop himſelf, that all the Friends which *Travers* had amongſt them, could not do him good; eſpecially when it was repreſented to them, how dangerous a thing it was,

that

that a man of ſuch ill Principles, and of worſe Affections, ſhould be permitted to continue in his former Lecture; which, what elſe were it, in effect, but to *retain* almoſt half the Lawyers of *England* to *be of Councel* in all Cauſes which concerned the Church, whenſoever thoſe of the *Genevian* or *Puritan* Faction ſhould require it of them. But ſo it hapned, (and it hapned very well for *Travers*) that the Queen had erected an Univerſity at *Dublin*, in the year fore-going, 1591; Founding therein a Colledg dedicated to the *Holy Trinity*; to the Provoſtſhip whereof he was invited by the Arch-biſhop of *Dublin*, who had been once a Fellow of the ſame Houſe with him. Glad of which opportunity to go off with credit, he prepares for *Ireland*. But long he had not dwelt on his new Preferment, when either he proved too hot for the Place, or the Countrey (by reaſon of the following Warrs) grew too hot for him: Which brought him back again to *England*; where he lived to a very great age in a ſmall Eſtate, more comfortably than before, becauſe leſs troubleſome to the Church than he had been formerly.

18. Thus have we ſeen *Travers* taken off, and *Beza* quieted; nor was it long before *Cartwright* was reduced to a better temper: But firſt, it was reſolved to try all means for his delivery, both at home and abroad. Abroad, they held intelligence with their Brethren in the Kirk of *Scotland*, by means of *Penry* here, and of *Gibſon* there; two men as fit for their Deſigns, as if they had been made of purpoſe to promote the Miſchief. Concerning which, thus *Gibſon* writes in one of his Letters to *Coppinger*, before remembred; whereby it ſeems that he was privy to his practiſes alſo. *The beſt of our Miniſters* (ſaith he) *are moſt careful of your eſtate; and had ſent for that effect a Preacher of ours the laſt Summer, of purpoſe to confer with the beſt affected of your Church, to lay down a plot how our Church might beſt travel for your relief. The Lord knows what care we have of you, both in our publick and private Prayers*, &c. *For, as feeling-members of one body, we reckon the affliction of your Church to be our own.* This ſhowed how great they were with child of ſome good Affections; but there wanted ſtrength to be delivered of the Burthen. They were not able to raiſe Factions in the Court of *England*, as Queen *ELIZABETH* had done frequently on their occaſions in the Realm of *Scotland*. All they could do, was to engage the King in mediating with the Queen in behalf of *Cartwright*, *Udal*, and ſome others of the principal Brethren then kept in Priſon for their contumacy in refuſing the Oath. And they prevailed ſo far upon Him, who was not then in a condition to deny them any thing, as to direct ſome Lines unto Her in this tenour following.

19. "Right Excellent, High and Mighty Princeſs, Our dear-
"eſt Siſter and Couſin, in Our heartieſt manner We
"recommend Us unto You. Hearing of the Apprehenſion
"of Maſter *Udal*, and Maſter *Cartwright*, and certain other
"Miniſters of the Evangel, within Your Realm, of whoſe
"good Erudition, and Faithful Travels in the Church, We
"hear

"hear a very credible commendation, however that their di-
"verſity from the Biſhops and other of Your Clergy, in mat-
"ters touching their Conſcience, hath been a mean by their
"delation to work them your miſliking: at this time We can-
"not (weighing the Duty which We owe to ſuch as are af-
"flicted for their Conſcience in that Profeſſion) but by Our
"moſt effectuous and earneſt Letter, interpone Us at Your
"Hands, to ſtay any harder uſage of them for that cauſe.
"Requeſting You moſt earneſtly, That for Our Cauſe and
"Interceſſion, it may pleaſe You to let them be relieved of
"their preſent Strait, and whatſoever further Accuſation or
"Purſuit depending upon that ground, reſpecting both
"their former Merit in ſetting forth the Evangel, the ſimpli-
"city of their Conſcience in this Defence, which cannot
"well be, their Lett by Compulſion, and the great ſlander
"which would not fail to fall out upon their further ſtrait-
"ning for any ſuch occaſion. Which We aſſure Us, Your
"Zeal to Religion, beſides the expectation We have of Your
"good will to pleaſure Us, will willingly accord to Our Re-
"queſt, having ſuch proofs from time to time, of Our like
"diſpoſition to You, in any matter which You recommend
"unto Us. And thus, Right Excellent, Right High, and
"Mighty Princeſs, Our dear Siſter and Couſin, We commit
"You to God's Protection.

Edenborough, June 12. 1591.

20. This Letter was preſented to the Queen by the hands of one *Johnſon*, a Merchant of that Nation then remaining in *London*. But it produced not the Effect which the Brethren hoped for: For the Queen looked upon it as extorted rather by the importunity of ſome which were then about Him, than as proceeding from Himſelf, who had no reaſon to be too indulgent unto thoſe of that Faction. This Project therefore not ſucceeding, they muſt try another; and the next tryal ſhall be made on the High Commiſſion, by the Authority whereof, *Cartwright*, and *Snape*, and divers others, were committed Priſoners. If this Commiſſion could be weakned, and the Power thereof reduced to a narrower compaſs, the Brethren might proceed ſecurely in the Holy Diſcipline, the Priſoners be releaſed, and the Cauſe eſtabliſhed. And for the queſtioning thereof, they took this occaſion: One *Candreys*, Parſon of *North-Luffengham*, in the County of *Rutland*, had been informed againſt, about four years ſince, in the High Commiſſion, for preaching againſt the Book of Common-Prayer, and refuſing to celebrate Divine Service, according to the Rules and Rubricks therein preſcribed. For which, upon ſufficient proof, he was deprived of his Benefice by the Biſhop of *London*, and the reſt of the Queen's Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. Four years together he lay quiet, without acting any thing againſt the Sentence of the Court.

Court. But now it was thought by ſome of thoſe Lawyers, whom *Travers* had gained unto the ſide, to queſtion the Authority of that Commiſſion, and conſequently the illegality of his Deprivation. In *Hillary* Term, *Anno* 1591, the Cauſe was argued in the *Exchequer* Chamber, by all the Judges, according to the uſual cuſtom in all caſes of the like importance; and it was argued with great Learning, as appears by the ſum and ſubſtance of their ſeveral Arguments, drawn up by *Coke*, then being the Queen's Sollicitor-General, and extant amongſt the reſt of his Reports, both in *Engliſh* and *Latin*, inſcribed *De Jure Regis Eccleſiaſtico*; but known moſt commonly by the name of *Cawdrey's Caſe*. In the debating of which Point, the Reſult was this, That the Statute of 1 o of the Queen, for *reſtoring to the Crown the ancient Juriſdiction*, &c. was not to be accounted *introductory* of a new Authority, which was not in the Crown before; but only *declaratory* of an old, which naturally and originally did belong to all Chriſtian Princes, and amongſt others alſo, to the Kings of *England*. For proof whereof, there wanted not ſufficient evidence in our *Engliſh* Hiſtories, as well as in ſome old Records of unqueſtioned Credit, exemplifying the continual practiſe of the Kings of *England*, before and ſince the *Norman* Conqueſt, in ordering and directing matters which concerned the Church: In which they ruled ſometimes abſolutely, without any diſpute; and ſometimes relatively, in reference to ſuch oppoſition as they were to make againſt the Pope, and all Authority derived from the See of *Rome*.

21. Againſt this Caſe, ſo ſolidly debated, and ſo judiciouſly drawn up, when none of the *Puritan* Profeſſors could make any Reply, *Parſons* the *Jeſuit* undertook it; but ſpent more time in ſearching out ſome contrary Evidence, which might make for the Pope, than in diſproving that which had been brought in behalf of the Queen. So that the ſtrugling on both ſides, much confirmed the Power which they endeavoured to deſtroy; the Power of that Commiſſion being better fortified both by Law and Argument, than it had been formerly. For, by the over-ruling of *Cawdrey's* Caſe, in confirmation of the Sentence which was paſt againſt him, and the great pains which *Parſons* took to ſo little purpoſe; the Power of that Commiſſion was ſo well eſtabliſhed in the Courts of Judicature, that it was afterwards never troubled with the like Diſputes. The Guides of the Faction therefore are reſolved on another courſe, To ſtrike directly at the Root, to queſtion the *Epiſcopal* Power, and the Queen's Authority, the Juriſdiction of their Courts, the exacting of the Oath called the Oath *Ex officio*, and their other proceedings in the ſame. And to this purpoſe it was publiſhed in Print by ſome of their Lawyers, or by their directions at the leaſt, That men were heavily oppreſſed in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, againſt the Laws of the Realm: That the Queen could neither delegate that Authority which was veſted in it, nor the Commiſſioners to exerciſe the ſame by her delegation: That the ſaid Courts could not compel the taking of the Oath, called

the Oath *Ex Officio*, ſince no man could be bound in Reaſon to accuſe himſelf: That the ſaid Oath did either draw men into wilful Perjury, to the deſtruction of their ſouls; or to be guilty, in a manner, of their own condemnation, to the loſs both of their Fame and Fortunes. And finally, That the ordinary *Epiſcopal* Courts, were not to meddle in any Cauſes whatſoever, but only Teſtamentary and Matrimonial: by conſequence, not in matter of Tythes, all Miſ-behaviours in the Church, or puniſhing of Incontinency, or Fornication, Adultery, Inceſt, or any the like grievous or enormous Crimes: but on the contrary, it was affirmed by the Profeſſors of the Civil Laws, That to impugn the Authority which had been veſted in the Queen by Act of Parliament, was nothing in effect but a plain Invaſion of the Royal Prerogative, the opening of a way to the violation of the Oath of Allegiance, and conſequently to undermine the whole Frame of the preſent Government. It was proved alſo, That the ordinary *Epiſcopal* Courts had kept themſelves within their bounds; that they might lawfully deal in all ſuch Cauſes as were then handled in thoſe Courts; that their proceedings in the ſame by the Oath *Ex Officio*, was neither againſt Conſcience, Reaſon, nor the Laws of the Land; and therefore, that the Clamours on the other ſide, were unjuſt and ſcandalous. In which, as many both Divines and Civilians, deſerved exceeding well both of the Queen and the Church; ſo none more eminently, than Dr. *Richard Coſins*, Dean of the Arches, in a Learned and Laborious Treatiſe by him writ and publiſhed, called, *An Apology for Proceedings in Courts Eccleſiaſtical*, &c. Printed in the year 1593.

1592. 22. But notwithſtanding the Legality of theſe Proceedings, the puniſhing of ſome Ring-leaders of the *Puritan* Faction, and the Impriſonment of others, a Book comes out under the name of *A Petition to Her Majeſty*: The ſcope and drift whereof, was this; "That the Eccleſiaſtical Government of the Church of *England*, "was to be changed: That the Elderſhip, or Presbyterial Diſci-"pline, was to be eſtabliſhed, as being the Government which "was uſed in the Primitive Church, and commanded to be uſed in "all Ages. That the Diſciplinarian Faction hath not offended "againſt the Statute 23 *Eliz.* cap. 2. And, That *John Udal* was "unjuſtly condemned upon it. That the Conſiſtorial Patrons are "unjuſtly ſlandered with deſire of Innovation, and their Doctrine "with Diſorder and Diſloyalty. And this being ſaid, the Author of the Pamphlet makes it his chief buſineſs by certain Queſtions and Articles therein propounded, to bring the whole Eccleſiaſtical State into envy and hatred. This gave the Queen a full aſſurance of the reſtleſs Spirit wherewith the Faction was poſſeſſed; and that no quiet was to be expected from them, till they were utterly ſuppreſt. To which end She gives Order for a Parliament to begin in *February*, for the Enacting of ſome Laws to reſtrain thoſe Inſolencies with which the Patience of the State had been ſo long exerciſed. The *Puritans* on the other ſide are not out of hope, to make

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ſome good uſe of it for themſelves; preſuming more upon the ſtrength of their Party, by reaſon of the Pragmaticalneſs of ſome Lawyers in the Houſe of Commons, than they had any juſt ground for, as it after proved. To which end they prepared ſome Bills ſufficiently deſtructive of the Royal Intereſt, the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops, and the whole Form of their Proceedings in their ſeveral Courts. With which the Queen being made acquainted before their meeting, or otherwiſe ſuſpecting, by their former practiſes, what they meant to do; She thought it beſt to ſtrangle thoſe Conceptions in the very Womb. And to that purpoſe She gave Order for the ſignification of Her Pleaſure to the Lords and Commons, at the very firſt opening of the Parliament, That they ſhould not paſs beyond their bounds; That they ſhould keep themſelves to the redreſſing of ſuch Popular Grievances as were complained of to them in their ſeveral Countreys: but, that they ſhould leave all Matters of State to Her ſelf and the Council; and all Matters which concerned the Church, unto Her and Her Biſhops.

23. Which Declaration notwithſtanding, the Factors for the *Puritans* are reſolved to try their Fortune, and to encroach upon the Queen and the Church at once. The Queen was always ſenſible of the Inconveniences which might ariſe upon the nominating of the next Succeſſor, and knew particularly how much the Needle of the *Puritans* Compaſs pointed toward the North: Which made Her more tender in that Point, than She had been formerly. But Mr. *Peter Wentworth*, whom before we ſpake of, a great Zealot in behalf of the Holy Diſcipline, had brought one *Bromley* to his lure; and they together deliver a Petition to the Lord Keeper *Puckering*; deſiring that the Lords would joyn with them of the Lower-Houſe, and become Suppliants to the Queen for entailing of the Succeſſion of the Crown, according to a Bill which they had prepared. At this the Queen was much diſpleaſed, as being directly contrary to her ſtrict Command; and charged the Lords of the Council to call the ſaid Gentlemen before them, and to proceed againſt them for their diſobedience. Upon which ſignification of Her Majeſty's Pleaſure, Sir *Thomas Hennage*, then Vice-Chamberlain, and one of the Lords of the Privy-Council, convents the Parties, reprehends them for their Miſdemeanor, commands them to forbear the Parliament, and not to go out of their ſeveral Lodgings, until further Order. Being afterwards called before the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, the Lord *Buckhurſt*, and the ſaid Sir *Thomas*; *Wentworth* is ſent unto the Tower, *Bromley* committed unto the Fleet, and with him *Welſh* and *Stevens*, two other Members of that Houſe, were committed alſo, as being privy to the Projects of the other two. In whoſe behalf, when it was moved by one Mr. *Wroth*, That the Houſe ſhould be humble Suitors to Her Majeſty for the releaſing of ſuch of their Members as were under reſtraint; it was anſwered by ſuch of the Privy-Councellors as were then Members of the Houſe, *That Her Majeſty had committed them for cauſes beſt known to Her ſelf; and, that to preſs Her Highneſs with this Suit, would*

would but hinder those whose good it sought. That the House must not call the Queen to an account for what she did of Her Royal Authority. That the Causes for which they are restrained, may be high and dangerous. That Her Majesty liketh no such Questions, neither did it become the House to deal in such matters. Upon which words the House desisted from interposing any further in their behalf, but left them wholly to the Queen, by whom *Wentworth* was continued Prisoner for some years after.

24. In the same Parliament, one *Morrise*, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, proposed unto the House, That some course might be taken by them against the hard courses of Bishops Ordinaries, and other Ecclesiastical Judges, in their several Courts, towards sundry godly Ministers, and painful Preachers, who deserved more encouragement from them. They also spake against *Subscription*, and the Oath *Ex Officio*, and offered a Bill unto the House against the imprisonment of such as refused the same. Of this the Queen had present notice, and thereupon sends for *Coke*, then Speaker of the House of Commons, (but afterwards successively Chief Justice of either Bench) to whom she gave command to deliver this Message to the House; that is to say, *That it was wholly in Her Power to call, to determine, to assent, or dissent, to any thing done in Parliament. That the calling of this, was only that the Majesty of God might be more Religiously observed, by compelling, with some sharp Laws, such as neglect that Service; and, that the safety of Her Majesty's Person, and the Realm, might be provided for: That it was not meant they should meddle with matters of State, or Causes Ecclesiastical: That She wondered that any should attempt a thing so contrary to Her Commandment: and, that She was highly offended at it: and finally, that it was Her pleasure, That no Bill touching any matters of State, or for the Reformation of Causes Ecclesiastical, should be there exhibited.* On the delivery of which Message, *Morrise* is said to have been seized on in the House by a Serjeant at Arms; but howsoever, seized on and committed Prisoner, kept for some years in *Tutbury* Castle, discharged from his Office in the Dutchy, and disabled from any Practise in his Profession, as a common Lawyer. Some others had prepared a Bill to this effect, That in lieu of Excommunication, there should be given some ordinary Process, with such sute and coertion as thereunto might appertain; that so the dignity of so high a Sentence being retained, and the necessity of mean Process supplied, the Church might be restored to its ancient splendor. Which Bill, though recommended somewhat incogitantly by one of the Gravest Councellors of State which was then in the House, was also dashed by Her Majesty's express Command, upon a Resolution of not altering any thing (the quality of the times considered) which had been setled in the Church, both by Law and Practise. Which constancy of Hers in the preserving of Her own Prerogative and the Church's Power, kept down that swelling humour of the *Puritan* Faction, which was even then upon the point of overflowing the banks, and bearing down all opposition which was made against them.

25. And

25. And, that they might be kept the better in their natural Channel, ſhe cauſed an Act to be prepared and paſſed in this preſent Parliament, for retaining them, and others of Her Subjects, in their due obedience. By which it was Enacted, for the preventing 'and avoiding of ſuch Inconveniencies and Perils as might happen 'and grow by the wicked and dangerous Practices of Seditious Se-'ctaries, and Diſloyal perſons; That if any perſon or perſons above 'the age of ſixteen years, ſhould obſtinately refuſe to repair to ſome 'Church, Chappel, or uſual place of Common-Prayer, to hear Di-'vine Service eſtabliſhed, or ſhall forbear to do the ſame by 'the ſpace of a Month, without lawful cauſe; or ſhould move or 'perſwade any other perſon whatſoever, to forbear and abſtain from 'coming to the Church to hear Divine Service, or to receive the 'Communion, according to the Laws and Statutes aforeſaid; or to 'come or be preſent at any unlawful Aſſemblies, Conventicles, or 'Meetings, under pretence of Religious Exerciſe, contrary to the 'Laws and Statutes made in that behalf; or ſhould at any time after 'forty days, from the end of that Seſſion, by Printing, Writing, or 'expreſs Words or Speeches, adviſedly and purpoſely go about to 'move or perſwade any of Her Majeſty's Subjects, or any other 'within Her Highneſs Realms and Dominions, to deny, with-'ſtand, or impugn Her Majeſty's Power and Authority in cauſes 'Eccleſiaſtical, united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of the 'Realm; That then every perſon ſo offending, and convicted of it, 'ſhould be committed unto Priſon without Bail or Main-priſe, till 'he or they ſhould teſtifie their Conformity, by coming to ſome 'Church, Chappel, or other place of Common-prayer, to hear Di-'vine Service, and to make open ſubmiſſion and declaration of 'the ſame in ſuch form and manner, as by the ſaid Statute was pro-'vided. Now that we may the better ſee what great care was taken, as well by the two Houſes of Parliament, as by the Queen Her ſelf, for preſerving the Honour of the Church, the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops, and the Royal Prerogative in both; it will not be amiſs to repreſent that Form to the eye of the *Reader*, in which the ſaid Submiſſion was to be delivered. The tenour whereof was as followeth, *viz.*

26. 'I *A. B.* do humbly confeſs and acknowledg, That I 'have grievouſly offended God in contemning Her Majeſty's 'godly and lawful Government and Authority, by abſenting 'my ſelf from Church, and from hearing Divine Service, 'contrary to the godly Laws and Statutes of this Realm; 'and in uſing and frequenting diſordered and unlawful Con-'venticles and Aſſemblies, under pretence and colour of 'exerciſe of Religion. And I am heartily ſorry for the ſame, 'and do acknowledg and teſtifie in my Conſcience, That no 'perſon or perſons, hath, or ought to have any Power or 'Authority over Her Majeſty. And I do promiſe and pro-'teſt without any diſſimulation, or any colour of means of

'any Diſpenſation, That from henceforth I will from time to 'time, obey and perform Her Majeſty's Laws and Statutes 'in repairing to the Church, and hearing Divine Service; and 'do mine utmoſt endeavour to maintain and defend the 'ſame.

27. This Declaration to be made in ſome Church or Chappel, before the beginning of Divine Service, within three Months after the conviction of the ſaid Offenders, who otherwiſe were to abjure the Realm, and to depart the ſame, at ſuch time and place as ſhould be limited and aſſigned unto them; with this Proviſo ſuperadded, That if any of the ſaid perſons ſo abjuring, ſhould either not depart the Realm at the time appointed, or ſhould come back again unto it without leave firſt granted; that then every ſuch perſon ſhould ſuffer death as in caſe of Felony, without the benefit of his Clergy. And to ſay the truth, there was no reaſon why any man ſhould have the benefit of his Clergy, who ſhould ſo obſtinately refuſe to conform himſelf to the Rules and Dictates of the Church. There alſo was a penalty of ten pounds by the Month, impoſed upon all thoſe who harboured any of the ſaid *Puritan Recuſants*, if the ſaid *Puritan Recuſants* (not being of their near Relations) or any of them, ſhould forbear coming to ſome Church or Chappel, or other place of Common-prayer, to hear the Divine Service of the Church, for the ſpace of a Month. Which Statute being made to continue no longer than till the end of the next Seſſion of Parliament, was afterwards kept in force from Seſſion to Seſſion, till the death of the Queen; to the great preſervation of the Peace of the Kingdom, the ſafety of Her Majeſty's Perſon, aad the tranquillity of the Church, free from thenceforth from any ſuch diſturbances of the *Puritan* Faction, as had before endangered the Foundations of it.

1593. 28. And yet it cannot be denied, but that the ſeaſonable execution of the former Statute on *Barrow*, *Penry*, and ſome others of theſe common Barreters, conduced as much to the promoting of this general Calm, as the making of this. It was in the Month of *November*, 1587, that *Henry Barrow*, Gentleman, and *John Greenwood*, Clerk, (of whoſe commitment, with ſome others, we have ſpoke before) were publickly convented by the High Commiſſioners, for holding and diſperſing many Schiſmatical Opinions, and Seditious Doctrines, of which the principal were theſe, *viz.* That our Church is no true Church. That the Worſhip of the *Engliſh* Church is flat Idolatry. That we admit into our Church unſanctified perſons. That our Preachers have no lawful Calling. That our Government is ungodly. That no Biſhop or Preacher preacheth Chriſt ſincerely or truly. That the people of every Pariſh ought to chuſe their Biſhop. And, That every Elder, though he be no Doctor or Paſtor, is a Biſhop. That all of the Preciſer ſort, who refuſe the Ceremonies of the Church, ſtrain at a Gnat, and ſwallow a Camel, and are cloſe Hypocrites, and walk in a left-

handed

'handed Policy, as *Cartwright*, *Wiggington*, &c. That all which 'make, teach, or expound Printed or Written Catechisms, are idle 'Shepherds, as *Calvin*, *Ursin*, *Nowell*, &c. That the Children of un-'godly Parents ought not to be baptized; as of Usurers, Drunk-'ards, *&c.* and finally, that set-prayer is blasphemous. On their Convention, and some short restraint for so many dotages, they promised to recant, and were enlarged upon their Bonds. But being set at liberty, they brake out again into further Extremities, and drew some others to the side, almost as mischievous as themselves, and no less Pragmatical: the principal whereof, (not to take notice of the Rabble of besotted people who became their followers) were *Saxio Billet*, Gentleman; *Daniel Studley*, Girdler; *Robert Bouler*, Fish-monger; committed Prisoners to the Fleet, with their principal Leaders, in the *July* following.

29. The times were dangerous, in regard of the great Preparations of the King of *Spain*, for the invading of this Kingdom; which rendred the imprisonment of these furious Sectaries, as necessary to the preservation of the publick safety, as the shutting up of so many of the Leading-*Papists*, into *Wisbich* Castle. But so it was, that the State being totally taken up with the prosecution of that Warr on the Coasts of *Spain*, and the quenching of the fire at home, which had been raised by *Cartwright*, *Udal*, and the rest of the *Disciplinarians*, there was nothing done against them, but that they were kept out of harm's way, as the saying is, by a close Imprisonment. During which time, *Cartwright*, who was their fellow-Prisoner, had a Conference with them; the rather, in regard it had been reported from *Barrow*'s mouth, That he had neither acted nor written any thing, but what he was warranted to do by *Cartwright*'s Principles. The Conference was private, and the result thereof not known to many, but left to be conjectured at by this following story. The Reverend *Whitgift* had a great desire to save the men from that destruction in which they had involved themselves by their own perverseness; and to that end sends Dr. *Thomas Ravis*, then one of his Chaplains, (but afterwards Lord Bishop of *London*) to confer with *Barrow*. At whose request, and some directions from the Arch-bishop, in pursuance of it, *Cartwright* is dealt with to proceed to another Conference: but no perswasions would prevail with him for a second Meeting. Which being signified to *Barrow*, by the said Dr. *Ravys*, in the presence of divers persons of good account, the poor man fetched a great sigh, saying, *Shall I be thus forsaken by him? Was it not he that brought me first into these briars, and will he now leave me in the same? Was it not from him alone that I took my grounds? Or, did I not out of such Premises as he pleased to give me, infer those Propositions, and deduce those Conclusions for which I am now kept in Bonds?* Which said, the company departed, and left the Prisoners to prepare for their following Tryal. By the Imprisonment of *Cartwright*, the Condemnation of *Udal*, and the Execution of *Hacket*, the times had been reduced to so good a temper, that there could be no danger in proceeding

to a publick Arraignment. The Parliament was then alſo ſitting; and poſſible it is, that the Queen might pitch upon that time for their condemnation, to let them ſee, that neither the ſitting of a Parliament, nor any Friends they had in both or either of the Houſes, could either ſtay the courſe of Juſtice, or ſuſpend the Laws. Certain it is, that on the 21 of *March*, 1592, they were all indicted at the Seſſions-Hall without *Newgate*, before the Lord Mayor, the two Chief Juſtices, ſome of the Judges, and divers other Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; for writing and publiſhing ſundry Seditious Books, tending to the ſlander of the Queen and State. For which they were found guilty, and had the Sentence of death pronounced upon them, *March* 23. Till the Execution of which Sentence, they were ſent to *Newgate*.

30. The fatal Sentence being thus paſſed, Dr. *Lancelot Andrews*, afterwards Lord Biſhop of *Ely*; Dr. *Henry Parrey*, afterwards Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*; Dr. *Philip Biſſe*, Arch-Deacon of *Taunton*; and Dr. *Thomas White*, one of the Reſidentiaries of St. *Pauls*; were ſent to *Barrow*, to adviſe him to recant thoſe Errors, which otherwiſe might be as dangerous to his ſoul, as they had proved unto his body. Who having ſpent ſome time to this purpoſe with him, were accoſted thus: 'You are not (ſaith he) the men whom I moſt diſ-'like in the preſent differences: For, though you be out of the 'Way, yet you think your are in the Right, and walk according 'to that light which God hath given you. But I cannot but com-'plain of Mr. *Cartwright*, and all others of his opinion, from whom 'we have received the truth of theſe things, and by whoſe Books 'we have been taught, that your Calling is *Antichriſtian*. And yet 'theſe men, ſaith he, forſake us in our Sufferings, againſt their Con-'ſciences, and rather chuſe to ſave their lives, than go out of *Baby-'lon*. To which, when Dr. *White* objected, That thoſe Callings which he reproached as *Antichriſtian*, had been embraced by Arch-biſhop *Cranmer*, Biſhop *Ridley*, and divers other godly perſons, who ſuffered Martyrdom for their Religion in Queen *MARY's* days. *Barrow* thus gloriouſly replies, *Moſt true it is*, (quoth he) *that they and others were Martyrs in Queen* MARY's *days*; *but theſe holy Bands of mine* (and therewith ſhook his Fetters) *are much more glorious than any of theirs, becauſe they had the Mark of Antichriſt in their hands*. Such was the Fortune of theſe men, that theſe Learned Doctors could do as little good upon them, as *Cartwright* and his Fellows had done before; though, to ſay the truth, it had not been in *Cartwright's* power to have changed their minds, unleſs he had firſt changed his own. And thereupon it was very well ſaid by Dr. *John Burges*, (who had been once one of *Cartwright's* Followers) 'That he was, and ever had been of that opinion, That no juſt 'confutation could be made of the *Separatiſts*, by any of the *Non-'Conformiſts*, who had given them their Principles. That though 'he had ſeen ſome endeavours that way, yet did they never ſatisfie 'him in point of Conſcience. That the Arguments publiſhed in his 'time againſt Conformity, were pretended for the grounds of the Separation.

'Separation. That the *Separatists* did pretend their Pedigree from 'none but the *Puritans*; which no man can deny (saith he) that 'hath any Modesty. And finally, that therefore the *Puritans* might 'well call them their *dear Brethren of the Separation*, as *Dighton* and 'some others had began to do. To bring this business to an end, *Barrow* and *Greenwood* were brought to *Tiburn*, in a Cart, on the last of *March*; and having been exposed for some time to the sight of the people, were carried back again to *Newgate*. But no repentance following on the sense of so great a mercy, they were both hanged at *Tiburn* on the sixth of *April*. The other three being reprieved, with some hope of pardon, as being only accessary to the Crimes of the other.

31. In *May* next following, *Penry* is brought upon his Tryal; a man of most Seditious Malice, and one of the chief Penners of those scurrilous Libels which had passed under the name of *Martin Mar-Prelate*. But not content with having a hand in those Pestilent Pamphlets, but must needs take upon him to be the *Inter-Nuncio*, or common Agent, between the *Presbyters* of *Scotland*, and the *English Puritans*. Having enflamed the *Scots* unto some Seditions, he remained Leidger there till the beginning of *Hacket*'s Treasons, and thereupon writes to *Arthington* to this effect, *That Reformation must be shortly erected in* England: And thereupon he makes for *London*, to have play'd his pranks, if their Design had took effect; it being his hope, as possibly it was the hope of all the rest of that Faction, That on the Proclamations which were made by *Hacket*'s Prophets, the people would have been incited to an Insurrection. But when he saw those hopes deluded, and *Hacket* executed, his guilty Conscience prompted him to fear the like cruel death, which hurried him again to *Scotland*; where he remained till the beginning of the Parliament before remembred. At what time stealing privately back again towards *London*, he was discovered at *Stebunheth*, (commonly called *Stepny*) apprehended by the Vicar there, committed Prisoner, tryed at the King's-Bench-Barr, at *Westminster-Hall*, condemned of Felony on the Statute 23 *Eliz.* and executed not long after at St. *Thomas* of *Waterings*; but executed with a very thin company attending on him, for fear the Fellow might have raised some Tumult, either in going to the Gallows, or upon the Ladder. But what he could not do when he was alive, was put into a way of being effected when the Hang-man had done his office, by publishing one of his Seditious Pamphlets, entituled, *The History of* Corah, Dathan, *and* Abiram, *applied to the Prelacy and Ministry of the Church of* England; *by Mr.* John Penry, *a Martyr of Jesus Christ*, as the Pamphlet calls him. The Work not finished at the time of his Apprehension; but was Printed however by some zealous Brother, that he might poyson the Queen's Subjects as well dead as living.

32. To which end we are told in the Preface of it, by the zealous, or rather Seditious Publisher, 'That the Author, Mr. *John* '*Penry*, was a Godly man, Learned, Zealous, and of a most Chri-

'ſian Carriage and Courage. That he was born and bred in the 'Mountains of *Wales*, and with all godly care and labour, endea-'voured to have the Goſpel preached amongſt his Countrey-men, 'whoſe caſe he greatly ſeemed to pity, wanting all the ordinary 'means for their ſalvation. That being uſed by God for a ſpecial 'Inſtrument in the manifeſtation of his Truth, he was hardly en-'treated, impriſoned, condemned, and executed; and ſo ſuffered 'Martyrdom for the Name of Chriſt. But more particularly, That 'he was adjudged at the King's Bench by Sir *John Popham*, Lord 'Chief Juſtice, and the reſt of the Judges then aſſembled, on the '25*th* of the fifth Month, and executed at St. *Thomas* of *Waterings*, 'near *London*, on the 29*th*. of the ſame, in the year of our God '1593. And finally, That he was not brought to execution the 'next ſecond or third day, as moſt men expected; but, that when 'men did leaſt look for it, he was taken while he was at dinner, 'carried in a cloſe manner to his Execution, and haſtily bereaved 'of his life, without being ſuffered (though he much deſired) to make 'a declaration of his Faith towards God, or his Allegiance to the 'Queen. And in a Poſtſcript to the ſame, he concludes it thus, *viz.* 'That he was apprehended, adjudged, and executed, for writing 'for the Truth of Chriſt, whatſoever other things were pretend-'ed againſt him. Let us no longer blame the *Papiſts* for making Mar-tyrs of ſuch Prieſts and Jeſuits as ſuffered death according to the Law of the Land, for their ſeveral Treaſons: the *Puritans*, or *Presbyteri-ans*, have their Martyrs alſo, *Penry* and *Hacket*, and the reſt, con-demned by the ſame Laws, for their Treaſons and Felonies. And if theſe men, with *Barrow*, *Greenwood*, and the reſt, who had gone before them, muſt paſs in our account for Martyrs, becauſe they ſuffered in purſuance of the Holy Diſcipline. There is no queſti-on to be made, but *Cartwright*, *Snape*, with ſuch as ſuffered only by Impriſonment, or the loſs of their Benefices, muſt be marked for *Confeſſors*, in the next ſetting out of *Gellibrand's* Calender, whenſoever it be. Which, as it was the higheſt honour that any of *Cartwright's* Friends can pretend to for him; ſo in himſelf he ſeemed not very ambitious of thoſe glorious Attributes, which could not otherwiſe be purchaſed, than at *Penry's* Price.

33. For now perceiving, when too late, to what calamitous and miſerable Ends he had brought his Followers, what horrible Con-fuſions had diſturbed the whole Church, by his obſtinate Follies; he was contented to knock off, and to give way to thoſe Prudential Conſiderations which the complexion of Affairs did ſuggeſt unto him. He ſaw too clearly, that there were no more *Walſinghams*, or *Leiceſters*, at the Council-Table. That the Arch-biſhops little fin-ger moved more powerfully there, than thoſe few Friends which durſt ſpeak for him, being put together. That the Chief Juſtice *Popham* was a man of a ridged nature, not to be trifled with, or took off from the proſecution, if he ſhould come within the com-paſs of the Law: And finally, that though the Statute made in the laſt Seſſion, ſeemed chiefly to relate unto the Brethren of the Sepa-

ration;

ration; yet there might be some way or other to hook in all the Zealots for the Discipline also, if they did any thing in derogation of the present Government. Of these Relentings some intelligence had been given to Arch-bishop *Whitgift*, who thereupon resolved to work some impression on him, when he found him like a piece of *Wax* well warmed, and thereby fitted to receive it. In which Resolution he applies himself unto the Queen, from whose Clemency he not only obtained for him a release from Prison, but made it the more comfortable by a gracious Pardon for all Errors past. He suffered him moreover to return to *Warwick*, where he was Master of the Hospital founded by the Earl of *Leicester*, as before is said, and there permitted him to preach; though with this condition, That he should neither Write, nor Preach, nor act in any thing to the disturbance of the Church, either in reference to her Government, or Forms of Worship. And though it be affirmed, That *Cartwright* kept himself within those Restrictions; yet when the Queen had notice of it, she was much displeased, and not a little blamed the Arch-bishop for it: But he beheld not *Cartwright*, as he had done *Travers*, though both pretending to the Ordination of a Forreign Presbytery. For *Travers* never had any other Hands imposed on him, than those of the Presbytery of *Antwerp*, which might stand for nothing. But *Cartwright* was first lawfully ordained in the Church of *England*; the Character whereof could not be obliterated, though it might possibly be defaced, either by the Rescinding of his Letters of Orders, (which some say he did) or by the super-addition of such other Hands as were laid upon him, after the fashion of *Geneva*. Neither was *Cartwright* so insensible of the Obligation, as not to know and to acknowledg by whose Favour he received that Freedom; carrying himself from that time forwards to the Arch-bishop, both in his Letters and Addresses, with as much respect as any of the Regular and Conformable Clergy; continuing in that peaceable disposition, till the time of his death; which hapned about ten years after his enlargement, that is to say, on the 27*th* day of *December*, *Anno* 1603.

34. But the Arch-bishop stayed not here; he knew right well, that Punishment without Instruction, would not edifie much with men of common understandings; and therefore carefully employed both himself and others, in giving satisfaction to all doubting judgments: For his own part, he wrote this year his long and learned Letter to *Theodore Beza*, which before we spake of; and therein calmly laid before him that deplorable Rupture which not without his privity had been made in the Church of *England*. Which point he prest upon him with such Christian Modesty, and did withall so clearly justifie this Church in her whole proceedings, that *Beza* could not but confess himself to be conquered, by his future carriage, which from thenceforth breathed nothing else but Peace to the Church it self, and dutiful respects to that Reverend Prelate. And for the satisfaction of all Parties interested amongst

our ſelves, a Book was publiſhed this year alſo, by Dr. *Thomas Bilſon*, then Warden of the Colledg near *Wincheſter*, concerning *The perpetual Government of the Church of Chriſt*; proving therein, That from the time of Chriſt himſelf, till theſe latter days, neither the Univerſal Church, nor any National or Provincial Church, in what place ſoever, had been governed otherwiſe than by Biſhops, and their Under-Officers. True, other Books were publiſhed at the ſame time alſo, by Dr. *Richard Bancroft*, ſo often mentioned; the one for the undeceiving of the people, (who had been miſerably abuſed by ſuch counterfeit Wares) entituled, *A Survey of the pretended Holy Diſcipline*. The other to inform them in the *Dangerous Poſitions and Proceedings publiſhed and practiſed in this Iſland of* Britain, *under pretence of* Reformation, *&c.* which was the Title of the Book. The like courſe was alſo taken for the juſtification of the Biſhops Courts, by publiſhing the *Apology* of Dr. *Coſens* before remembred. And becauſe *Hacket*'s Treaſons had been built on no other Foundation, than that the Holy Diſcipline might be raiſed upon them, a Narrative thereof is penned by Dr.——— a Doctor of the Civil Laws, collected for the moſt part out of the Letters and Confeſſions of ſome Diſciplinarians, which either had been intercepted, or perſwaded from them. A courſe exceeding proſperous to all thoſe whom it moſt concerned. For the Arch-biſhop by this means went in peace to his Grave; *Beza* was gratified by him with a liberal Penſion, *Bilſon* within a ſhort while after made Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; *Bancroft* preferred about the ſame time to the See of *London*; *Coſens*; for his encouragement, made Dean of the Arches.

35. And though we find not any Preferment to be given to *Cartwright*; yet was it a Preferment to him, to enjoy his Miniſtry; by means whereof, he is affirmed to have grown very wealthy, partly by the Revenues of his Place in the Hoſpital; and partly by the Bounty and Munificence of his conſtant Auditors: Only it is reported of him, that towards his end he was afflicted with many infirmities; inſomuch, that he could not otherwiſe apply himſelf unto his Studies, than upon his knees; which ſome were willing to impute as a judgment on him, for having ſo bitterly inveighed againſt all ſuch men as in that reverend and religious poſture did receive the *Sacrament*. Some alſo have informed us of him, That notwithſtanding all his Clamours, and Tumultuous manner of proceedings againſt the Church, he could not chuſe but confeſs there was more Diſcipline exerciſed in the Church of *England*, than in any of thoſe Churches beyond Seas which himſelf had ſeen. Which words, as he is ſaid to have ſpoken to one Mr. *Woods*, then Parſon of *Freckenham* in *Norfolk*, during the time of his impriſonment in the Fleet; ſo the ſaid *Woods* reported them to Dr. *John Burges*, before-mentioned, and from him I have them. But I had brought the man to his Grave before, and ſhould not have diſturbed his reſt by theſe ſad remembrances, if the Honour of the Church of *England* were not ſome way vindicated as well by the one, as by the other. Thus, as

before

before we brought the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland* to their greateſt height, in ſeeing their Diſcipline eſtabliſhed by Laws, and confirmed by Leagues: ſo have we brought the *Engliſh Puritans* to their loweſt fall, by divers ſharp Laws made againſt them, ſome ſevere Executions done upon them for their tranſgreſſing of thoſe Laws, their principal Leaders humbled, or cut off by the Sword of Juſtice, and the whole *Machina* of their Devices brought to utter ruine: not the leſs active for all this, to advance the Cauſe, though after a more peaceful and more cunning way; ſo much the more dangerous to this Church, becauſe leſs ſuſpected, but not ſo cloſely carried as to ſcape diſcovery. And the firſt practiſe which they fell upon; was this that followeth.

36. It hath been an ancient Cuſtom in the City of *London*, to have three ſolemn Sermons preached on *Monday*, *Tueſday*, and *Wedneſday*, in the *Eaſter*-week, at the place commonly called the *Spittle*; being a diſſolved Hoſpital not far from *Biſhops-Gate*; at which the Lord Mayor and Aldermen uſed to be preſent in their Robes, beſides a great concourſe of Divines, Gentlemen, and other Citizens: For the performance of which Work, a decent Pulpit was erected in an open place, which had been part of the Churchyard; the ordinary Hearers ſitting upon Forms before the Pulpit; the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and their Wives, with other Perſons of Quality, in two handſome Galleries; to which was added, in the year 1594, a fair large Houſe for the reception of the Governours and Children of the Hoſpital, founded in the *Grey-Fryers*, who from thenceforth were tyed to attend thoſe Sermons. At what time alſo the old Pulpit was taken down, and a new ſet up, with the Preachers face turned toward the South, which had before been towards the Weſt; for ſo in former times the Pulpits were generally placed in all Churches of *England*, to the end that the peoples faces, in all acts of Worſhip, might look toward the Eaſt, according to the Cuſtom of the Primitive times. Which alteration ſeemed to be made upon deſign, that without noiſe, or any notice taken of it, they might by little and little change the poſture of Adoration from the Eaſt to the Weſt, or any other point of the Compaſs, as their humour ſerved. In which firſt they were ſhowed the way by Sir *Walter Mildmay*, in his Foundation of the Chappel of *Emmanuel* Colledg, 1585. Who being a great favourer of the *Puritan* Faction, gave order for this Chappel to ſtand North and South, and thereby gave example unto others to affect the like. Which brings into my mind a Project of *Tiberius Gracchus*, one of the moſt Seditious of the *Roman Tribunes*, for transferring the Supreme Power of the Commonwealth, from the Lords of the Senate, to the People: For, whereas formerly all Orators in the Publick Aſſemblies, uſed to addreſs their Speeches to the Lords of the Senate, as the Supreme Magiſtrates, this *Gracchus* turned his face to the common people; and by that Artifice, (ſaith *Plutarch*) transferred unto them the Supreme Majeſty of the *Roman* Empire, without Noiſe or Tumult. 1594.

37. But it is now time to look back towards *Scotland*, where we left them at their higheſt, and the poor King ſo fettered or intangled by his own Conceſſions, that he was not able to act any thing in the Kirk, and very little in the State. He had not very well digeſted their Refuſal to ſubſcribe to His Articles, mentioned in the cloſe of the former Book, when he held an Aſſembly at *Dundee*, in the end of *April*, 1593; at what time the King, being well informed of the low condition of the *Engliſh Puritans*, ſent Sir *James Melvin* to them with theſe two Articles, amongſt many others. In the firſt of which it was declared, 'That He would not ſuffer the 'Priviledg and Honour of his Crown to be diminiſhed, and Aſſem-'blies to be made when and where they pleaſed; therefore willed 'them, before the diſſolution of the preſent Aſſembly, to ſend two 'or three of their number, by whom they ſhould know His mind 'touching the time and place of the next Meeting. And in the ſe-'cond it was required, That an Act ſhould be made, inhibiting Mi-'niſters to declaim in the Pulpit againſt the proceedings of His 'Majeſty, and the Lords of His Council; which He conceived He 'had good reaſon to deſire, in regard that His Majeſty's good inten-'tions were well known to themſelves, for maintaining Religion 'and Juſtice, and of the eaſie acceſs that divers of the Miniſtry had 'unto Him, by whom they might ſignifie their Complaints and 'Grievances. To the firſt of which two Articles, they returned this Anſwer, 'That in their Meetings they would follow the Act 'of Parliament made by Him in the year preceding. And to the ſecond, they replyed, 'That they had made an Act, prohibiting all 'Miniſters to utter in the Pulpit any raſh or irreverent ſpeeches 'againſt His Majeſty, or His Council; but to give their Admoniti-'ons upon juſt and neceſſary Cauſes, in fear, love, and reverence. Which ſeeming to the King to ſerve then rather for a colour to excuſe their Factiouſneſs, than to lay any juſt reſtraint upon it, He turned a deaf Ear to their Petitions, as well concerning his proceeding with the Popiſh Lords, as againſt the erecting of Tythes into Temporal Lordſhips. In this Aſſembly alſo they paſſed an Act, prohibiting all ſuch as profeſſed Religion, to traffick in any part of the Dominions of the King of *Spain*, where the Inquiſition was in force. And this to be obſerved under the pain of Excommunication, till His Majeſty could obtain a free Trade for them, without fear of any danger to their Goods or Conſciences. Which being complained of to the King, and by Him looked upon as an Intrenchment upon the Royal Prerogative, the Merchants were encouraged to proceed as formerly. In oppoſition whereunto, the Miniſters fulminate their Cenſures, till the Merchants generally made offer to forbear that Trade, as ſoon as their Accounts were made, and that their Creditors in thoſe parts had diſcharged their Debts. They paſs'd another Order alſo in the ſaid Aſſembly, for putting down the *Monday's* Market in the City of *Edenborough*, under pretence that the Sabbath was thereby prophaned. Which ſo diſpleaſed the Shoo-makers, and other Artificers, that they came

tumul-

tumultuously to the Ministers Houses, and threatned to turn them out of the City, without more ado, if ever that Act were put into execution. For fear whereof, that Project was dashed for ever after; and thereby an occasion given unto the Court to affirm this of them, *That Rascals and Sowters could obtain that at the Ministers hands, which the King was not able to do in matters far more just and reasonable.* To such audaciousness were they grown upon the silly confidence of their own establishment, as to put limits upon Trade, dispose of Markets, and prostitute both King and Council, to the lust of their Preachers. But we will let them run unto the end of their Line, and then pull them back.

38. And first, We will begin with the Conspiracies and Treasons of *Francis Steward*, Earl of *Bothwell*, Son of *John*, Prior of *Coldingham*, one of the many Bastards of K. *James* the Fifth; who, by the Daughter and Heir of *James* Lord *Hepborn*, the late Earl of *Bothwell*, became the Father of this *Francis*.[a] A man he was of a seditious and turbulent nature, principled in the Doctrines of the *Presbyterians*, and thereby fitted and disposed to run their courses. At first he joyned himself to the banished Lords, 1585. who seized upon the King at *Sterling*; not because he was any way engaged in their former Practises, for which they had been forced to flye their Countrey; but because he would ingratiate himself with the Lords of that Faction, and gain some credit with the Kirk. But being a man also of a dissolute Life, gave such scandal to all Honest and Religious men, that in the end to gain the Reputation of a Convert, he was contented to be brought to the Stool of Repentance, to make Confession of his Sins, and promise Reformation for the time to come. Presuming now upon the 1590. Favour of the Kirk, he consults with Witches, enquires into the Life of the King, how long he was to reign, and what should happen in the Kingdom after his decease; and more than so, deals with the Witch of *Keith*, particularly, to employ her Familiar to dispatch the King, that he might set on foot some Title to the Crown of that Realm. For which notorious Crimes, (and so esteemed by all the Laws both of God and Man) he was committed unto Ward, and breaking Prison, was confiscated, proclaimed Traytor, and all Intelligence and Commerce interdicted with him. After this, he projects a Faction in the Court it self, under pretence of taking down the Power and Pride of the Lord Chancel- 1591. lor then being. But finding himself too weak to atchieve the Enterprise, he departs secretly into *England*. His Faction in the Court being formed with some more Advantage, he is brought privily into the Palace of *Haly-Rood* House, makes himself Master of the Gates, secureth the Fort, and violently attempts to seize the King. But the King hearing of the noise, retired himself to a strong Tower, and caused all the Passages to be locked and barred. Which *Bothwell* not being able to force, he resolves to burn the Palace and the King together. But before Fire could be made ready, the Alarm was taken, the *Edenbourgers* raised, and the Con-

Conſpirators compelled, with the loſs of ſome of their Lives, to quit the place.

1592. 39. The next year he attempts the like at *Falkland*, where he ſhowed himſelf with a Party of ſix-ſcore Horſe; but the reſt of the Conſpirators not appearing, he retires again, is entertained privately by ſome eminent Perſons; and having much encreaſed his Faction, lives concealed in *England*. The Queen negotiates his return; and by the Lord *Burrough* her Ambaſſador, deſires the King to take him into Grace and Favour. Which being denyed, a way is found to bring him into the King's Bed-chamber, together with one of his Confederates, with their Swords in their hands, followed im-
1593. mediately by many others of the Faction, by whom the King is kept in a kind of Cuſtody, till he had granted their Deſires. At laſt, upon the Mediation of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, and ſome of the Miniſters of *Edenborough*, who were of Counſel in the Plot, the King is brought to condeſcend to theſe Conditions; that is to ſay, *That Pardon ſhould be given to* Bothwell, *and his Accomplices, for all matters paſt; and that this Pardon ſhould be ratified by Act of Parliament, in* November *following: That, in the mean time, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord* Hume, *the Maſter of* Glammir, *and Sir* George Hume, (who were all thought to favour the Popiſh Lords) *ſhould be excluded from the Court.* And finally, *That* Bothwell *and all his Party, ſhould be held good Subjects.* But theſe Conditions being extorted, were not long made good; Agreed on *Auguſt* the *14th*, and declared void by a Convention of Eſtates at *Sterling*, on the *7th* of *September*. Some Troubles being raiſed upon this occaſion, and as ſoon blown over; *Bothwell* is cited to appear at *Edenborough*; and failing of his day, is declared Rebel; which only ſerved to animate him to ſome greater Miſchief: For, being under-hand aſſiſted by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, he prepares new Forces, deſires the Lords which were of his Confederacy to do the like, under
1594. pretence of baniſhing the Popiſh Lords; but in plain truth to make the King of no ſignification in the Power of Government. Accompanied with Four hundred Horſe, he puts himſelf into *Leith*, to the great affrightment of the King, who was then at *Edenborough*. But underſtanding that the reſt of his Aſſociates were not drawn together, it was thought good to charge upon him with the Bands of that City, and ſome Artillery from the Caſtle, before his Numbers were encreaſed. Which Counſel ſped ſo well, that he loſt the day, and therewith all his hopes in *Scotland*, and in *England* too.

40. For Queen *Elizabeth* being ſenſible at the laſt of the great Diſhonour which ſhe had drawn upon her ſelf by favouring ſuch an Infamous Rebel, cauſed Proclamation to be made, That no man ſhould receive or harbour him within her Dominions. And the Kirk, moved by her Example, and the King's Requeſt, when they perceived that he could be no longer ſerviceable to their Ends and Purpoſes, gave Order that the Miniſters in all Places ſhould diſſwade their Flocks from concurring with him for the time to come,

come, or joyning with any other in the like Inſurrections againſt that Authority which was diveſted by God in His Majeſty's Perſon. The Treaſons and Seditious practiſes of which man, I have laid together, the better to expreſs thoſe continual Dangers which were threatned by him to the King; by which He was reduced to the neceſſity of complying with the deſires of the Kirk, ſetling their Diſcipline, and in all points conforming to them for His own preſervation. But nothing loſt the Rebel more, than a new Practiſe which he had with the Popiſh Lords, whereby he furniſhed the King with a juſt occaſion to lay him open to the Miniſters, and the reſt of the Subjects, in his proper colours, as one that was not acted by a Zeal to Religion, though under that diſguiſe he masked his Ambitious Ends. In fine, being deſpiſed by the Queen of *England*, and Excommunicated by the Kirk for joyning with the Popiſh Lords, he was reduced to ſuch a miſerable condition, that he neither knew whom to truſt, nor where to flye. Betrayed by thoſe of his own Party, (by whom his Brother *Hercules* was impeached, diſcovered, and at laſt brought to Execution in the Streets at *Edenborough*) he fled for ſhelter into *France*, where finding ſorry entertainment; he removed into *Spain*, and afterwards retired to *Naples*; in which he ſpent the ſhort remainder of his Life in Contempt and Beggery.

41. About this time one of the Miniſters, named *Roſſe*, uttered divers Treaſonable and Irreverent ſpeeches againſt His Majeſty, in a Sermon of his preached at *Perth*; for which the King craved Juſtice of the next Aſſembly: and he required this alſo of them, *That to prevent the like for the times enſuing, the Miniſters ſhould be inhibited by ſome Publick Order; from uttering any irreverent ſpeeches in the Pulpit, againſt His Majeſty's Perſon, Council, or Eſtate, under the pain of Deprivation.* This had been often moved before, and was now hearkned to with as little care as in former times. All which the King got by it, was no more but this, that *Roſſe* was only admoniſhed to ſpeak ſo reverently of His Majeſty for the time to come, as might give no juſt cauſe of complaint againſt him. As ill ſucceſs he had in the next Aſſembly; to which he recommended ſome Conditions about the paſſing of the Sentence of Excommunication; two of which were to this effect: 1. 'That none 'ſhould be excommunicated for Civil cauſes, for any Crimes of 'leight importance, or for particular wrongs offered to the Mini-'ſters, leſt the Cenſure ſhould fall into contempt. 2. That no 'ſummary Excommunication ſhould be thenceforth uſed, but that 'lawful citations of the Parties ſhould go before, in all manner of 'Cauſes whatſoever. To both which, he received no other Anſwer; but That the Points were of too great weight to be determined on the ſudden, and ſhould be therefore agitated in the next Aſſembly. In the mean time it was provided, That no Summary Excommunication ſhould be uſed, but in ſuch occaſions in which the Safety of the Church ſeemed to be in danger. Which Exception much diſpleaſed the King, knowing that they would 1595. 1596.

ſerve their turn by it, whenſoever they pleaſed. Nor ſped he better with them, when he treated ſeverally, than when they were in the Aſſembly. The Queen of *England* was grown old, and he deſired to be in good terms with all his Subjects, for bearing down all oppoſition which might be made againſt his Title after her deceaſe. To which end he deals with *Robert Bruce*, a Preacher of *Edenborough*, about the calling home the Popiſh Lords, men of great Power and Credit in their ſeveral Countreys, who had been baniſhed the laſt year for holding ſome intelligence with the Catholick King: *Bruce* excepts only againſt *Huntley*, whom the King ſeemed to favour above all the reſt; and poſitively declared, *That the King muſt loſe him, if he called home* Huntley; *for that it was impoſſible to keep them both.* And yet this *Bruce* was reckoned for a Moderate man, one of the quieteſt and beſt-natur'd of all the Pack. What was the iſſue of this buſineſs, we ſhall ſee hereafter.

42. In the mean time, let us paſs over into *France*, and look upon the Actions of the *Hugonots* there, of whoſe deſerting their new King, we have ſpoke of before: And though they afterwards afforded him ſome Supplies both of Men and Money, when they perceived him backed by the Queen of *England*, and thereby able to maintain a defenſive Warr without their aſſiſtance; yet they did it in ſo poor a manner, as made him utterly deſpair of getting his deſired Peace by an abſolute Victory. In which perplexity he beholds his own ſad condition, his Kingdom waſted by a long and tedious Warr; invaded, and in part poſſeſſed by the Forces of *Spain*; new Leagues encreaſing every day both in ſtrength and number, and all upon the point of a new Election, or otherwiſe to divide the Provinces amongſt themſelves. To prevent which, he reconciles himſelf to the Church of *Rome*, goes perſonally to the Maſs; and in all other publick Offices which concerned Religion, conformed himſelf unto the directions of the Pope. And for ſo doing, he gives this account to *Wilks*, the Queen's Ambaſſador, ſent purpoſely to expoſtulate with him upon this occaſion; that is to ſay, That Eight hundred of the Nobility, and no fewer than Nine Regiments of the Proteſtant Party, who had put themſelves into the Service of his Predeceſſor, returned unto their ſeveral homes, and could not be induced to ſtay with him upon any perſwaſions. That ſuch of the Proteſtants as he had taken at the ſame time to his Privil-Council, were ſo intent on their own buſineſs, that they ſeldom vouchſafed their preſence at the Council-Table: ſo that being already forſaken by thoſe on whom he relyed, and fearing to be forſaken by the Papiſts alſo, he was forced to run upon that courſe which unavoidable neceſſity had compelled him to: and finally, that being thus neceſſitated to a change of Religion, he rather choſe to make it look like his own free Act, that he might thereby free the Doctrine of the Proteſtants from thoſe Aſperſions which he conceived muſt otherwiſe needs have fallen upon it, if that Converſion had been wrought

upon

upon him by Diſpute and Argument; for hearkening whereunto, he had bound himſelf when he firſt took the Crown upon him. If by this means the *Hugonots* in *France* ſhall fall to as low an ebb as the Fortunes of their Brethren did in *England* at the ſame time; they can lay the blame on nothing but their own Ingratitude, their Diſobedience to their King, and the *Genevian* Principles that were rooted in them, which made them Enemies to the Power and Guidance of all Soveraign Princes. But the King being ſtill in heart of his own Religion, or at leaſt exceeding favourable to all thoſe that profeſſed the ſame; he willingly paſſed over all unkindneſs which had grown between them; and by his countenance or connivence, gave them ſuch advantages, as made them able to diſpute the point with his Son and Succeſſor, whether they would continue Subjects to the Crown, or not.

43. In the *Low-Countreys* all things proſpered with the *Presbyterians*, who then thrive beſt when they involve whole Nations in Blood and Sacriledg. By whoſe example the *Calvinians* take up Arms in the City of *Embden*, renounce all obedience to their Prince, and put themſelves into the Form of a Commonwealth. This *Embden* is the principal City of the Earl of *Eaſt-Frieſland*, (ſituate on the mouth of the River *Emns*, called *Amaſus* by *Latin* Writers) and from thence denominated. Beautified with a Haven ſo deep and large, that the greateſt Ships with full ſail are admitted into it. The People rich, the Buildings general fair, both private and publick; eſpecially the Town-Hall, and the ſtately Caſtle: Which laſt being ſituate on a riſing-ground, near the mouth of the Haven, and ſtrongly fortified toward the Town, had for long time been the Principal Seat of the Earls of that Province. The ſecond Earl hereof, called *Ezard*, when he had governed this Countrey for the ſpace of ſixty years, or thereabouts, did firſt begin to introduce the Doctrines of *Luther* into his Eſtates, *Anno* 1525. But being old, he left the Work to be accompliſhed by *Enno* his eldeſt Son, who firſt ſucceeded in that Earldom; and uſing the aſſiſtance of *Hardimbergius*, a Moderate and Learned man, eſtabliſhed the *Auguſtine* Confeſſion in the City of *Embden*; and afterwards, in all places under his command, prohibiting the exerciſe of all Religion, but the *Lutheran* only. Which Prohibition notwithſtanding, ſome *Anabaptiſts* from the Neighbouring *Weſtphalia*, found way to plant themſelves in *Embden*, where liberty of Trade was freely granted to all comers; which allured thither alſo many Merchants and Artificers, with their Wives and Families, out of the next-adjoining Provinces of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Weſt-Frieſland*, then ſubject to the King of *Spain*. Who being generally *Calvinians* in point of Doctrine, were notwithſtanding ſuffered to plant there alſo, in regard of the great benefit which accrued unto it by their Trade and Manufactures. But nothing more encreaſed the Power and Wealth of that City, than the Trade of *England*, removed from *Antwerp* thither, on occaſion of the *Belgick* Troubles, and the great fear they had conceived

ved of the Duke of *Alva*, who ſeemed to breathe nothing but deſtruction unto their Religion. And though the *Engliſh* Trade was removed not long after unto *Hambourgh*, upon the hope of greater Priviledges and Immunities than they had at *Embden*; yet ſtill they kept a Factory in it, which added much to the improvement of their Wealth and Power; inſomuch that the Inhabitants of this Town only are affirmed to have Sixty Ships of One hundred Tun a-piece; and Six hundred leſſer Barks of their own; beſides Seven hundred Buſſes and Fiſhing-Boats; maintained for the moſt part by their Herring-fiſhing on the Coaſt of *England*.

44. Having attained unto this Wealth, they grew proud withall; and eaſily admitting the *Calvinian* Doctrines, began to introduce alſo the *Genevian* Diſcipline; connived at by *Ezardus* the ſecond, the Son of *Enno*, in reſpect of the profit which redounded by them to his Exchequer, though they began to pinch upon him to the diminution of his Power. In which condition it remained till his marriage with *Catharine* the Daughter of *Guſtavus Ericus*, King of *Sweden*; who being zealouſly addicted to the *Lutheran* Forms, and ſenſible of thoſe great Incroachments which had been made upon the Earl's Temporal Juriſdiction by the *Conſiſtorians*, perſwaded him to look better to his own Authority, and to regain what he had loſt by that Connivence. Something was done for the recovering of his Power, but it went on ſlowly, hoping to compaſs that by time and diſſimulation, which he could not eaſily obtain by force of Arms. After whoſe death, and the ſhort Government of *Enno* the ſecond, the matter was more ſtoutly followed by *Rodolphus*, the Nephew of *Catharine*; who did not only curb the *Conſiſtorians* in the exerciſe of their Diſcipline, but queſtioned many of thoſe Priviledges which the unwarineſs of his Predeceſſors had indulged unto them. The *Calvinians* had by this time
1594. made ſo ſtrong a Party, that they were able to remonſtrate againſt their Prince; complaining in the ſame, That the Earl had violated their Priviledges, and infringed their Liberties: That he had interpoſed his Power againſt Right and Reaſon, in matters which concerned the Church, and belonged to the Conſiſtory. That he aſſumed unto himſelf the Power of diſtributing the Alms or publick Collections by which they uſe to bind the poor to depend upon them. That he prohibited the exerciſe of all Religions, except only the Confeſſion of *Ausberg*: And that he would not ſtand to the Agreement which was made betwixt them, for interdicting all Appeals to the Chamber of *Spires*. Having prepared the way by this Remonſtrance, they take an opportunity when the Earl was abſent, arm themſelves, and ſeize by force upon his Caſtle, demoliſhed part of it which looks toward the Town, and poſſeſt themſelves of all the Ordnance, Arms, and Ammunition, with an intent hereafter to employ them againſt him. And this being done, they govern all Affairs in the Name of the Senate, without relation to their Prince; making themſelves a Free-Eſtate, or Commonwealth, like their *Belgick* Neighbours.

45. Ex-

45. Extreamly moved with this affront, and not being able otherwiſe to reduce them to a ſenſe of their duty, he borrows Men and Arms from *Lubeck*, to compel them to it. With which aſſiſtance he erects a Fort on the further ſide of the Haven, to ſpoil their Trade, and, by impoveriſhing the people, to regain the Town. The Senate hereupon ſend abroad their Edicts to the Nobility and Commons of *Eaſt-Frieſland* it ſelf, requiring them not to aid their own lawful Prince, with Men, Arms, or Money; threatning them, if they did the contrary, to ſtop the courſe of all Proviſions which they had from their City; and, by breaking down their Dams and Sluces, to let the Ocean in upon them, and drown all their Countrey. Which done, they make their Applications to the States of *Holland*, requiring their aſſiſtance in that common Cauſe, to which they had been moſt encouraged by their Example; not doubting of their Favour to a City of their own Religion, united to them by a long intercourſe of Trade, and reſemblance of Manners; and not to be deſerted by them, without a manifeſt betraying of their own Security. All this the States had under their conſideration. But they conſider this withall, That if they ſhould aſſiſt the *Embdeners* in a publick way, the Earl would preſently have recourſe for ſome aid from the *Spaniard*, which might draw a Warr upon them on that ſide where they lay moſt open. Therefore they ſo contrived the matter, with ſuch Art and Cunning, that carrying themſelves no otherwiſe than as Arbiters and Umpires between the Parties, they diſcharged ſome Companies of Soldiers, which they had in *Weſt-Frieſland*, who preſently put themſelves into the Pay of the *Embdens*, and thereby cauſed the Earl to deſiſt from his Intrenchments on the other ſide of the Haven. After which followed nothing but Warrs and Troubles between the City and the Earl, till the year 1606. At what time, by the Mediation of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, and ſome other Honourable Friends, the differences were compromiſed to this effect: That all the Ordnance, Arms, and Ammunition, which were found in the Caſtle, ſhould be reſtored unto the Earl. That he ſhould have to his own uſe the whole Profit of the Impoſts which were laid on Wine; and half the benefit of thoſe Amercements or Fines which ſhould be raiſed upon Delinquents, together with the ſole Royalties both of Fiſhing and Hunting. And, on the other ſide, That the *Embdeners* ſhould have free Trade, with all the Profits and Emoluments belonging to it, which ſhould be granted to them by Letters Patents. But for admitting him to any part of the Publick Government, or making reſtitution of his Houſe or Caſtles, the ancient Seat of his abode, as there was nothing yeelded or agreed on then, ſo could he never get poſſeſſion of them from that time to this. Which ſaid, we muſt croſs over again into the Iſle of *Brittain*, where we ſhall find the *Engliſh Puritans* climbing up by ſome new devices, and the *Scottiſh Presbyterians* tumbling down from their former height, till they were brought almoſt to as low a fall as their *Engliſh* Brethren.

AERIUS REDIVIVUS:

OR,

The History

OF THE

PRESBYTERIANS.

LIB. X.

Containing,

A Relation of their Plots and Practiſes in the Realm of England: *Their horrible Inſolencies, Treaſons, and Seditions, in the Kingdom of* Scotland; *from the Year* 1595, *to the Year* 1603.

THE *Engliſh Puritans* having ſped ſo ill in a courſe of violence, were grown ſo wiſe as to endeavour the ſubverting of that Fort by an undermining, which they had no hope to take by ſtorm or battery. And the firſt courſe they fell upon, beſides the Artifices lately mentioned, for altering the poſture of the Preacher, in the *Spittle*-Sermons; and that which was intended as a conſequent to it, was the Deſign of Dr. *Bound*, (though rather carried under his Name, than of his deviſing) for leſſening, by degrees, the Reputation of the ancient Feſtivals. The Brethren had tryed many ways to ſuppreſs them formerly, as having too much in them of the Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*; but they had found no way ſucceſful till they fell on this; which was, To ſet on foot ſome new Sabbath-Doctrine; and by advancing the Aurho-

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rity of the Lord's-Day Sabbath, to cry down the reſt. Some had been hammering on this Anvil ten years before; and had procured the Mayor and Aldermen of *London* to preſent a Petition to the Queen for the ſuppreſſing of all Plays and Interludes on the Sabbath-day, (as they pleaſed to call it) within the Liberties of their City. The gaining of which point, made them hope for more, and ſecretly to retail thoſe Speculations which afterward *Bound* ſold in groſs, by publiſhing his Treatiſe of the Sabbath, which came out this year 1595. And as this Book was publiſhed for other Reaſons, ſo more particularly for decrying the yearly-Feſtivals, as appears by this paſſage in the ſame, viz. *That he ſeeth not where the Lord hath given any Authority to his Church, ordinarily and perpetually, to ſanctifie any day, except that which he hath ſanctified himſelf:* And makes it an eſpecial Argument Argument againſt the goodneſs of Religion in the Church of *Rome*, That to the Seventh-day they had joyned ſo many other days, and made them equal with the Seventh, if not ſuperior thereunto, as well in the ſolemnity of Divine Offices, as reſtraint from labour. So that we may perceive by this, what their intent was from the very beginning, To cry down the Holy-days as ſuperſtitious, Popiſh Ordinances, that ſo their new-found Sabbath being left alone, (and Sabbath now it muſt be called) might become more eminent: Some other Ends they might have in it, as, The compelling of all perſons of what rank ſoever, to ſubmit themſelves unto the yoak of their Sabbath-rigors, whom they deſpaired of bringing under their *Preshyteries:* Of which more hereafter.

2. Now for the Doctrine, it was marſhalled in theſe Poſitions; that is to ſay, That the Commandment of ſanctifying every Seventh day, as in the *Moſaical* Decalogue, is Natural, Moral, and Perpetual. That when all other things in the Jewiſh Church, were ſo changed, that they were clean taken away, this ſtands, the obſervation of the Sabbath. And though Jewiſh and Rabinical this Doctrine was, it carried a fair ſhew of Piety, at the leaſt, in the opinion of the common people, and ſuch as did not ſtand to examine the true grounds thereof, but took it up on the appearance; ſuch as did judg thereof, not by the workmanſhip of the Stuff, but the gloſs and colour. In which it is not ſtrange to ſee how ſuddenly men were induced not only to give way unto it, but without more ado to abet the ſame; till in the end, and that in very little time, it grew the moſt bewitching error, the moſt popular infatuation, that ever was infuſed into the people of *England*: For what did follow hereupon, but ſuch monſtrous Paradoxes, and thoſe delivered in the Pulpit, as would make every good man tremble at the hearing of them? It being preached at a Market-Town, (as my Author tells me) *That to do any ſervile work or buſineſs on the Lord's day, was as great a ſin as to kill a man, or commit Adultery.* In *Somerſetſhire*, *That to throw a Bowl on the Lord's day, was as great a ſin as to kill a man.* In *Norfolk*, *That to make a Feaſt, or dreſs a Wedding-Dinner on the ſame, was as great a ſin as for a Father to take a Knife and cut his Child's throat.* And in *Suffolk*, *That to ring more Bells than one, on the Lord's day, was as*

great

great a ſin as to commit a Murther. Some of which Preachers being complained of, occaſioned a more ſtrict enquiry into all the reſt; and not into their Perſons only, but their Books and Pamphlets; inſomuch that both Arch-biſhop *Whitgift*, and Chief Juſtice *Popham*, commanded theſe Books to be called in, and neither to be Printed nor made common for the time to come. Which ſtrict proceedings notwithſtanding, this Doctrine became more diſperſed than can be imagined, and poſſibly might encreaſe the more for the oppoſition; no Syſtem of Divinity, no Book of Catechetical Doctrine, from thenceforth publiſhed, in which theſe Sabbath-Speculations were not preſſed on the People's Conſciences.

3. Endearing of which Doctrines, as formerly, to advance their Elderſhips, they ſpared no place or Text of Scripture, where the Word Elder did occurre; and, without going to the Heralds, had framed a Pedigree thereof from *Jethro*, from *Noah*'s Ark, and from *Adam*, finally. So did theſe men proceed in their new Devices; publiſhing out of Holy Writ, both the Antiquity and the Authority of their Sabbath-day. No paſſage of God's Book unranſacked, where there was mention of a Sabbath; whether the Legal Sabbath charged upon the *Jews*, or the Spiritual Sabbath of the Soul from ſin, which was not fitted and applied to the preſent purpoſe; though, if examined as it ought, with no leſſe reaſon, than *Paveant illi, & non paveam Ego*, was by an ignorant Prieſt alledged from Scripture, to prove that his Pariſhioners ought to *pave* the Chancel. And on the confidence of thoſe Proofs, they did preſume exceedingly of their ſucceſs, by reaſon of the general entertainment which thoſe Doctrines found with the common people, who looked upon them with as much regard, and no leſs reverence, than if they had been ſent immediately from the Heavens themſelves, for encreaſe of Piety. Poſſeſt with which, they greedily ſwallowed down the Hook which was baited for them.

4. A Hook, indeed, which had ſo faſtned them to thoſe men who love to fiſh in troubled waters, that by this Artifice there was no ſmall hope conceived amongſt them, to fortifie their Side, and make good that Cauſe, which till this trim Device was ſo thought of, was almoſt grown deſperate. By means whereof, they btought ſo great a bondage on all ſorts of people, that a greater never was impoſed on the *Jews* themſelves, though they had pinned their Conſciences on the Sleeves of the Scribes and Phariſes. But then withall, by bringing all ſorts of people into ſuch a bondage, they did ſo much improve their Power, and encreaſe their Party, that they were able at the laſt to oppoſe Edicts of the two next Kings, for tolerating lawful ſports upon that Day, and to confirm ſome of their Sabbatarian Rigors, by Act of Parliament.

5. From this Deſign, let us proceed to the next, which was briefly this. When the *Genevian-Engliſh* reſolved to erect their Diſcipline, it was thought requiſite to prepare the way unto it, by introducing the *Calvinian* Doctrines of *Predeſtination*, that ſo men's Judgments being formed and poſſeſſed by the one, they might the more

easily be enclined to embrace the other, so long connived at by the Supream Governours of the Church and State, to which they were exceeding serviceable against the Pope; that in the end those Doctrines which at first were counted *Aliens*, came by degrees to be received as *Denizens*, and at last as *Natives*. For being supposed to contain nothing in them contrary to Faith and Manners, they were first commended to the Church as *probable*, next imposed as *necessary*; and finally, obtruded on the people as her Natural Doctrines. And possibly they might in time have found a general entertainment beyond all exception, if the *Calvinian*-spirit (being impatient of the least opposition) could have permitted other men to enjoy that liberty which they had took unto themselves, and not compelled them to Apologize in their own defences, and thereby shew the Reasons of dissenting from them. One of the first Examples whereof, (for I pass by the branglings between *Champney* and *Crowley*, as long since forgotten) was the complaint of *Travers* to the Lords of the Council, against incomparable *Hooker*. In whom he faulteth this, amongst other things, *That he had taught another Doctrine of Predestination, than what was laid down in the Word of God, as it was understood by all the Churches which professed the Gospel.* To which it was replyed, by that learned man, "That the matter was not ut-"tered by him in a blind Alley, where there was none to hear it "who either had Judgment or Authority to controle the same; or "covertly insinuated by some gliding sentence; but, that it was pub-"lickly delivered at St. *Paul's Cross*: not hudled in amongst other "matters, to the end it might pass without observation; but, that "it was opened, proved, and for some reasonable time insisted on. "And therefore, that he could not see how the Lord Bishop of "*London*, that was present at it, could either excuse so great a fault, "or patiently hear, without rebuke then, and controlement after-"wards, that any man should preach doctrine *contrary to the Word of* "*God*; especially if the word of God be so understood, not by the pri-"vate interpretation of some, as two or three men, or by a special "construction received in some few Books; but as it is understood "*by all Churches professing the Gospel*, and therefore even by our own "Church amongst the rest.

6. This hapned in the year 1591, or thereabouts, somewhat before the breakings out of the stirrs at *Cambridg*, occasioned by a a Treatise published by *William Perkins*, a well-known Divine, (but withall, a professed *Presbyterian*) entituled, *Armilla Aurea*, or, *The Golden Chain; containing the Order of the Causes of Salvation and Damnation, according to the Word of God.* Maintaining, in this Book, the Doctrine of the *Supra-lapsarians*, and countenanced therein by Dr. *Whitacres*, the Queen's Professor; some opposition was soon made by Dr. *Baroe*, Professor for the Lady *Margaret* in the same University. Which *Baroe* being by birth a *French*-man, but being very well studied in the Writings of the Ancient Fathers, had con-
1595. stantly, for the space of more than twenty years, maintained a different Doctrine of Predestination, from that which had been taught

by

by *Calvin* and his Disciples; but he was never quarrelled for it till the year 1595, and then not quarrelled for it, but in the person of one *Barret*, who in a Sermon at St. *Maries* Church, had preached such Doctrines as were not pleasing unto *Perkins*, *Whitacre*, and the rest of that Party. For which being questioned and condemned to a Recantation, he rather chose to quit his place in the University, than to betray his own Judgment, and the Church of *England*, by a Retractation. The rest of *Baroe*'s Followers, not well pleased with these Harsh proceedings, begin to show themselves more publickly than before they did; which made *Baroe* think himself obliged to appear more visibly in the head of his Company, and to encounter openly with Dr. *Whitacre*, whom he beheld as the Chief Leader of the opposite Forces. And the Heats grew so high at last, that the *Calvinians* thought it necessary, in point of Prudence, to effect that by Power and Favour, which they could not obtain by force of Argument. To which end they first addressed themselves to the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, then being their Chancellor, with the disturbances made by *Barret*, thereby preparing him to hearken to such further motions as should be made by them in pursuit of that Quarrel.

7. But finding little comfort there, they resolved to steer their course by another Compass. And having pre-possest the most Reverend Arch-bishop *Whitgift* with the turbulent carriage of those men, the Affronts given to Dr. *Whitacre*, whom (for his learned and laborious Writings against Cardinal *Bellarmine*) he most highly favoured; and the great Inconveniences like to grow by that publick Discord; they gave themselves good hope of composing those differences, not by way of an Accommodation, but an absolute Conquest. And to this end they dispatched to him certain of their number, in the name of the rest, such as were interested in the Quarrels, (Dr. *Whitacre* himself for one, and therefore like to stirr hard for obtaining their Ends). The Articles to which they had reduced the whole state of the business, being ready drawn, and there wanting nothing to them but the Face of Authority, wherewith, as with *Medusa*'s Head, to confound their Enemies, and turn their Adversaries into stones. And that they might be sent back with the Face of Authority, the most Reverend Arch-bishop, calling unto him Dr. *Flecher*, Bishop of *Bristol*, then newly elected unto *London*; and Dr. *Richard Vaughan*, Lord Elect of *Bangor*; together with Dr. *Trindal*, Dean of *Ely*; Dr. *Whitacre*, and the rest of the Divines which came from *Cambridg*; proposed the said Articles to their consideration, at his House in *Lambeth*, on the tenth of *November*; by whom these Articles (from thenceforth called the *Nine Articles of Lambeth*) were presently agreed upon, and sent down to *Cambridg*, not as the Doctrines of the Church, but as a necessary Expedient to compose those differences which had been raised amongst the Students of that University. And so much was acknowledged by the Arch-bishop himself, when he was questioned by the Queen for his actings in it. For so it was, that the Queen being made acquainted with all that

paſſed, became exceedingly offended at the Innovation; and was upon the point of cauſing all of them to be attainted in a *Præmunire*; but by the mediation of ſome Friends of *Whitgift*'s, and the high opinion which ſhe had of his Parts and Perſon, ſhe was willing to admit him to his defence. And he accordingly declared, in all humble manner, "That he and his Aſſociates had not made any "Canons, Articles, or Decrees, with an intent that they ſhould ſerve "hereafter for a ſtanding-Rule to direct the Church; but only had "reſolved on ſome Propoſitions to be ſent to *Cambridg*, for quieting "ſome unhappy differences in that Univerſity. With which Anſwer Her Majeſty being ſomewhat pacified, commanded notwithſtanding, That he ſhould ſpeedily recall and ſuppreſs thoſe Articles: Which was performed with ſuch Care and Diligence, that a Copy of them was not to be found for a long time after.

8. As for the Articles themſelves, they were ſo contrived, that both the *Sabbatarians*, and the *Supra-lapſarians*, (very conſiderably at odds amongſt themſelves) might be ſheltred under them, to the intent that both may be ſecured from the common Adverſary. Which Articles I find tranſlated in theſe following words, *viz.*

I. *God from Eternity hath predeſtinated certain men unto life; certain men he hath reprobated.*

II. *The moving or efficient Cauſe of Predeſtination unto life, is not the fore-ſight of Faith, or of Perſeverance, or of Good Works, or of any thing that is in the perſon predeſtinated; but only the Good Will and Pleaſure of God.*

III. *There is predetermined a certain number of the Predeſtinate, which can neither be augmented nor diminiſhed.*

IV. *Thoſe who are not predeſtinate to ſalvation, ſhall be neceſſarily damned for their ſins.*

V. *A true, living, and juſtifying-faith, and the Spirit of God juſtifying, is not extinguiſhed, falleth not away, it vaniſheth not away in the Elect, either totally, or finally.*

VI. *A man truly faithful; that is, ſuch an one who is endued with a juſtifying-faith; is certain, with the full aſſurance of Faith, of the remiſſion of his ſins, and of his everlaſting ſalvation by Chriſt.*

VII. *Saving-Grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men, by which they may be ſaved if they will.*

VIII. *No man can come unto Chriſt, unleſs it be given unto him, and unleſs the Father ſhall draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to the Son.*

IX. *It is not in the will or power of every one, to be ſaved.*

9. Such were the Articles of *Lambeth*, ſo much inſiſted on by thoſe of the *Calvinian* Faction, in ſucceeding times, as comprehending in them the chief Heads of *Calvin*'s Doctrine, in reference to the points of the Divine Election and Reprobation; of Univerſal Grace,

Grace, and the impossibility of a total or a final falling from the true justifying-faith; which were the subject of the Controversies betwixt *Baroe* and *Whitacre*. Some have adventured hereupon to rank this most Reverend Arch-bishop in the List of these *Calvinists*; conceiving that he could not otherwise have agreed to those Articles, if he had not been himself of the same Opinion. And possible it is, that he might not look so far into them, as to consider the ill consequences which might follow on them; or that he might prefer the pacifying of some present Dissenters, before the apprehension of such Inconveniences as were more remote; or else, according to the custom of all such as be in Authority, he thought it necessary to preserve *Whitacre* in power and credit, against all such as did oppose him; the Merit and Abilities of the man being very eminent. For if this Argument were good, it might as logically be inferred, That he was a *Jesuit*, or a *Melanchonian* at the least, in these points of Doctrine, because he countenanced those men who openly and professedly had opposed the *Calvinian*. In which respect, as he took part with *Hooker* at the Council-Table, against the Complaints and Informations of *Travers*, as before is said; so he received into his service Mr. *Samuel Harsnet*, then being one of the Fellows of *Pembroke*-Hall; who in a Sermon preached at St. *Paul's Cross*, the 27*th* of *October*, 1584, had so dissected the whole *Zuinglian* Doctrine of Reprobation, as made it seem most ugly in the ears of his Auditors, as afterwards in the eyes of all Spectators, when it came to be Printed. Which man he did not only entertain as his Chaplain at large, but used his Service in his House, as a Servant in ordinary, employed him in many of his Affairs; and finally, commended him to the care of King *JAMES*; by whom he was first made Master of *Pembroke*-Hall, and afterwards preferred to the See of *Chichester*, from thence translated to *Norwich*, and at last to *York*.

10. No less remarkable was this year for the repairing of the Cross in *Cheap-side*; which having been defaced in the year 1581, and so continued ever since, was now thought fit to be restored to its former beauty. A Cross it was of high esteem, and of good Antiquity, erected by K. *Edward* the first, *Anno* 1290, in honour of Queen *Elienor* his beloved Wife, whose Body had there rested, as it was removed to the place of her Burial. But this Cross being much decayed, *John Hatherly*, Lord Mayor of *London*, in the year 1441, procured leave of K. *HENRY* the 6*th*, to take it down, and to re-edifie the same in more beautiful manner, for the greater honour of the City. Which leave being granted, and 200 hundred Fodder of Lead allowed him toward the beginning of the Work, it was then curiously wrought at the charge of divers wealthy Citizens, adorned with many large and massie Images; but more especially advanced by the Munificence of *John Fisher*, Mercer, who gave Six hundred Marks for the finishing of it. The whole Structure being reared in the second year of K. *HENRY* the 7*th*, *Anno* 1486; was after gilded over in the year 1522, for the entertainment of the Emperor

CHARLES the fifth; new burniſhed againſt the Coronation of Queen *Anne Bullen*, *Anno* 1533; as afterwards at the Coronation of King *EDWARD* the ſixth: and finally, at the Magnificent Reception of King *PHILIP*, 1554. And having for ſo long time continued an undefaced Monument of Chriſtian Piety, was quarrelled by the *Puritans* of the preſent Reign; who being emulous of the Zeal of the *French Calvinians*, whom they found to have demoliſhed all Croſſes whereſoever they came; they cauſed this Croſs to be preſented by the Jurors in ſeveral *Ward-Motes*, for ſtanding in the High-way, to the hindering of Carts, and other Carriages: but finding no remedy in that courſe, they reſolved to apply themſelves unto another. In purſuance whereof, they firſt ſet upon it in the night, *June* 21, *Anno* 1581, violently, breaking and defacing all the loweſt Images, which were placed round about the ſame; that is to ſay, the Images of Chriſt's Reſurrection, of the Virgin *MARY*, K. *EDWARD* the Confeſſor, *&c.* But more particularly, the Image of the bleſſed Virgin was at that time robbed of her Son, and her Arms broke by which ſhe held Him in her Lap, and her whole Body haled with Ropes, and left likely to fall. Proclamation preſently was made, with promiſe of Reward to any one that could or would diſcover the chief Actors in it. But without effect.

11. In which condition it remained till this preſent year, when the ſaid Image was again faſtned and repaired; the Images of Chriſt's Reſurrection, and the reſt, continuing broken, as before. And on the Eaſt ſide of the ſaid Croſs where the ſteps had been, was then ſet up a curious wrought Tabernacle of gray Marble, and in the ſame an Alablaſter Image of *Diana*, from whoſe naked Breaſts there trilled continually ſome ſtreams of Water, conveyed unto it from the *Thames*. But the madneſs of this Faction could not ſo be ſtayed; for the next year (that I may lay all things together which concern this Croſs) a new miſhapen Son, as born out of time, all naked, was put into the Arms of the Virgin's Image, to ſerve for matter of deriſion to the common people. And in the year 1599, the figure of the Croſs, erected on the top of the Pile, was taken down by Publick Order, under pretence that otherwiſe it might have fallen, and endangered many; with an intent to raiſe a *Pyramis* or Spire in the place thereof: which coming to the knowledg of the Lords of the Council, they directed their Letters to the Lord Mayor then being, whom they required in the Queen's Name to cauſe the ſaid Croſs to be repaired and advanced as formerly. But the Croſs ſtill remaining headleſs for a year and more, and the Lords not enduring any longer ſuch a groſs Contempt, they re-inforced their Letters to the next Lord Mayor, dated *December* 24, in the year 1600. In which they willed and commanded him, in purſuance of her Majeſty's former Directions, to cauſe the ſaid Croſs, without more delay, to be re-advanced; reſpecting, in the ſame, the great Antiquity and continuance of that ſtately Monument, erected for an Enſign of our Chriſtianity. In obedience unto which Commands, a Croſs was forthwith framed of timber, cover'd with lead, and ſet up and gilded;

and

and the whole body of the Pile new cleanſed from filth and rubbiſh: Which gave ſuch freſh diſpleaſure to ſome zealous Brethren, that within twelve nights after, the Image of the bleſſed Virgin was again defaced, by plucking off her Crown, and almoſt her Head; diſpoſſeſſing her of her naked Child, and ſtabbing her into the breaſt, &c. Moſt ridiculous Follies!

12. In the beginning of the year, we find Sir *Thomas Egerton* advanced to the Cuſtody of the Great Seal of *England*, Lord Chancellor in effect, under the Title of Lord Keeper; to which Place he was admitted on the ſixth of *May*, to the great joy of the Arch-biſhop, who always looked upon him as a lover of Learning, a conſtant favourer of the Clergy, zealous for the eſtabliſhed Government, and a faithful Friend unto himſelf upon all occaſions. Who being now Peered with the Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of *Eſſex*, aſſured of the good-will of the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, and ſtrengthned with the Friendſhip of Sir *Robert Cicil*, Principal Secretary of State, was better fortified than ever. And at this time Her Majeſty laying on his ſhoulders the burden of all Church-Concernments, told him, It ſhould fall on his Soul and Conſcience, if any thing fell out amiſs; in that by reaſon of her age ſhe had thought good to eaſe her ſelf of that part of her Cares, and looked that he ſhould yeeld an account thereof to Almighty God. So that, upon the matter, he was all in all, for all Church-Affairs, and more eſpecially in the diſpoſing of Biſhopricks, and other Eccleſiaſtical Promotions. For his firſt entrance on which Truſt, he prefers Dr. *Thomas Bilſon* to the See of *Worceſter*, who received his Epiſcopal Conſecration on the 13*th* of *June*, *Anno* 1596. and by his Favour was tranſlated within two years after to the Church of *Wincheſter*. He advanced alſo his old Friend, Dr. *Richard Vancroft*, to the See of *London*; whom he conſecrated on the 8*th* of *May*, *Anno* 1597, that he might always have him near him for Advice and Counſel. Which Famous Prelate (that I may note this by the way) was born at *Farnworth*, in the County of *Lancaſter*, Baptized *September* 1544. His Father was *John Bancroft*, Gentleman; his Mother, *Mary Curwin*, Daughter of *Iſobn*, Brother of *Hugh Curwin*, Biſhop of *Oxon*, whoſe eldeſt Son was *Chriſtopher*, the Father of Dr. *John Bancroft*, who after dyed Biſhop of that See, *Anno* 1640. But this *Richard*, of whom now we ſpeak, being placed by his Unkle, Dr. *Curwin*, in *Chriſt's Colledg* in *Cambridg*; from thence removed to *Jeſus Colledg*, in the ſame Univerſity, becauſe the other was ſuſpected to incline to *Noveliſm*. His Unkle, Dr. *Curwin*, being preferred to the Arch-biſhoprick of *Dublin*, made him a Prebend of that Church: after whoſe death, he became Chaplain to *Cox*, Biſhop of *Ely*, who gave him the Rectory of *Teverſham*, not far from *Cambridg*. Being thus put into the Road of Preferment, he proceeded Batchellor of Divinity, *Anno* 1580, and Doctor, in the year 1585: About which time he put himſelf into the Service of Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, by whoſe recommendation he was made a Prebend of St. *Peters* in *Weſtminſter*, 1592. From whence he had the eaſier paſſage to St. *Pauls* in *London*. 1596.

13. About

13. About this time brake out the Juglings of *John Darrel*, who without any lawful Calling, had ſet up a new Trade of Lecturing in the Town of *Nottingham*: and, to advance ſome Reputation to his Perſon, pretends an extraordinary Power in caſting out Devils. He practiſed firſt on one *Catharine Wright*, *An.* 1586. But finding ſome more powerful Practiſes to be then on foot, in favour of the *Presbyterian* Diſcipline, he laid that Project by till all others failed him. But in the year 1592, he reſumes the Practiſe, hoping to compaſs that by Wit and *Legerdemain*, which neither *Cartwright* by his Learning, nor *Snape* by his Diligence, *Penry* by his Seditions, or *Hacket* by his damnable Treaſons, had the good fortune to effect. He firſt begins with *William Summers*, an unhappy Boy, whom he firſt met at *Aſhby de la Zouch*, in the County of ——————Him he inſtructs to do ſuch Tricks, as might make him ſeem to be poſſeſt; acquaints him with the manner of the Fits which were obſerved by *Catharine Wright*, delivers them in writing to him, for his better remembrance, wiſhed him to put the ſame in practiſe, and told him, that in ſo doing he ſhould not want. But either finding no great forwardneſs in the Boy to learn his Leſſon, or being otherwiſe diſcouraged from proceeding with him; he applies himſelf to one *Thomas Darling*, commonly called, The Boy of *Burton*, *Anno* 1596, whom he found far more dextrous in his Diſſimulations; the Hiſtory of whoſe Poſſeſſings and Diſpoſſeſſings, was writ at large by *Jeſſe Bee*, a Religious ſad Lyar; contracted by one *Deniſon*, a Countrey-Miniſter; Seen and Allowed by *Hilderſham*, (one of the principal ſticklers in the Cauſe of *Presbytery*) and Printed with the good leave and liking of *Darrel* himſelf; who growing famous by this means, remembers *Summers* his firſt Scholar; to whom he gives a ſecond meeting at the Park of *Aſhby*, teacheth him to act them better than before he did; ſends him to ſee the Boy at *Burton*, that he might learn him to behave himſelf on the like occaſions. And finding him at laſt grown perfect, ſends him to *Nottingham*, with intimation that he ſhould make mention of him in his Fits. *Darrel* is hereupon made Lecturer of the Town of *Nottingham*, (that being the Fiſh for which he angled) as being thought a marvellous Bug to ſcare the Devil. And though he had no lawful Calling in that behalf; yet was this given out to be ſo comfortable a Vocation, and ſo warrantable in the ſight of God, that very few Miniſters have had the like; there being no Preacher ſetled there (as he gave it out) ſince her Majeſty's Reign; as if neither Parſons, nor Vicars, nor any that bear ſuch Popiſh Names, might paſs for Preachers.

14. After this, he pretends occaſion for a journey to *Lancaſhire*; where he finds ſeven women poſſeſt with Devils, and out of every one of them was affirmed to have caſt as many as had entred into *Mary Magdalen*. Of this he publiſhed a Book, *Anno* 1600, though the Exploit was done in this preſent year, *Anno* 1597. Theſe things being noiſed abroad by his Confederates, this extraordinary Faculty of caſting out Devils, was moſt highly magnified and cryed up both in Sermons and Printed Pamphlets, as a Candle lighted by God upon

upon a Candlestick in the heart and Center of the Land. And no small hopes were built upon it, that it would prove a matter of as great consequence as ever did any such Work that the Lord gave extraordinarily, since the time that he restored the Gospel, and as profitable to all that profess the knowledg of Jesus Christ. Now what this Plot was, may appear by this which is deposed by Mr. *More*, one of Mr. *Darrel*'s great Admirers and Companions, viz. *That when a Prayer was read out of the Common-Prayer-Book, in the hearing of those which were possessed in* Lancashire, *the Devils in them were little moved with it: but afterwards, when Mr.* Darrel, *and one Mr.* Dicon, *did severally use such Prayers as for the present occasion they had conceived, then* (saith he) *the wicked Spirits were much more troubled* (or rather, the wicked Spirits did much more torment the Parties): *So little do premeditated Prayers which are read out of a Book; and so extreamly do* extemporary *and conceived Prayers torment the Devil.*

15. But *Summers*, at the last grown weary of his frequent Counterfeitings, tired out with his possessings, dispossessings, and repossessings; and in that Fit discovers all to be but Forgeries, and to have been acted by Confederacy. *Darrell* deals with him to revoke his said Confession, seeks to avoid it by some shifts, discredits it by false Reports; and finally, procures a Commission from the Arch-bishop of *York*, (to whose Province *Nottingham* belongeth) to examine the business. A Commission is thereupon directed to *John Thorald*, Esq; Sheriff of the County; Sir *John Byron*, Knight; *John Stanhop*, &c. (most of them being *Darrell*'s Friends) the Commission executed, *March* 20: no fewer than seventeen Witnesses examined by it, and the Return is made, That he was no Counterfeit. But the Boy stands to it for all that; and on the last of the same Month confesseth before the Mayor of *Nottingham*, and certain Justices of the Peace, the whole contrivement of the Plot; and within three days after, acts all his Tricks before the Lord Chief Justice, at the publick Assizes. Upon this news the Boy of *Burton* also makes the like Confession: *Darrell* thereupon is convented by the High Commissioners at *Lambeth*, and by them committed; his Friends and Partizens upon that Commitment are in no small Fury; which notwithstanding he and one of his Associates receive their Censure, little or nothing eased by the Exclamations of his Friends and Followers, who bitterly inveighed against the Judgment, and the Judges too. To still whose Clamours so maliciously and unjustly raised, the story of these leud Impostors is writ by *Harsnet*, then being the Domestick Chaplain of Arch-bishop *Whitgift*; by whom collected faithfully out of the Depositions of the Parties and Witnesses, and published in the year next following, *Anno* 1599.

16. In the same year brake out the Controversie touching *Christ's Descent*, maintained by the Church of *England* in the litteral sense; that is to say, That the Soul of Christ being separated from his Body, did *locally* descend into the nethermost Hell, to the end that he might manifest the clear light of his Power and Glory, to the Kingdom of Darkness, triumphing over Satan, as before he did over

Death and Sin. For which, conſult the Book of *Articles*, *Art.* 4. the Homily of the Reſurrection, *fol.* 195. and *Nowel's* Paraphraſe on that Article, as it ſtands in the *Creed*, publiſhed in his Authorized Catechiſm, *Anno* 1572. But *Calvin* puts another ſenſe upon that Article, and the *Genevian-Engliſh* muſt do the ſame: For *Calvin* underſtands by Chriſt's deſcending into Hell, that he ſuffered in his Soul (both in the Garden of *Gethſemanie*, and upon the Croſs) all the Torments of Hell, even to abjection from God's Preſence, and Deſpair it ſelf. Which horrid Blaſphemy, though balked by many of his Followers in the Forreign Churches, was taken up, and very zealouſly promoted by the *Engliſh Puritans*. By theſe men generally it was taught in Catechiſms, and preached in Pulpits, That true it was, that the death of Chriſt Jeſus on the Croſs, and his bloodſhedding for the remiſſion of our ſins, were the firſt cauſe of our Redemption. But then it was as true withall, That he muſt and did ſuffer the death of the Soul, and thoſe very pains which the damned do in Hell, before we could be ranſomed from the Wrath of God: and that this only was the deſcent of Chriſt into Hell, which we are taught by Chriſt to believe. But more particularly, it was taught by *Baniſter*, That Chriſt being dead, deſcended into the place of everlaſting Torments, where in his Soul he endured for a time, the very Torments which the damned Spirits without intermiſſion did abide. By *Paget*, in his *Latin* Catechiſm, That Chriſt alive upon the Croſs, humbled himſelf, *uſque ad Inferni tremenda tormenta*, even to the moſt dreadful Torments of Hell. By *Gifford* and the *Houſhold-Catechiſm*, That Chriſt ſuffered the Torments of Hell, the ſecond death, abjection from God, and was made a Curſe, *i.e.* had the bitter anguiſh of God's Wrath in his Soul and Body, which is the fire that ſhall never be quenched. *Carliſle* more honeſtly, not daring to avouch this Doctrine, nor to run croſs againſt the Dictates of his Maſter; affirmed, That Chriſt deſcended not into Hell at all; and therefore, that this Article might be thought no otherwiſe than as an Error and a Fable.

17. The Doctrine of the Church being thus openly rejected; upon ſome Conference that paſſed between Arch-biſhop *Whitgift*, and Dr. *Thomas Bilſon*, then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; it was reſolved, That Biſhop *Bilſon* in ſome Sermons at St. *Paul's Croſs*, and other places, ſhould publickly deliver what the Scriptures teach touching our Redemption by the death and blood-ſhedding of Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God, and his deſcending into Hell. This he accordingly performed in ſeveral Sermons upon the words of the Apoſtle, viz. *God forbid that I ſhould glory in any thing but in the Croſs of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whereby the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world*, Gal. 6. 14. In proſecuting of which Text, he diſcourſed at large as well concerning the *contents*, as the *effects* of Chriſt's Croſs; and brought the point unto this iſſue, that is to ſay, *That no Scripture did teach the death of* Chriſt's Soul, *or* the Pains of the damned, *to be requiſite in the Perſon of Chriſt before he could be our Ranſomer, and the Saviour of the World.* And becauſe the proofs

proofs pretended for this point, might be three; *Predictions*, that Christ should suffer those pains; *Causes* why he must suffer them; and *Signs* that he did suffer them: He likewise insisted on all three, and shewed, there were no such *Predictions*, *Causes*, or *Signs*, of the true pains of Hell to be suffered in the Soul of Christ before he could save us. And next, as touching Christ's descent into Hell, it was declared, *That by the course of the Creed it ought not to be referred to* Christ living, *but to* Christ *being* dead: *shewing thereby, the Conquest which Christ's Manhood had after death over all the powers of darkness; declared by his Resurrection, when he arose Lord over all his Enemies, in his own Person, Death, Hell, and Satan, not excepted; and had the keys* (that is, all Power) *of* Death *and* Hell; *delivered to him by God, that those in Heaven, Earth, and Hell, should stoop unto him, and be subject to the Strength and Glory of his Kingdom.* And this he proved to be the true and genuine meaning of that Article, both from the Scriptures and the Fathers; and justified it for the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, by the Book of Homilies.

18. But let the Scriptures, and the Fathers, and the Book of Homilies, teach us what they please, *Calvin* was otherwise resolved, and his Determination must be valued above all the rest. For, no sooner were these Sermons Printed, but they were presently impugned by a Humorous Treatise, the Author whereof is said to have writ so loosly, as if he neither had remembred what the Bishop uttered, or cared much what he was to prove. In answer whereunto, the Bishop adds a short Conclusion to his Sermons, and so lets him pass. The *Presbyterian* Brethren take a new Alarum, Muster their Forces, compare their Notes, and send them to the Author of the former Treatise, that he might publish his *Defence*. Which he did accordingly; the Author being named *Henry Jacob*, a well-known Separatist. Which Controversie coming to the Queen's knowledg, being then at *Farnham*, (a Castle belonging to the Bishop) she signified Her Pleasure to him, That he should neither desert the Doctrine, nor suffer the Function which he exercised in the Church of *England*, to be trodden and trampled under-foot by unquiet men, who both abhorred the Truth, and despised Authority. On which Command the Bishop sets himself upon the writing of that Learned Treatise, entituled, *A Survey of Christ's Sufferings*, &c. although by reason of a sickness of two years continuance, it was not published till the year 1604. The Controversie after this was plyed more hotly in both Universities, where the Bishop's Doctrine was maintained, but publickly opposed by many of our Zealots both at home and abroad. At home, opposed by *Gabriel Powel*, a stiff *Presbyterian*. Abroad, by *Broughton*, *Parker*, and some other Brethren of the Separation. After this, justified and defended by Dr. *Hill*, whom *Aumes* replyed unto in his Rejoynder; as also, by another *Parker*, and many more; till in the end the Brethren willingly surceased from the prosecution of their former Doctrines, which they were not able to maintain. And though the Church received some trouble upon this occasion, yet by this means the Article of Christ's Descent be-

came more rightly underſtood, and more truly ſtated, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, than either by the Church of *Rome*, or any of the Proteſtant or Reformed Churches, of what Name ſoever.

19. But while the Prelates of the Church were buſied upon theſe and the like Diſputes, the *Presbyterians* found themſelves ſome better work, in making Friends, and faſtning on ſome eminent Patron to ſupport their Cauſe. None fitter for their purpoſe than the Earl of *Eſſex*, gracious amongſt the Military men, popular beyond meaſure, and as ambitious of Command, as he was of Applauſe. He had his Education in the Houſe of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and took to Wife a Daughter of Sir *Francis Walſingham*, as before is ſaid, who fitted and prepared him for thoſe Applications which hitherto he had neglected, upon a juſt fear of incurring the Queen's Diſpleaſure. But the Queen being now grown old, the King of *Scots* not much regarded by the *Engliſh*, and very ill obeyed by his natural Subjects; he began to look up towards the Crown, to which a Title was drawn for him, as the direct Heir of *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Duke of *Gloceſter*, one of the younger Sons of K. *EDWARD* the third. This man the *Puritans* cry up with moſt infinite Praiſes, both in their Pulpits, and in their Pamphlets; telling him, That he was not only great in Honour, and the love of the people; but *temporis expectatione major*, far greater in the expectation which his Friends had of him. And he accordingly applies himſelf to thoſe of the *Puritan* Faction, admits them to Places of moſt Truſt and Credit about his Perſon, keeps open Houſe for men of thoſe Opinions to reſort unto, under pretence of hearing Sermons; and hearing no Sermons with more zeal and edification, than thoſe which ſeemed to attribute a Power to Inferior Magiſtrates for curbing and controlling their undoubted Soveraigns. Which queſtionleſs muſt needs have ended in great diſturbance to the Church and State, if he had not been outwitted by Sir *Robert Cicil*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and the reſt of their Party in the Court; by whom he was firſt ſhifted over into *Ireland*, and at laſt brought upon the Scaffold, not to receive a Crown, but to loſe his Head. Which hapned very opportunely for K. *JAMES* of *Scotland*, whoſe Entrance might have been oppoſed, and his Title queſtioned, if this Ambitious man had proſpered in his undertakings, which he conducted generally with more Heat than Judgment.

1596. 20. This brings me back again to *Scotland*. In which we left the King intent upon the expectation of a better Crown; and to that end reſolved upon the Reſtitution of the baniſhed Lords: who being advertiſed of his purpoſe, returned as ſecretly as might be, offering to give good Security to live conformable to the Laws in all peace and quietneſs. The King ſeems willing to accept it, and is confirmed by a Convention of Eſtates, in thoſe good Intentions. The News whereof gave ſuch offence to thoſe of the Kirk, that preſently they aſſembled themſelves at *Edenborough*, gave notice to the ſeveral Miniſters, of the preſent Dangers, and adviſed them to excite thei-

their Flocks to be in readineſs, to the end they might oppoſe theſe Reſolutions of the King and Council, as far as lawfully they might. A day was alſo ſet apart for Humiliation, and Order given to the *Presbyteries* to excommunicate all ſuch as either harboured any of the Popiſh Lords, or kept company with them; and this Excommunication to be paſſed ſummarily on the firſt Citation, becauſe the ſafety of the Church ſeemed to be in danger; which was the miſchief by the King ſuſpected under that Reſerve. They appointed alſo, that ſixteen of their Company ſhould remain at *Edenborough*, (according to the number of the *Tribunes* at *Paris*) who together with ſome of the Presbytery of that City, ſhould be called, *The Council of the Kirk*: That four or five of the ſaid ſixteen, ſhould attend Monthly on the Service, in their turns and courſes; and, that they ſhould convene every day with ſome of that Presbytery, to receive ſuch Advertiſements as ſhould be ſent from other places, and thereupon take counſel of the beſt Expedients that could be offered in the caſe. And for the firſt Eſſay of their new Authority, the Lord *Seaton*, Preſident of the Seſſions, appears before them; tranſmitted unto their Tribunal, by the Synod of *Lothian*, for keeping intelligence with the Earl of *Huntley*. From which, with many affectations having purged himſelf, he was moſt graciouſly diſmiſt. Which though the King beheld as an Example of moſt dangerous conſequence; yet, being willing to hold fair with the Kirk, he connived at it, till he perceived them to be fixed on ſo high a pin, ſo croſs to his Commands and Purpoſes, that it was time to take them down. He therefore ſignifies to them, once for all, That there could be no hope of any right underſtanding to be had between them, during the keeping up of two Juriſdictions, neither depending on the other: That in their Preachings they did cenſure the Affairs of the State and Council; convocate ſeveral Aſſemblies without his Licenſes and there conclude what they thought good, without his Allowance and Approbation: That in their Synods, Presbyteries, and particular Seſſions, they embraced all manner of buſineſs, under colour of ſcandal; and, that without redreſs of theſe Miſdemeanors, there either was no hope of a good Agreement; or that the ſaid Agreement, when made, could be long kept by either Party.

21. The Miniſters, on the other ſide, had their Grievances alſo; that is to ſay, The Favours extended by his Majeſty to the Popiſh Lords, the inviting of the Lady *Huntley* to the Baptiſm of the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, being then at hand; the committing of the Princeſs to the Cuſtody of the Lady *Levingſton*; and the eſtrangement of his Countenance from themſelves. And though the King gave very ſatisfactory Anſwers to all theſe Complaints; yet could not the ſuſpitions of the Kirk be thereby removed; every day bringing forth ſome great cry or other, That the Papiſts were favoured in the Court, The Miniſters troubled for the free rebuke of ſin, and the Scepter of Chriſt's Kingdom ſought to be overthrown. In the mean time it hapned, that one *David Blake*, one of the Miniſters of *St. Andrews*, had in a Sermon uttered divers Seditious Speeches of the

King and Queen; as alſo againſt the Council, and the Lords of the Seſſion: but more particularly, that *as all Kings were the Devils Barns*; ſo the heart of K. *JAMES* was full of Treachery: That the Queen was not to be prayed for but for faſhion-ſake, becauſe they knew that ſhe would never do them good: That the Lords of the Council were corrupt, and takers of Bribes: and, that the Queen of *England* was an *Atheiſt*, one of no Religion. Notice whereof being given to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, he complains of it to the King, and *Blake* is cited to appear before the Lords of the Council. *Melvin* makes this a common Cauſe, and gives it out, That this was only done upon deſign againſt the Miniſters, to bring their Doctrine under the cenſure and controlment of the King and Council; or at the leaſt, a meer device to divert the Miniſters from proſecuting their juſt Suit againſt the coming and reception of the Popiſh Lords; and that if *Blake* or any other ſhould ſubmit their Doctrines to the tryal of the King and Council, the Liberties of the Kirk would be quite ſubverted. By which means he prevailed ſo far on the reſt of the Council, (I mean *the Council of the Kirk*) that they ſent certain of their number to intercede in the buſineſs, and to declare how ill it might be taken with all ſorts of people, if the Miniſters ſhould now be called in queſtion for ſuch trifling matters, when the Enemies of the Truth were both ſpared and countenanced. But not being able by this means to delay the Cenſure, it was adviſed, that *Blake* ſhould make his *Declinatour*, renounce the King and Council as incompetent Judges, and wholly put himſelf upon tryal of his own *Presbytery*. Which though it ſeemed a dangerous courſe, by moſt ſober men; yet was it carryed by the major part of the Voices, as *the Cauſe of God*.

22. Encouraged by this general Vote, and enflamed by *Melvin*, he preſents his *Declinatour*, with great confidence, at his next appearance. And when he was interrogated, amongſt other things, Whether the King might not as well judg in matters of *Treaſon*, as the Kirk of *Hereſie*? He anſwered, That ſuppoſing he had ſpoken Treaſon, yet could he not be firſt judged by the King and Council, till the Kirk had taken cognizance of it. In maintenance of which proceeding, the Commiſſioners of the Kirk direct their Letters to all the Presbyteries of the kingdom, requiring them to ſubſcribe the ſaid *Declinatour*, to recommend the Cauſe in their Prayers to God, and to ſtir up their ſeveral Flocks in defence thereof. This puts the King to the neceſſity of publiſhing his Proclamation of the Month of *November*. In which he firſt lays down the great and manifold encroachments of this new Tribunal, to the overthrow of his Authority: The ſending of the *Declinatour* to be ſubſcribed generally by all the Miniſters: The convocating of the Subjects to aſſiſt their proceedings, as if they had no Lord or Superior over them; and in the mean time, that the Miniſters forſake their Flocks, to wait on theſe Commiſſioners, and attend their ſervice: which being ſaid, he doth thereby charge the ſaid Commiſſioners from acting any thing according to that deputation; commanding them to leave *Edenborough*;

borough, to repair to their ſeveral Flocks, and to return no more for keeping ſuch unlawful Meetings under pain of Rebellion. He publiſhed another Proclamation at the ſame time alſo, by which all Barons, Gentlemen, and other Subjects, were commanded not to joyn with any of the Miniſtry, either in their Presbyteries, Synods, or other Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies, without his Licenſe. Which notwithſtanding he was willing to revoke thoſe Edicts, and remit his Action againſt *Blake*, if the Church would either wave the *Declinatour*, or if they would declare, at the leaſt, That it was not a general, but a particular *Declinatour*; uſed in the caſe of Mr. *Blake*, as being in a caſe of *Slander*; and therefore appertaining to the Church's Cognizance. But theſe proud men, either upon ſome confidence of another *Bothwell*, or elſe preſuming that the King was not of a Spirit to hold out againſt them; or otherwiſe infatuated to their own deſtruction, reſolved, That both their Pulpits, and their Preachers too, ſhould be exempted totally from the King's Authority. In which brave humour, they return this Anſwer to his Propoſition, That they reſolved to ſtand to their *Declinatour*, unleſs the King would paſs from the Summons, and remitting the purſuit to the Eccleſiaſtical Judg, That no Miniſter ſhould be charged for his Preaching, at leaſt before the meeting of the next general Aſſembly, which ſhould be in their Power to call, as they ſaw occaſion. Which Anſwer ſo diſpleaſed the King, that he charged the Commiſſioners of the Kirk to depart the Town, and by a new Summons citeth *Blake* to appear on the laſt of *November*. This fills the Pulpit with Invectives againſt the King, and that too on the day of the Princeſs's Chriſtning, at what time many Noble men were called to *Edenborough*, to attend that Solemnity. With whoſe conſent it was declared at *Blake*'s next appearance, That the Crimes and Accuſations charged in the Bill, were Treaſonable and Seditious; and that his Majeſty, his Council, and all other Judges ſubſtitute by his Authority, were competent Judges in all matters, either Criminal, or Civil, as well to Miniſters, as to other Subjects. Yet ſtill the King was willing to give over the Chaſe, makes them another gracious Offer, treats privately with ſome Chiefs amongſt them, and ſeems contented to revoke his two Proclamations, if *Blake* would only come before the Lords of the Council, and there acknowledg his offence againſt the Queen. But when this would not be accepted, the Court proceeds unto the Examination of Witneſſes. And upon proof of all the Articles objected, Sentence was given againſt him to this effect: *That he ſhould be confined beyond the North water, enter into Ward within ſix days, and there remain till his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be further ſignified.* Some Overtures were made after this, for an Accommodation. But the King not being able to gain any reaſon from them, ſends their Commiſſioners out of the Town, and preſently commands, That Twenty four of the moſt Seditious perſons in *Edenborough*, ſhould forſake the City; hoping to find the reſt more cool and tractable, when theſe Incendiaries were diſmiſſed.

23. The

23. The Preachers of the City notwithſtanding, take fire upon it, and the next day excite the Noble-men, aſſembled at the Sermon upon Sunday the fifteenth of *December*, to joyn with them in a Petition to the King, To preſerve Religion. Which being preſented in a rude and diſorderly manner, the King demands by what Authority they durſt convene together without his leave: *We dare do more than this*, (ſaid the Lord of *Lindſey*) *and will not ſuffer our Religion to be overthrown.* Which ſaid, he returns unto the Church, ſtirrs up the people to a tumult, and makes himſelf the Head of a Factious Rabble, who crying out, *The Sword of the Lord, and* Gideon, thronged in great numbers to the place, in which the King had locked himſelf for his greater ſafety; the doors whereof they queſtionleſs had forced open, and done ſome out-rage to his Perſon, if a few honeſt men had not ſtopt their Fury: The Lord-Provoſt of the City, notwithſtanding he was then ſick, and kept his Bed, applied his beſt endeavours to appeaſe the Tumult, and with ſome difficulty brought the people to lay down their Arms; which gave the King an opportunity to retire to his Palace, where with great fear he paſſed over all the reſt of that day. The next morning he removes with his Court and Council, to the Town of *Lintithgoe*, and from thence publiſheth a Proclamation to this effect, *viz.* That the Lords of the Seſſion, the Sheriffs, Commiſſioners, and Juſtices, with their ſeveral Members and Deputies, ſhould remove themſelves forth of the Town of *Edenborough*, and be in readineſs to go to any ſuch place as ſhould be appointed; and, that all Noble-men and Barons ſhould return unto their Houſes, and not preſume to convene in that or in any other place, without Licenſe, under pain of his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure. The Preachers, on the contrary, are reſolved to keep up the Cauſe, to call their Friends together, and unite their Party; and were upon the point of Excommunicating certain Lords of the Council, if ſome more ſober than the reſt, had not held their hands.

24. In which confuſion of Affairs, they indict a Faſt: For a preparatory whereunto, a Sermon is preached by one *Welch*, in the chief Church of that City: Who taking for his Theam the Epiſtle ſent to the Angel of the Church of *Epheſus*, did pitifully rail againſt the King, ſaying, That *he was poſſeſſed with a Devil; and that one Devil being put out, ſeven worſe were entred in the place: and, that the Subjects might lawfully riſe and take the Sword out of his hands.* Which laſt he confirmed by the Example of a Father that falling into a *Phrenſie*, might be taken by the Children and Servants of the Family, and tyed hand and foot from doing violence. Which brings into my mind an uſual ſaying of that King, to this effect, viz. *That for the twelve laſt years of his living in* Scotland, *he uſed to pray upon his knees, before every Sermon, That he might hear nothing from the Preacher which might juſtly grieve him; and that the caſe was ſo well altered when he was in* England, *that he was uſed to pray, that he might profit by what he heard.* But all exorbitancy of Power is of ſhort continuance, eſpecially if abuſed to Pride and Arrogance. The madneſs

neſs of the *Presbyterians* was now come to the height, and therefore in the courſe of Nature was to have a fall; and this the King reſolves to give them, or to loſe his Crown. He had before been ſo afflicted with continual Baffles, that he was many times upon the point of leaving *Scotland*, putting himſelf into the Seignury of *Venice*, and living there in the capacity of a Gentleman (ſo they call the *Patricians* of that Noble City). And queſtionleſs he had put that purpoſe in execution, if the hopes of coming one day to the Crown of *England*, had not been ſome temptation to him to ride out the ſtorm. But now a Sword is put into his hands by the Preachers themſelves, wherewith he is enabled to cut the *Gordian*-knot of their Plots and Practiſes, which he was not able to untye. For, not contented to have raiſed the former Tumults, they keep the Noble-men together, invite the people to their aid, and write their Letters to the Lord of *Hamilton*, to repair unto them, and make himſelf the Head of their Aſſociation. A Copy of which Letter being ſhowed unto the King by that Noble Lord, command is given unto the Provoſt of *Edenborough*, To attach the Miniſters. But they had notice of his purpoſe, and eſcape into *England*, making *Newcaſtle* their retreat, as in former times.

25. It is a true ſaying of the wiſe Hiſtorian, That every Inſurrection of the people, when it is ſuppreſſed, doth make the Prince ſtronger, and the Subject weaker. And this the King found true in his own particular. The Citizens of *Edenborough* being pinched with the Proclamation, and the removal of the Court and the Courts of Juſtice, offered to purge themſelves of the late Sedition, and tendred their obedience unto any thing whatſoever which his Majeſty and the Council ſhould be pleaſed to enjoyn, whereby they might repair the huge Indignity which was done to his Majeſty; provided that they ſhould not be thought guilty of ſo great a Crime, which from their hearts they had deteſted. But the King anſwers, That he would admit of no purgation; that he would make them know, that he was their King: And the next day proclaims the Tumult to be Treaſon, and proclaims all for Traytors who were guilty of it. This made them fear their utter ruine to be near at hand. The ordinary Judicatories were removed to *Leith*, the Seſſions ordained to be held at *Perth*; their Miniſters were fled, their Magiſtrates without regard; and none about the King, but their deadly Enemies. And to make up the full meaſure of their diſconſolation, Counſel is given unto the King to raze the Town, and to erect a Pillar in the place thereof, for a perpetual Monument of ſo great an Inſolence. But he reſolves to travel none but Legal ways; and being ſomewhat ſweetned by a Letter from the Queen of *England*, he gives command unto the *Provoſt*, and the reſt of the Magiſtrates, to enter their perſons at *Perth* on the firſt of *February*, there to keep ward until they either were acquitted or condemned of the former uproar. Whilſt things remained in this perplexity and ſuſpence, he is adviſed to make his beſt uſe of the conjuncture, for ſetling matters of the Church, and to eſtabliſh in it ſuch a decent Order as was agreeable to God's

Word. To which end he appoints a National-Assembly to be held at *Perth*; and prepares certain Queries, fifty five in number, to be considered and debated in the said Assembly, all of them tending to the rectifying of such Abuses which were either crept into the Discipline, or occasioned by it. Nothing so much perplexed the principal Ministers, who had the leading of the rest, as, that the Discipline should be brought under a dispute, which they had taught to be a part of the Word of God. But they must sing another Tune before all be ended.

26. For, the King having gained a considerable Party amongst the Ministers of the North, and treated with many of the rest in several, whom he thought most tractable; prevailed so far on the Assembly, that they condescend at the last upon many particulars which in the pride of their prosperity had not been required. The principal of which were these, *viz.* 'That it should be lawful to his Ma-'jesty by himself or his Commissioners, or to the Pastors, to propone 'in a general Assembly, whatsoever point he or they desired to be re-'solved in, or reformed in matters of External Government, altera-'ble according to Circumstances; providing it be done in right time 'and place, *Animo ædificandi non tentandi.* 2. That no Minister 'should reprove his Majesty's Laws and Statutes, Acts or Ordinan-'ces, until such time as he hath first by the advice of his Presbytery, 'or Synodal, or General Assemblies, complained and sought remedy 'of the same from his Majesty, and made report of his Majesty's An-'swer, before any further proceedings. 3. That no man's Name 'should be expressed in the Pulpit, except the Fault be notorious 'and publick, and so declared by an Assize, Excommunication, 'Contumace, and lawful Admonition; nor should he be described 'so plainly by any other Circumstances, than publick Vices, always 'damnable. 4. That in all great Towns the Ministers shall not be 'chosen without his Majesty's consent, and the consent of the Flock. '5. That no matter of Slander should be called before them, where-'in his Majesty's Authority is pre-judged, Causes Ecclesiastical only 'excepted. 6. And finally, That no Conventions shall be amongst 'Pastors, without his Majesty's knowledg, except their Sessions, Pres-'byteries, and Synods, the Meetings at the Visitation of Churches, 'admission or deprivation of Ministers, taking up of deadly Feuds, 'and the like, which had not already been found fault with by his 'Majesty. According to which last Artiele, the King consents unto another general Assembly to be held at *Dundee*, and nominates the tenth of *May* for the opening of it.

27. It was about this time that Dr. *Richard Bancroft*, Bishop of *London*, began to run a constant course of Correspondence with the King of *Scots*, whom he beheld as the undoubted Heir and Successor of the Queen then Reigning. And well considering how conducible it was to the Peace of both Kingdoms, that they should both be governed in one Form of Ecclesiastical Policy; he chalked him out a ready way, by which he might restore Episcopacy to the Kirk of *Scotland*. To which end, as the King had gained the liberty in the

new Preachers ſhould be added to the former number, and each of them aſſigned to his proper Charge: That they ſhould uſe more moderation in their Preachings, for the time to come, and not refuſe to render an account thereof to the King and Council. And finally, That ſuch as had not formerly received Ordination by the impoſition of hands, ſhould receive it now. In which laſt, *Bruce* created no ſmall trouble to the King's Commiſſioners (who laboured very zealouſly to advance that Service); but he ſubmitted in the end.

30. After theſe preparations, comes a Parliament, which was to take beginning in the Month of *December*. Againſt which time the King had dealt ſo dextrouſly with *Patrick Galloway*, and he ſo handſomely had applied himſelf to his Aſſociates, that the Commiſſioners were drawn to joyn in a Requeſt to the Lords and Commons, *That the Miniſters, as repreſenting the Church, and Third Eſtate of the Kingdom, might be admitted to give voice in Parliament, according to the ancient Rites and Priviledges of the Kirk of* Scotland. The King was alſo humbly moved to be-friend them in it. And he ſo managed the Affair to his own advantage, that he obtained an Act to paſs to this effect, viz. *That ſuch Paſtors and Miniſters as his Majeſty ſhould pleaſe to provide to the Place, Dignity, and Title of a Biſhop, Abbot, or other Prelate, at any time ſhould have voice in Parliament, as freely as any other Eccleſiaſtical Prelate had in the times fore-going; provided, that ſuch perſons as ſhould be nominated to any Arch-biſhoprick or Biſhoprick within the Realm, ſhould either actually be Preachers at the time of their nomination; or elſe aſſume and take upon them to be actual Preachers; and according thereunto ſhould practiſe and perform that duty; and that neither this Act, nor any thing in the ſame contained, ſhould prejudice the Juriſdiction of the Kirk, eſtabliſhed by Acts of Parliament; nor any of the Presbyteries, Aſſemblies, or other Seſſions of the Church.* After which, followed another General Aſſembly, appointed to be held at *Dundee*, in the *March* enſuing, the King himſelf being preſent at it. In which it was concluded, after ſome debate, *That Miniſters lawfully might give voice in Parliament, and other publick Meetings of the Eſtates; and that it was expedient to have ſome always of that number preſent, to give voice in the name of the Church.* It was agreed alſo, *That ſo many ſhould be appointed to have voice in Parliament, as there had been Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors, in the times of Popery:* Which coming to the number of Fifty, or thereabouts, gave every Miniſter ſome hopes to be one of that number. It was reſolved alſo, That the Election of the Perſons, ſhould belong partly to the King, and in part to the Church. But as for the manner of the Election, the Rents to be aſſigned unto them, and their continuance in that Truſt, for life, or otherwiſe; theſe points were left to be conſidered of at better leiſure.

31. For the diſpatch whereof, with the more conveniency, it was appointed, That the matter ſhould be firſt debated in each Preſbytery, and afterwards in Provincial Synods, to be holden all upon one day, that to be the firſt *Tueſday* of *June*, three men to be ſelected out of every Synod, to attend the King; and they, together with 1589.

the Doctors of the Universities, to conclude the business, with reference, notwithstanding, to the approbation of the next Assembly. Accordingly they meet in Synods, and appoint their Delegates; who being called to *Falkland* in the end of *July*, did then and there conclude upon these particulars; first, for the manner of Elections; That for each Prelacy that was void, the Church should nominate six persons, and the King chuse one; and that if his Majesty should like none of that number, six others should be named by the Church, of which his Majesty was to chuse one without more refusal. Next, for the Rents; That the Churches being sufficiently planted, and no prejudice done to Schools, Colledges, and Universities, already erected, he should be put into possession of the rest of that Prelacy, to which he was to be preferred. As to the term of his continuance in that trust, there was nothing done, that point being left unto the consideration of the next Assembly. And for the naming of the Child, the God-fathers agreed, that he should be called the *Commissaire*, or *Commissioner* of such a place, if the Parliament could be induced by his Majesty to accept that Title, or else the General Assembly to devise some other. But fearing lest this *Commissaire* might in time become a *Bishop*, it was resolved to tye him up to such Conditions as should disable him from aspiring above the rest of his Brethren. But more particularly, it was cautioned and agreed upon, That he should propound nothing in the Name of the Church, without express warrant from the same; nor give consent to any thing proposed in Parliament, which tended to the diminution of the Liberties of it. That he should be bound to give an account of his proceedings, to the next General Assembly, and to submit himself to their judgment in it, without any Appeal. That he should faithfully attend his particular Flock, and be as subject to the Censure of his own Presbytery, or Provincial Synod, as any other Minister which had no Commission. That in the Administration of Discipline, Collation of Benefices, Visitation, and other points of Ecclesiastical Government, he should neither usurp, nor claim to himself any more Power and Jurisdiction than the rest of his Brethren. That if he shall usurp any part of Ecclesiastical Government, the Presbytery, Synod, or General Assembly, protesting against it, whatsoever he should do therein, shall be null and void. That if he chance to be deposed from the Ministry, by the Presbytery, Synod, or Assembly, he should not only lose his Place and Vote in Parliament, but the Prelacy should be also voided for another man. And finally, That he should subscribe to all these Cautions, before he was admitted to his Place and Trust.

1599. 32. In the Assembly of *Montross*, which began on the 28*th* of *March*, *Anno* 1599, these Cautions were approved, and two new ones added: 1. *That they who had voice in Parliament, should not have place in the General Assembly, unless they were authorised by a Commission from the Presbyteries whereof they were Members.* 2. *That* Crimen Ambitur. *or any sinister endeavours to procure the Place, should be a sufficient reason to deprive him of it.* As for the term of their con-

the last Assembly to question and dispute the Government then by Law established; and gained a power of nominating Ministers in the principal Cities; so in the next, they gratified him in this point, That no man should from thenceforth exercise a Minister, without having a particular Flock; nor be admitted to that Flock, without Ordination, by the Imposition of hands. He required also in the same, That before the conclusion of any weighty matter, his Highness Advice and Approbation should be first obtained. And so far they consented to the Proposition, as to express how glad they were to have his Majesty's Authority interposed to all Acts of importance which concerned the Church, so as matters formerly concluded, might not be drawn in question. He gained some other points also in the same Assembly, no less important than the other towards his Design; as namely, 1. *That no Minister shall exercise any Jurisdiction, either by making of Constitutions, or leading of Processes, without advice and concurrence of his Session, Presbytery, Synod, or General Assembly.* 2. *That Presbyteries shall not meddle with any thing that is not known without all controversie to belong to the Ecclesiastical Judicatory; and that therein Uniformity should be observed throughout the Countrey.* And, 3. *That where any Presbyteries shall be desired by his Majesty's Missive to stay their proceedings, as being prejudicial to the Civil Jurisdiction, or private men's Rights, they should desist until his Majesty did receive satisfaction.* But that which made most toward his purpose, was, the appointing of Thirteen of their number to attend his Majesty, as the Commissioners of the Kirk, whom we may call the High Commissioners of *Scotland*, the King's Ecclesiastical Council, the Seminary of the future Bishops, to whom they gave Authority for the planting of Churches in *Edenborough*, St. *Andrews*, *Dundee*, &c. as also, to present the Petitions and Grievances of the Kirk, to his Majesty; and to advise with him in all such matters as conduced unto the peace and welfare of it.

28. It was no hard matter for the King, by Rewards and Promises, to gain these men unto himself; or at the least, to raise amongst them such a Party as should be ready at all times to serve his turn. And such a general compliance he found amongst them, that they not only served him in the punishment of *David Blake*, in whose behalf they had stood out so long against him; but in the sentencing of *Wallace*, who in a Sermon at St. *Andrews* had abused his Secretary: both which, upon the cognizance of their several Causes, they deprived of their Churches, and decreed others of more moderation to be placed therein. They served him also in the reformation of that University where *Andrew Melvin* for some years had continued Rector; and thereby gained an excellent opportunity for training up young Students in the Arts of Sedition. To which end he had so contrived it, that instead of Lecturing in Divinity, they should read the Politicks, as namely, *Whether Election or Succession of Kings were the best Form of Government? How far the Royal Power extended? And, Whether Kings were to be Censured and Deposed by the Estates of the Kingdom, in case their Power should be abused?* For re-

medy whereof, the King not only ordered by the Advice of his Commissioners, That no man from thenceforth should continue Rector of that University above the space of a year; but appointed also on what Books, and after what manner every Professor for the time to come, was to read his Lectures. He next proceeds unto a Reformation of the Churches of *Edenborough*, but had first brought the Town to submit to mercy. Failing of their attendance at *Perth*, in so full a number as were appointed to appear, the whole Town was denounced Rebel, and all the Lands, Rents, and other Goods, which formerly belonged to the Corporation, confiscate to the use of the King: the news whereof, brought such a general disconsolation in that Factious City, that the Magistrates renounced their Charges, the Ministers forsook their Flocks, and all things seemed to tend to a dissolution. But at the end of fifteen days, his Majesty was graciously inclined, upon the mediation of some Noble-men who took pity on them, to re-admit them to his Favour. Upon Advertisement whereof the Provost, Bailiffs, and Deacons of Crafts, being brought unto his presence the 21 of *March*, and falling upon their knees, did with tears beg pardon for their negligence, in not timely preventing that Tumult; beseeching his Majesty to take pity of the Town, which did simply submit it self to his Majesty's Mercy.

29. The King had formerly considered of all Advantages which he might raise unto himself out of that Submission; but aimed at nothing more than the reduction of the people to a sense of their duty; the curbing of the City-Preachers, and setling some good Order in the Churches of it. In these last times, the Ministers had lived together in one common House, situate in the great Churchyard, and of old belonging to the Town; which gave them an opportunity to consult in private, to hatch Seditions, and put their Treasons into form. This House the King required to be given up to him, to the end that the Ministers might be disposed of in several Houses, far from one another, so as they might not meet together without observation. The Ministers of late had preached in common, without consideration of particular Charges; and were reduced also to a less number than in former times, which made them of the greater Power amongst the people. But now the King resolves upon the dividing of the Town into several Parishes, and fixing every Minister in his proper Church, according to the Acts of the last Assembly. This had been thought of two years since; but the Town opposed it. Now they are glad to yeeld to any thing which the King propounded, and to this point amongst the rest. And hereupon the payment of a Fine of Twenty thousand pounds to the King, and entring into a Recognizance (as our Lawyers call it) of Forty thousand Marks more, for the indempnifying of the Lords of the Session in the time of their sitting; the City is restored to the good Grace of the King, and the Courts of Justice to the City. His Majesty was also pleased, that the Fugitive Preachers of the City should be restored unto their Ministry, upon these conditions, that is to say, That each of them should take the Charge of a several Flock: That four

new

continuance in this Truſt, the Leading-members were reſolved not to make it certain, and much leſs to endure for term of life: all they would yeeld unto, was this, That he who was admitted unto that Commiſſion, ſhould yearly render an account of his Employment to the next General Aſſembly. That he ſhould lay down his Commiſſion at the feet thereof, to be continued if they pleaſed, or otherwiſe to give place unto any other whom his Majeſty and the ſaid Aſſembly ſhould think fit to employ. To all which Cautions and Reſtrictions, the King was willing to conſent, that ſo the buſineſs might proceed without interruption; not doubting but to find a way, at ſome time or other, in which theſe Rigors might be moderated, and theſe Chains knocked off. Nothing now reſted, but the nominating of ſome able perſons to poſſeſs thoſe Prelacies which either were vacant at that time, or actually in the King's diſpoſing. The Biſhopricks of St. *Andrews*, and *Glaſcow*, had been given or ſold to the Duke of *Lenox*; the Biſhoprick of *Murray*, to the Lord of *Spinie*; and that of *Orkney*, to the Earl; which muſt be firſt compounded with, before the King would nominate any man to either of them. The Sands of *Galloway* and the *Iſles*, were ſo delapidated, that there was nothing left to maintain a Prelate, and therefore muſt be firſt endowed. The Sees of *Aberdeen* and *Argile*, had their Biſhops living, both of them being actual Preachers; and thoſe of *Brechen*, *Dunkeld*, and *Dumblane*, had their Titulars alſo, but no Preaching-Miniſters. So as there were but two Churches to be filled at the preſent, that is to ſay, the Biſhopricks of *Rothes*, and *Cathneſs*; to which the King preſents Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Miniſter of *Leith*; and Mr. *George Gladſtaves*, one of the Miniſters of St. *Andrews*; of whoſe ſobriety and moderation, he had good experience. Which two enjoyed their places in the following Parliament, and rode together with the reſt in the Pomps thereof.

33. Thus far the buſineſs went on ſmoothly in the outward ſhew; but inwardly were great thoughts of heart; which firſt appeared in words of Danger and Diſcontent, and afterwards in acts of the higheſt Treaſon. The Leading-members of the Kirk, which had ſo long enjoyed an Arbitrary Power in all parts of the Realm, could with no patience brook the Limitations which were put upon them in the Aſſembly at *Dundee*; and much leſs able to endure that ſuch a fair Foundation ſhould be laid for *Epiſcopacy*, which muſt needs put a final end to their Pride and Tyranny; of which ſort was a Letter writ by *Davidſon*, to the next Aſſembly: In which he thus expoſtulates with the reſt of his Brethren; *How long ſhall we fear or favour Fleſh and Blood, and follow the Counſel and Command thereof? Should our Meetings be in the Name of Man? Are we not to take up our ſelves, and to acknowledg our former errors and feebleneſs in the Work of the Lord? It is time for us now, when ſo many of our worthy Brethren are thruſt out of their Callings, without all order of juſt proceedings; and* Jeſuits, Atheiſts, *and* Papiſts, *are ſuffered, countenanced, and advanced to great Rooms in the Realm, for the bringing in Idolatry, and Captivity more than* Babylonical, *with an high hand, and that*

that in our chief City: Is it time for us, I say, of the Ministry, to be inveigled and blind folded with pretence of the preferment of some small number of our Brethren to have voice in Parliament, and have Titles of Prelacy? Shall we, with Sampson, *sleep still on* Dalilah's *knees, till she say, The* Philistines *be upon thee,* Sampson? *&c.* Which Letter speaks the words of *Davidson*, but the sense of others, who having the like discontentments, privately whispered them in the ears of those who either seemed zealous for Religion, or Factiously enclined to make new Disturbances in this unsetledness of Affairs: In which conjuncture, it was no hard matter for them so to work upon men's Affections, as to assure them to themselves, and to be ready to flye out upon all occasions, especially when any powerful Head should be offered to them.

1600. 34. Of the last sort was the Conspiracy and Treason of the Earl of *Goury*, Son of that *William* Earl of *Goury* who had been executed for surprizing the King's Person at *Ruthen*-Castle, *Anno* 1584. And though this Son of his had been restored by the King to his Blood and Honours, one of his Sisters married to the Duke of *Lenox*, another placed in the Attendance of the Queen, and that his Brother *Alexander* was advanced to a Place in the Bed-Chamber; yet all these Favours were not able to obliterate the remembrance of the Execution so justly done upon their Father. By nature he was Proud, Aspiring, and of a Mind greater than his Fortune. Ill principled in the course of his Education; which made him passionately affected to the *Disciplinarians*, of whom he was ambitious to be thought a Patron. To this man they apply themselves; who by the loss of their Authority, or Tyranny rather, measured the Fortunes of the Church; as though Religion could not stand, if their Empire fell. To him they frequently insinuated their Fears and Jealousies, the King's averseness from the Gospel, his extraordinary Favour to the Popish Lords, his present Practises and Designs to subvert the Discipline, the only Pillar and Support of the Kirk of *Scotland*; not without some Reflections on the death of his Father, whose Zeal to God was testified by the loss of his Life, which cryed aloud for vengeance, both to God and Man. By which insinuations they so wrought upon him, that he began to study nothing but Revenge; and to that end engaged his Brother *Alexander* (a fierce young man, and of a very daring Spirit) in the practise with him. He also held intelligence with such of the Ministers as were supposed to be most discontented at the present Transactions; but most especially, with the Preachers of *Edenborough*, who could not easily forget the Injuries (so they must be called) which they had suffered from the King for some years last past. The like intelligence he kept with many *Male-contents* amongst the Laicks; preparing all, but opening his Design to few; but opening it howsoever to *Logen* of *Restalrig*, in whom he had more confidence than all the rest.

35. Concerning which, it was averred by one *Sprot* a Notary, as well upon Examination before the Lords of the Session, as his Confession

feſſion at the Gallows, *Anno* 1608, That he had ſeen a Letter written by this *Logan* to the Earl of *Goury*, in which was ſignified, *That he would take part with him in revenge of his Father's death. That to effect it, he muſt find ſome way or other to bring the King to* Faſt-Caſtle. *That it was eaſier to be done by Sea, than Land: and, that they might ſafely keep him there, till they had given advertiſement of it to the other Conſpirators.* For proof of which Confeſſion, (being free and voluntary) he told the people on the Ladder, that he would give them a Sign; which he performed by clapping his hands three times after his turning off by the Executioner. It was affirmed alſo by Mr. *William Cowper*, a right godly man, then being Miniſter at *Perth*, and afterwards made Biſhop of *Galloway*; That going to the Houſe of the Earl, (the Hereditary Provoſt of that Town) not many days before the intended Treaſon, he found him reading a Book entituled, *De Conjurationibus adverſus Principes*, containing a Diſcourſe of Treaſons and Conſpiracies againſt ſeveral Princes; of which he was pleaſed to give this Cenſure, *That moſt of them were very fooliſhly contrived, and faulty in ſome point or other; which was the reaſon that they found not the deſired effect.* By which it ſeems that he intended to out-go all former Conſpirators in the contrivance of his Treaſon; though in the end he fell upon a Plot which was moſt ridiculous, not to be parallel'd by any in that Book which he ſo much vilified. The Deſign was, To draw the King to his Houſe in the Town of *Perth*, under pretence of coming ſecretly to ſee a man whom he had lately intercepted with Letters, and ſome quantity of Gold, from *Rome*; and having brought him to ſome remote part of the Houſe, to make ſure work of him. The King was then at *Falkland-Caſtle*; and going out betimes on *Tueſday* the fifth of *Auguſt*, to take his pleaſure in the Park, he is met by *Alexander*, who tells him of the News of *Perth*, and that a ſpeedy poſting thither, would be worth his travel. The King comes thither before Dinner, accompanied with the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marre*, *Eveſking* the Captain of his Guard, and ſome other Gentlemen, all of them in their Hunting-Coats, as minding nothing but a Viſit to the Nobleman. Thus is he brought into the toyl; but they ſhall only hunt him to the view, and not pull him down.

36. The King's own Dinner being ended, the Lords fall to theirs, which *Alexander* takes to be the fitteſt time to effect the Enterpriſe; and therefore takes the King along with him to an upper Chamber. But ſeeing *Eveskin* at his heels, he willed him to ſtay behind, and made faſt the doors. Being brought into a Chamber on the top of the Houſe, the King perceived a man in a ſecret corner, and preſently asked *Alexander*, if he were the Party who had brought the Letters and the Gold. But *Alexander* then changed his countenance, upbraided him with the death of his Father, for which he was now brought to make ſatisfaction; and therewith left him to the mercy of the Executioner. I ſhall not ſtand on all particulars of the ſtory; the ſum whereof, is briefly this: That the King having having by much ſtrugling gained a Window, a corner whereof looked toward

the Street, cryed out ſo loud, that he was heard by all the Lords and Gentlemen of his Retinue, who thereupon prepared themſelves for his aſſiſtance. In the purſuit whereof, the Earl himſelf is killed by *Eveskin* as he was making haſte to help his Brother; and *Alexander* is diſpatched by *Ramſey*, one of the King's Pages; who being acquainted with the Houſe, came by the back-ſtairs time enough to preſerve his Maſter. Of this great Danger and Deliverance, the King gives notice to all his Subjects, deſiring them to joyn with him in thanks to Almighty God for ſo great a Mercy; which was accordingly performed by all honeſt men; but the whole Story diſbelieved, diſcredited, miſ-reported by the *Presbyterians*, whom it concerned to waſh their hands of ſo foul a Treaſon. And how far they were Parties in it, or at leaſt well-wiſhers to it, may appear by this, That when the Miniſters of *Edenborough* were deſired to convene their people, and give God thanks for this deliverance of the King, they excuſed themſelves, as not being well acquainted with all particulars. And when it was replyed unto them, *That they were only required to make known to the people, That the King had eſcaped a great Danger, and to excite them to Thanſgiving for his deliverance*: They anſwered, *That they were not very well ſatisfied in the truth of the matter: That nothing was to be delivered in the Pulpit, the truth whereof was not certainly known: and, that they were to utter nothing in that place, but that which migh be* ſpoke in Faith. On which Refuſal it was ordered by the Lords of the Council, That the people ſhould be drawn together into the Market-place, That the Biſhop of *Roſs* ſhould make a Declaration of the whole Deſign, and therewithall conceive a Prayer of Thankſgiving for the King's Deliverance. Which was performed on his part with a true affection, and entertained by the people with great joy and gladneſs.

37. But the whole Nation was not ſo beſotted by the *Presbyterians*, as either to diſpute the Story, or deſpiſe the Mercy. Which wrought ſo far upon the Conſciences of all honeſt men, that in a Parliament held at *Edenborough*, in *November* following, the Eſtate of *Goury* was confiſcate, his Sons diſherited, the Name of *Ruthen* utterly aboliſhed, (but the laſt diſpenced with) the bodies of the two Brothers brought to *Edenborough*, there hanged and quartered, the Heads of both being fixed upon the top of the Common Priſon: and finally, The Fifth of *Auguſt* ordained by Act of Parliament for a Day of Thankſgiving in all times ſucceeding. The like done alſo
1602. two years after, at a General Aſſembly of the Miniſters of the Church, held in *Haly-Rood-Houſe*, as to the Day of Thankſgiving, which they decreed to be kept ſolemnly from thenceforth, in all the Churches of that Kingdom. And it was well they did it then, the King not venturing the Propoſal to them in the year fore-going, when they aſſembled at *Burnt-Iſland*, whether in reference to ſome indiſpoſition of Body which he found in himſelf; or rather of ſome greater indiſpoſition of Mind which he found in them. But now it went clearly for him without contradiction, as did ſome other things propounded to their conſideration. His Ey now looks unto the Crown

of

of *England*, and he resolved to bring the Churches of both Kingdoms to an Uniformity: but so to do it as might make neither noise nor trouble. The solemnizing of Marriage had been prohibited on *Sundays* by the Rules of the Discipline: but by an Order made in the present Assembly, it was indifferently permitted on all days alike, *Sundays* as well as other days, at the will of the Parties. Before this time the Sacrament of Baptism was not administred but only at the times of Preaching, on some opinion which they had of the indifferency, or at the least the non-necessity thereof. But now it was ordained with a joynt consent, *That the Ministers should not refuse the Sacrament of Baptism to Infants, nor delay the same upon whatsoever pretext, the same being required by the Parents, or others in their name.* Which brought them two steps nearer to the Church of *England*, than before they were.

38. It was not long after the end of this Assembly, when the King received Intelligence of Queen *Elizabeth's* death, and of the general acknowledgment of his Succession, both by Peers and People. This puts him on a preparation for a Journey to *England*, where he is joyfully received, and found no small contentment in the change of his Fortunes; here sitting *amongst Grave, Learned, and Reverend men; not as before, a King without State, without Honour, without Order, where Beardless Boys would every day brave him to his face; where* Jack, *and* Tom, *and* Will, *and* Dick, *did at their pleasures censure the proceedings of him and his Council; where* Will *stood up and said, he would have it thus: and* Dick *replied, Nay marry, but it shall be so:* as he describes their carriage in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, p. 4. and 80. So leaves he *Scotland*, and the *Puritans* there, with this Character of them, recorded in the Preface of his Book, called *Basilicon Doron*; in which he paints them out, as people which *refusing to be called* Anabaptists, *too much participated of their Humours, not only agreeing with them in their General Rule, the contempt of the Civil Magistrate, and in leaning to their own Dreams, Imaginations, and Revelations; but particularly, in accounting all men prophane that agree not to their Fancies; in making, for every particular Question of the* Polity *of the Church, as much Commotion as if the Article of the Trinity was called in question; in making the Scripture to be ruled by their Conscience, and not their Conscience by the Scripture; in accounting every body* Ethnicus & Publicanus, *not worthy to enjoy the benefit of breathing, much less to participate with them in the Sacraments, that denies the least jot of their Grounds: and in suffering King, People, Law, and all, to be trod under foot, before the least jot of their Grounds be impugned; in preferring such Holy Warrs to an Ungodly Peace; not only in resisting Christian Princes, but denying to pray for them; for Prayer must come by Faith, and it is not revealed that God will hear their Prayers for such a Prince.* To which He adds this Clause in the Book it self, *viz.* That they used commonly to tell the people in their Sermons, *That all Kings and Princes were naturally Enemies to the Liberty of the Church, and could never patiently bear the Yoak of Christ.* And thereupon he gives this

Counsel to the Prince, To take heed all of such *Puritans*, whom he calls the *very Pests of the Church and Commonwealth*; *whom no deserts can oblige, neither Oaths nor Promises bind*; *breathing nothing but Sedition and Calumnies*; *aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their own imaginations the square of their Conscience*: *protesting before the Great God, That he should never find in any* Highlander, *baser Thieves, greater Ingratitude, and more Lyes and vile Perjuries, than amongst those* Fanatical *spirits he should meet withall.*

39. But on the contrary, he tells us of the Church of *England* at his first coming thither, 'That he found that Form of Religion 'which was established under Queen *ELIZABETH* of famous memo-'ry, by the Laws of the Land, to have been blessed with a most ex-'traordinary Peace, and of long continuance; which he beheld as a 'strong evidence of God's being very well pleased with it. He tells us also, 'That he could find no cause at all, on a full debate, for 'any Alteration to be made in the Common-Prayer-Book, though 'that most impugned; that the Doctrines seemed to be sincere, the 'Forms and Rites to have been justified out of the Practise of the 'Primitive Church. And finally, he tells us, That there was nothing 'in the same which might not very well have been born withall, if 'either the Adversaries would have made a reasonable construction 'of them; or that his Majesty had not been so nice, or rather jealous, '(as himself confesseth) for having all publick Forms in the Ser-'vice of God, not only to be free from all blame, but from any su-'spition. For which, consult his Proclamation of the fifth of *March*, before the Book of Common-Prayer. And herewith he declared himself so highly pleased, that in the *Conference* at *Hampton-Court*, he entred into a gratulation to Almighty God, for *bringing him into the Promised Land*, (so he pleased to call it) where Religion was purely profest, the Government Ecclesiastical approved by manifold blessings from God himself, as well in the encrease of the Gospel, as in a glorious and happy Peace; and where he had the happiness to sit amongst Grave and Learned men, and not to be a King (as elsewhere he had been) without State, without Honour, without Order, as before was said. And this being said, we shall proceed unto the rest of our Story, casting into the following Book, all the Successes of the *Puritans*, or *Presbyterians*, in his own Dominions, during the whole time of his Peaceful Government; and so much also of their Fortunes in *France* and *Belgium*, as shall be necessary to the knowledg of their future Actings.

AERIUS REDIVIVUS:

OR,

The Hiſtory

OF THE

PRESBYTERIANS.

LIB. XI.

Containing

Their Succeſſes whether good or bad, in England, Scotland, Ireland, *and the Iſle of* Jerſey, *from the Year* 1602, *to the Year* 1623; *with ſomewhat touching their Affairs, as well in* France *and* Sweden, *as the* Belgick *Provinces.*

1. THE *Puritans* and *Presbyterians* in both Kingdoms, were brought ſo low, when King *JAMES* firſt obtained the Crown of *England*, that they might have been ſuppreſt for ever, without any great danger, if either that King had held the Rains with a conſtant hand, or been more fortunate in the choice of his Miniſters, after the old Councellors were worn out, than in fine he proved: But having been kept to ſuch hard meats when he lived in *Scotland*, he was ſo taken with the Delicacies of the *Engliſh* Court, that he abandoned the Severities and Cares of Government, to enjoy the Pleaſures of a Crown. Which being perceived by ſuch as were moſt near unto him, it was not long before the Secret was diſcovered to the reſt of the people; who there-

upon resolved to husband all occasions which the times should give them, to their best advantage. But none conceived more hopes of him, than some *Puritan* Zealots; who either presuming on his Education in the Kirk of *Scotland*, or venturing on the easiness of his Disposition, began to intermit the use of the *Common-Prayer*, to lay aside the Surplice, and neglect the Ceremonies; and more than so, to hold some Classical and Synodical Meetings, as if the Laws themselves had dyed, when the Queen expired. But these Disorders he repressed by his Proclamation, wherein he commanded all his Subjects, of what sort soever, not to innovate any thing either in Doctrine or Discipline, till he upon mature deliberation should take order in it.

2. But some more wary than the rest, refused to joyn themselves to such forward Brethren, whose Actions were interpreted to favour stronger of Sedition, than they did of Zeal. And by these men it was thought better to address themselves by a Petition to His Sacred Majesty, which was to be presented to him in the name of certain Ministers of the Church of *England, desiring Reformation of sundry Ceremonies and Abuses*: Given out to be subscribed by a thousand hands, and therefore called the *Millenary Petition*; though there wanted some hundreds of that number to make up the sum. In which Petition deprecating first the imputation of Schism and Faction, they rank their whole Complaints under these four heads; that is to say, *The Service of the Church, Church-Ministers, the Livings and Maintenance of the Church*, and *the Discipline of it*. In reference to the first, the Publick Service of the Church, it was desired, 'That the Cross in Baptism, Interrogatories ministred to In-'fants, and Confirmations, (as superfluous) might be taken away. 'That Baptism might not be administred by Women. That the Cap 'and Surplice might not be urged. That Examination might go be-'fore the Communion; and, that it be not administred without a 'Sermon. That the terms of *Priest*, and *Absolution*, with the Ring in 'Marriage, and some others, might be corrected. That the length 'of Service might be abridged. Church-Songs and Musick, mode-'rated. And, that the Lord's Day be not prophaned, nor Holy-days 'so strictly urged. That there might be an Uniformity of Doctrine 'prescribed. That no Popish Opinion be any more taught or de-'fended. That Ministers might not be charged to teach their peo-'ple to bow at the Name of *Jesus*. And, that the Canonical Scrip-'tures be only read in the Church.

3. In reference to Church-Ministers, it was propounded, That 'none hereafter be admitted into the Ministry, but Able and Sufficient men; and those to preach diligently, especially upon the 'Lord's Day: but such as be already entred, and cannot preach, may 'either be removed, and some charitable course taken with them for 'their Relief; or else to be forced, according to the value of their 'Livings, to maintain Preachers. That *Non-residency* be not permitted. That K. *Edward*'s Statute for the lawfulness of Ministers marriage, might be revived. That Ministers might not be urged to subscribe

'ſcribe (but according to the Law) the Articles of Religion, and 'the King's Supremacy. It was deſired alſo, in relation to the 'Church's Maintenance, That Biſhops might leave their *Commen-* 'dams, ſome holding Prebends, ſome Parſonages, ſome Vicaridges, 'with their Biſhopricks. That double-beneficed men might not be 'ſuffered to hold ſome two, ſome three Benefices, and as many Dig- 'nities. That Impropriations annexed to Biſhopricks and Colled- 'ges, be demiſed only to the Preachers Incumbents for the old Rent. 'That the Impropriations of Lay-men's Fee, may be charged with 'a ſixth or ſeventh part of the worth, to the maintenance of a 'Preaching-Miniſter. And finally, in reference to the execution of 'the Church's Diſcipline, it was humbly craved, That the Diſci- 'pline and Excommunication, might be adminiſtred according to 'Chriſt's own Inſtitution; or at the leaſt, that Enormities might be 'redreſſed: as namely, That Excommunication might not come 'forth under the name of Lay-perſons, Chancellors, Officials, *&c.* 'That men be not excommunicated for Trifles, and Twelve-penny 'matters. That none be excommunicated without conſent of his Pa- 'ſtors. That the Officers be not ſuffered to extort unreaſonable 'Fees. That none having Juriſdiction, or a Regiſter's Place, put 'the ſame to Farm. That divers Popiſh Canons as for reſtraint of 'Marriage at certain times, be reverſed. That the length of Suits in 'Eccleſiaſtical Courts, (which hung ſometimes two, three, four, five, 'ſix, ſeven years) may be reſtrained. That the Oath *Ex Officio*, 'whereby men are forced to accuſe themſelves, be more ſparingly 'uſed. That Licenſes for Marriages, without being Asked, may be 'more ſparingly granted.

4. And here it is to be obſerved, that though there was not one word in this Petition either againſt *Epiſcopal* Government, or Set-forms of Prayer, yet the deſign thereof was againſt them both. For if ſo many of the Branches had been lopped at once, the Body of the Tree muſt needs have rotted and conſumed in a ſhort time after. The two Univerſities, on the contrary, were no leſs zealous for keeping up the Diſcipline and Liturgy of the Church, then by Law eſtabliſhed. And to that end it was propoſed, and paſſed at *Cambridg*, on the ninth of *June*, That whoſoever ſhould oppoſe by word or writing, either the Doctrine or the Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, or any part thereof whatſoever; within the Verge and Limits of the ſame Univerſity (otherwiſe than in the way of Diſputation) he ſhould be actually ſuſpended from all Degrees already taken, and utterly diſabled for taking any in the time to come. They reſolved alſo to return an Anſwer to the ſaid Petition; but underſtanding that the Univerſity of *Oxon* was in hand therewith, and had made a good progreſs in the ſame, they laid by that purpoſe, congratulating with their Siſter-Univerſity for her forwardneſs in it, as appears plainly by their Letter of the *7th* of *October*. All this was known unto the King, but he reſolved to anſwer them in another way; and to that end deſigned a Conference between the Parties: A Conference much deſired by thoſe of the *Puritan* Faction

in

in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, who could not be induced to grant it; knowing full well, how much it tended to the ruin of all publick Government, that matters once eſtabliſhed in due form of Law, ſhould be made ſubject to Diſputes. But K. *JAMES*, either out of a deſire of his own ſatisfaction, or to ſhew his great Abilities in Judgment, Oratory, and Diſcourſe, reſolved upon it, and accordingly gave Order for it. To which end, certain Delegates of each Party were appointed to attend upon Him at His Royal Palace of *Hampton-Court*, on the 14*th* of *January* then next following, there to debate the Heads of the ſaid Petition, and to abide his Majeſty's Pleaſure and Determination. At what time there attended on behalf of the Church, the Lord Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Biſhop of *London*, the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Wincheſter*, *Worceſter*, St. *Davids*, *Chicheſter*, *Carliſle*, and *Peterborough*. The Dean of the Chappel, *Weſtminſter*, *Chriſt-Church*, *Pauls*, *Worceſter*, *Salisbury*, *Cheſter*, and *Windſor*: together with Dr. *King*, Arch-Deacon of *Nottingham*, and Dr. *Feild*, who afterwards was Dean of *Gloceſter*. Apparelled all of them in their Robes and Habits, peculiar to their ſeveral Orders.

5. There appeared alſo in the behalf of the *Millenaries*, Dr. *John Reynolds*, and Dr. *Thomas Spark*, of *Oxford*; Mr. *Chatterton*, and Mr. *Knewſtubs*, of *Cambridg*: Apparelled neither in Prieſt's Gowns, or Canonical Coats; but in ſuch Gowns as were then commonly worn (in reference to the form and faſhion of them) by the *Turkey* Merchants; as if they had ſubſcribed to the Opinion of old *T. C.* That we ought rather to conform in all outward Ceremonies to the *Turks*, than the *Papiſts*. Great hopes they gave themſelves for ſetling the *Calvinian* Doctrines in the Church of *England*, and altering ſo much in the Polity and Forms of Worſhip; as might bring it nearer by ſome ſteps to the Church of *Geneva*. In reference to the firſt, it was much preſt by Dr. *Reynolds*, in the name of the reſt, That the Nine Articles of *Lambeth* (which he entituled by the name of *Orthodoxal Aſſertions*) might be received amongſt the Articles of the Church. But this Requeſt, (upon a true account of the ſtate of that buſineſs) was by that prudent King rejected, with as great a conſtancy as formerly the Articles themſelves had been ſuppreſſed under Queen *ELIZABETH*. It was moved alſo, That theſe words, [*neither totally nor finally*] might be inſerted in the Sixteenth Article of the publick Confeſſion, to the intent that the Article ſo explained, might ſpeak in favour of the *Zuinglian* or *Calvinian* Doctrine, concerning the impoſſibility of falling from the ſtate of Grace, and Juſtification. Which Propoſition gave a juſt occaſion to Biſhop *Bancroft* to ſpeak his ſenſe of the *Calvinian* Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, which he called in plain terms, a *deſperate Doctrine*. Upon whoſe interpoſings in that particular, and a ſhort Declaration made by the Dean of St. *Pauls*, touching ſome Heats which had been raiſed in *Cambridg*, in purſuit thereof, this ſecond Motion proved as fruitleſs as the firſt had done.

6. Nor

6. Nor ſped they better in relation to the Forms of Worſhip, than they had done in reference unto points of Doctrine: ſome pains they took in crying down the Surplice and the Croſs in Baptiſm, the Ring in Marriage, and the Interrogatories propoſed to Infants. And ſomewhat alſo was obſerved touching ſome Errors in the old Tranſlation of the *Engliſh Pſalter*, as alſo in the Goſpels and Epiſtles, as they ſtood in the Liturgy: But their Objections were ſo ſtale, and ſo often anſwered, that the Biſhops and Conformable Party went away with an eaſie Victory; not only the King's Majeſty, but the Lords of his Council, being abundantly well ſatisfied in ſuch former ſcruples as had been raiſed againſt the Church and the Orders of it. The ſum and ſubſtance of which Conference, collected by the hand of Dr. *Barlow*, then Dean of *Cheſter*, can hardly be abbreviated to a leſſer compaſs, without great injury to the King and the Conferrees. Let it ſuffice, that this great Mountain which had raiſed ſo much expectation, was delivered only of a Mouſe: The *Millenary Plaintifs* have gained nothing by their fruitleſs travel, but the expounding of the word *Abſolution*, by *Remiſſion of ſins*; the qualifying of the *Rubrick* about private Baptiſm; the adding of ſome Thankſgivings at the end of the Letany, and of ſome Queſtions and Anſwers in the cloſe of the Catechiſm. But on the other ſide, the Brethren loſt ſo much in their Reputation, that the King was very well ſatisfied in the weakneſs of their Objections, and the Injuſtice of their Cavils; inſomuch, that turning his head towards ſome of the Lords, *If this be all* (quoth he) *which they have to ſay, I will either make them conform themſelves, or hurry them out of the Land, or do ſomewhat which is worſe*, p. 85. Which notwithſtanding they gave out, "That all was theirs; and that they had obtained an abſolute "Victory: but more particularly, that the King gratified Dr. *Rey-* "*nolds* in every thing which he propoſed; and that Dr. *Reynolds* "obtained and prevailed in every thing they did deſire. That if any "man report the contrary, he doth lye; and, that they could give "him the lye from Dr. *Reynolds* his mouth: that theſe things now "obtained by the Reformers, were but the beginning of Reforma- "tion; the greater matters being yet to come. That my Lord of "*Winton* ſtood mute, and ſaid little or nothing. That my Lord of "*London* called Dr. *Reynolds*, *Schiſmatick*; (he thanks him for it) "but otherwiſe ſaid little to the purpoſe. That the King's Majeſty "uſed the Biſhops with very hard words; but embraced Dr. *Rey-* "*nolds*, and uſed moſt kind ſpeeches to him. That my Lord of *Can-* "*terbury*, and my Lord of *London*, falling on their knees, beſought "his Majeſty to take their Cauſe into his own Hands, and to make "ſome good end of it, ſuch as might ſtand with their Credit.

7. All this, and more, they ſcattered up and down in their ſcurrilous Papers, to keep up the ſpirits of their Party; two of which, coming to the hands of Dr. *Barlow*, before-mentioned, he cauſed them to be publiſhed at the end of the Conference: The Truth and Honeſty of whoſe Collections, having been univerſally approved above fifty years, hath been impugned of late by ſome ſorry Scrib-

lers of the Puritan Faction; and a report raised of some Retractation which he is fabled to have made at the time of his death, of the great wrong which he had done to Dr. *Reynolds*, and the rest of the *Millenaries*. The fillineſs of which Fiction hath been elſewhere canvaſed, and therefore not to be repeated in this time and place. But for the clearing of that Reverend perſon from ſo foul a Calumny, we ſhall not make uſe of any other Argument, than the words of K. *JAMES*, who tells us in his Proclamation of the fifth of *March*, that he could not conceal, *That the ſucceſs of that Conference was ſuch as hapneth to many other things, which moving great expectations before they be entred into, in their iſſue produce ſmall effects: That he found mighty and vehement Informations ſupported with ſo weak and ſlender Proofs, as it appeared unto him and his Council, that there was no cauſe why any change ſhould be in that which was moſt impugned, namely, the Book of Common-Prayer, containing the publick Service of God here eſtabliſhed; nor in the Doctrine, which appeared to be ſincere; nor in the Forms and Rites, which were juſtified out of the practiſe of the primitive Church: And finally, that though with the conſent of the Biſhops and other Learned men then and there aſſembled, ſome paſſages therein were rather explained than altered; yet, that the ſame might very well have been born amongſt ſuch men who would have made a reaſonable conſtruction of them.* Which I conceive to be ſufficient for the vindication of that Learned Prelate, for clearing him from doing any injury to Dr. *Reynolds*, in the repeating of his words, as is ſuggeſted by ſome *Puritan* Scriblers of theſe preſent times.

8. But to proceed, this Conference was followed with the Proclamation of the fifth of *March*; in which his Majeſty having firſt declared the occaſion and ſucceſs thereof, in the words formerly laid down, proceeds to ſignifie the preſent courſe which he had ta-
'ken for cauſing the Book of Common-Prayer to be ſo explained;
'and being ſo explained, to be forthwith Printed; not doubting
'but that all his Subjects, both Miniſters and others, would receive
'the ſame with due reverence, and conform themſelves to it.
'Which notwithſtanding he conceived it neceſſary to make known
'his Authorizing of the ſame by his Proclamation, and by that Pro-
'clamation to require and enjoyn all men, as well Eccleſiaſtical as
'Temporal, to conform themſelves thereunto, as to the only pub-
'lick Form of ſerving God, eſtabliſhed and allowed in this Realm.
'Which ſaid, he lays a ſtrict Command on all Arch-biſhops, and Bi-
'ſhops, and all other publick Miniſters, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Ci-
'vil, for cauſing the ſame to be obſerved, and puniſhing all Offen-
'ders to the contrary, according to the Laws of the Realm made in
'that behalf. Finally, He admoniſheth all his Subjects of what ſort
'ſoever, not to expect hereafter any Alteration in the publick
'Form of God's Service, from that which he had then eſtabliſhed.
'And this he ſignified (as afterward it followeth in the ſaid Procla-
'mation) becauſe that he neither would give way to any to pre-
'ſume, that his Judgment having determined in a matter of ſuch
'weight, ſhould be ſwayed to any Alteration by the Frivolous Sug-

geſtions

'geſtions of any leight head; nor could be ignorant of the inconve-
'niencies that do ariſe in Government, by admitting *Innovation*
'in things once ſetled by mature deliberation; and how neceſſary it
'was to uſe conſtancy in the publick Determinations of all States:
'for that (ſaith he) ſuch is the unquietneſs and unſteadfaſtneſs of
'ſome diſpoſitions, affecting every year new Forms of things, as if
'they ſhould be followed in their unconſtancy, would make all Acti-
'ons of State ridiculous and contemptible; whereas the ſteadfaſt
'maintaining of things by good Advice eſtabliſhed, is the Preſerva-
'tive and Weal of all publick Governments.

9. The main Concernments of the Church being thus ſecured, his Majeſty proceeds to his firſt Parliament; accompanied, as the cuſtom is, with a Convocation; which took beginning on the twentieth day of *March* then next enſuing. In the Parliament there paſſed ſome Acts which concerned the Church; as namely, one for making void all Grants and Leaſes which ſhould be made of any of the Lands of Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, to the King's Majeſty, or any of his Heirs and Succeſſors, for more than One and twenty years, or Three Lives. Which Act was ſeaſonably procured by Biſhop *Bancroft*, to prevent the begging of the *Scots*, who otherwiſe would have picked the Church to the very bone. There alſo paſt an Act for the repealing of a Statute in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, by means whereof the Statute of King *Edward* the ſixth, touching the Lawfulneſs of Miniſters Marriages, were revived again, as in the *Millenary Petition* was before deſired. And either by the Practiſe of ſome *Puritan* Zealots, who had their Agents in all corners, or by the careleſneſs and connivence of his Majeſty's Council, learned in the Laws of this Realm, who ſhould have had an eye upon them, that Statute of K. *EDWARD* was revived alſo, by which it was enacted, That all Proceſſes, Citations, Judgments, *&c.* in any of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, ſhould be iſſued in the King's Name, and under the King's Seal of Arms; which afterwards gave ſome colour to the *Puritan* Faction, for creating trouble to the Biſhops in their Juriſdiction. The Convocation was more active; ſome days before the ſitting whereof, the moſt Reverend Arch-biſhop *Whitgift* departs this life, and leaves it to the managing of Dr. *Richard Bancroft*, Biſhop of *London*, as the Preſident of it. By whoſe great induſtry, and indefatigable pains, a Body of Canons was collected, to the number of One hundred forty one, out of the Articles, Injunctions, and Synodical Acts, during the Reigns of Queen *ELIZABETH*, and K. *EDWARD* the ſixth. Which being methodically digeſted, approved of in the Convocation, and ratified by his Majeſty's Letters Patents in due form of Law, were ſtoutly put in execution by the ſaid Dr. *Bancroft*, tranſlated to the See of *Canterbury* in the Month of *December*, *Anno* 1604.

10. And to ſay truth, it did concern him to be reſolute in that proſecution, conſidering how ſtrict a Bond was made by many of the Brethren, when they agreed unto the drawing of the former Petition; by which they bound themſelves not only to ſeek redreſs of thoſe Particulars which are comprehended in the ſame; *but that the*

ſtate of the Church might be reformed in all things needful, according to the Rule of God's holy Word, and agreeable to the example of other Reformed Churches, which had reſtored both their Doctrine and Diſcipline, as it was delivered by our Saviour Chriſt and his holy Apoſtles. And how far that might reach, none knew better than he; who in his Note of *Dangerous Poſitions and Proceedings*, and his *Survey of the pretended Holy Diſcipline*, had ſounded the depth of their Deſigns, and found that nothing could enſue upon their Poſitions, but a moſt unavoidable ruin to the Church and State. He had obſerved, with what a peeviſh malice they had libelled againſt Arch-biſhop *Whitgift*, (a Prelate of a meek and moderate ſpirit) after his deceaſe; and could not but expect a worſe dealing from them; which he after found, by how much he had handled them more coarſly than his Predeceſſor. For, though the Lords had ſhowed their Zeal unto the memory of that famous Prelate, by the ſevere puniſhment of *Pickering* who made the Libel; yet well he knew, that the terror of that Puniſhment would be quickly over, if a hard hand were not alſo kept upon all the reſt: And for keeping a hard hand upon all the reſt, he was encouraged by the words of K. *JAMES* at the end of the Conference, when he affirmed, That *he would either make the* Puritans *conform themſelves, or elſe would hurry them out of the Land, or do that which was worſe.* Upon which grounds he ſets himſelf upon the Work, requires a ſtrict Conformity to the Rules of the Church, according to the Laws and Canons in that behalf; and without ſparing Non-conformiſts, or Half-Conformiſts, at laſt reduced them to that point, That they muſt either leave their Churches, or obey the Church. The *Aultar* of *Damaſcus* tells us, if we may believe him, That no fewer than Three hundred Preaching-Miniſters, were either ſilenced or deprived upon that account. But the Authors of that Book, whoſoever they were, who uſe ſometimes to *ſtrain at Gnats, and ſwallow a Camel*; at other times can make a Mountain of a Mole-hill, if it ſtand in their way: For it appears upon the Rolls brought in by Biſhop *Bancroft* before his death, that there had been but Forty nine deprived upon all occaſions; which in a Realm containing Nine thouſand Pariſhes, could be no great matter. But ſo it was, that by the puniſhment of ſome few of the Principals, he ſtruck ſuch a general terror into all the reſt, that Inconformity grew out of faſhion in a leſſe time than could be eaſily imagined.

11. Hereupon followed a great alteration in the Face of Religion; more Churches beautified and repaired in this ſhort time of his Government, than had been in many years before: The Liturgy more ſolemnly officiated by the Prieſts, and more religiouſly attended by the common people; the Faſts and Feſtivals more punctually obſerved by both, than of later times. Copes brought again into the Service of the Church, the Surplice generally worn without doubt or hæſitancy; and all things in a manner are reduced to the ſame eſtate in which they had been firſt ſetled under Queen *ELIZABETH*: which, though it much redounded to the Honour of the Church of *England*; yet gave it no ſmall trouble to ſome ſticklers

for

for the *Puritan* Faction, expreſt in many ſcandalous Libels, and ſeditious railings; in which this Reverend Prelate ſuffered both alive and dead. Some who had formerly ſubſcribed, but not without ſome ſecret evaſion, or mental reſervation which they kept to themſelves, are now required to teſtifie their Conformity by a new ſubſcription, in which it was to be declared, that they did *willingly* & ex animo *ſubſcribe to the three Articles*, (formerly tendred to the Clergy under Arch-biſhop *Whitgift*, but now incorporated into the thirty ſix Canons) *and to all things in the ſame contained.* Which leaving them no ſtarting-hole either for practiſing thoſe Rites and Ceremonies which they did not approve, or for approving that which they meant not to practiſe, as they had done formerly; occaſioned many of them to forſake their Benefices, rather than to ſubſcribe according to the true intention of the Church in the ſaid three Articles: Amongſt which, none more eminent than Dr. *John Burges*, beneficed at that time in *Lincoln* Dioceſs, who for ſome paſſages in a Sermon preached before the King, on the *19th* of *June*, 1604, was committed Priſoner; and being then required by the Biſhop of *London* to ſubſcribe thoſe Articles, he abſolutely made refuſal of it; and preſently thereupon reſigned his Benefice; the reaſons whereof, he gives in a long Letter to Dr. *William Chatterton*, then Biſhop of *Lincoln*. He applied himſelf alſo, both by Letter and Petition, to his Sacred Majeſty, clearing himſelf from all intention of preaching any thing in that Sermon which might give any juſt offence; and humbly praying for a reſtitution, not to his Church, but only to his Majeſty's Favour. Which gained ſo far upon the King, that he admitted him not long after to a perſonal Conference, recovered him unto his ſtation in the Church, from which he was fallen: and finally, occaſioned his preferring to the Rectory of *Colſhill*, in the County of *Warwick*. After which, he became a profeſt Champion of the Government and Liturgy of the Church of *England*; both which he juſtified againſt all the Cavils of the *Non-conformiſts*, as appears by a Learned Book of his, entituled, *An Anſwer rejoyned to the applauded Pamphlet*, &c. publiſhed in the year 1631.

12. But the gaining of this man did not ſtill the reſt: For preſently on the neck of this, comes out a Factious Pamphlet, publiſhed by the *Lincoln-ſhire*-Miniſters, which they call *The Abridgment*; containing the ſum and ſubſtance of all thoſe Objections which either then were, or formerly had been made againſt the Church, in reference to Doctrine, Government, or Forms of Worſhip: Concerning which, it is obſerved by the ſaid Dr. *Burges*, That he found the ſtate of the Queſtions to be very much altered in the ſame; that *Cartwright*, and the reſt, in the times fore-going, though they had ſharpned both their Wits and Pens againſt the Ceremonies, oppoſed them as inconvenient only, but not unlawful: That therefore they endeavoured to perſwade the Miniſters rather to conform themſelves, than to leave their Flocks; the people, rather to receive the Communion kneeling, than not to receive the ſame at all: but, that the Authors of that Book, and ſome other Pamphlets, pronounced them to be 1605.

ſimply unlawful, neither to be impoſed nor uſed; ſome of them thinking it a great part of godlineſs to caſt off the Surplice, and commanded their Children ſo to do. This made the Biſhops far more earneſt to reduce them to a preſent Conformity, than otherwiſe they might have been, though by ſo doing they encreaſed thoſe diſcontentments, the ſeeds whereof were ſown at the end of the Conference. All this the *Papiſts* well obſerved, and rejoyced at it, intending in the carrying on of the Gun-powder Treaſon, to lay the guilt thereof on the *Puritans* only. But the King and his Council mined with them, and undermined them, and by ſo doing blew them up in their own Invention; the Traytors being diſcovered, condemned, and executed, as they moſt juſtly had deſerved. But this Deſign which was intended for a ruin of the *Puritan* Faction, proved in concluſion very advantagious to their Ends and Purpoſes: For, the King being throughly terrified with the apprehenſion of ſo great a danger, turned all his thoughts upon the *Papiſts*, and was content to let the *Puritans* take breath, and regain ſome ſtrength, that they might ſerve him for a counterpoiſe againſt the other: as afterwards he gave ſome countenance to the *Popiſh* Party, when he perceived the oppoſite Faction to be grown too head-ſtrong. Nor were the *Puritans* wanting to themſelves upon this occaſion, but entertained the Court and Countrey with continual fears of ſome new dangers from the *Papiſts*; and by appearance of much zeal for the true Religion, and no leſs care for the preſerving of their common Liberty againſt the encroachments of the Court, came by degrees to make a Party in the Houſe of Commons. And hereunto K. *JAMES* unwittingly contributed his aſſiſtance alſo; who being intent upon uniting the two Kingdoms by Act of Parliament, ſuffered the Commons to expatiate in Rhetorical Speeches, to call in queſtion the extent of his Royal Prerogative, to embrue many Church-concernments, and to diſpute the Power of the High-Commiſſion: By means whereof they came at laſt to ſuch an height that the King was able in the end to do nothing in Parliament, but as he courted and applyed himſelf to this popular Faction.

13. Worſe fared it with the Brethren of the Separation, who had retired themſelves unto *Amſterdam* in the former Reign, than with their firſt Founders and Fore-fathers in the Church of *England*: For having broken in ſunder the *bond of peace*, they found no poſſibility of preſerving the *ſpirit of unity*; one Separation growing continually on the neck of another, till they were crumbled into nothing. The Brethren of the firſt Separation had found fault with the Church of *England* for reading Prayers and Homilies as they lay in the Book, and not admitting the *Presbytery* to take place amongſt them. But the Brethren of the ſecond Separation take as much diſtaſte againſt retaining all ſet-forms of Hymns and Pſalms, committing their Conceptions, both in Praying and Propheſying, to the help of Memory; and did as much abominate Presbytery, as the other liked it: For firſt, They pre-ſuppoſe for granted, as they lately might, that there be three kinds of Spiritual Worſhip, *Praying, Prophe-*

Propheſying, and *Singing of Pſalms*; and then ſubjoyn this Maxim, in which all agreed, that is to ſay, That there is the ſame reaſon of Helps in all the parts of Spiritual Worſhip, as is to be admitted in any one, during the performing of that Worſhip. Upon which ground they charge it home on their fellow-Separatiſts, That, *as in Prayer, the Book is to be laid aſide, by the confeſſion of the ancient Brethren of the Separation, ſo muſt it alſo be in Propheſying, and Singing of Pſalms: and therefore, whether we pray, or ſing, or propheſie, it is not to be from the Book, but out of the heart.* For *Propheſying*, next, they tell us, that the Spirit is quenched two manner of ways, by Memory, as well as Reading. And to make known how little uſe there is of Memory in the Act of Propheſying or Preaching, they tell us, That the citing of Chapter and Verſe (as not being uſed by Chriſt and his Apoſtles in their Sermons or Writings); is a mark of Antichriſt. And as for *Pſalms*, which make the Third part of Spiritual Worſhip, they propoſe theſe Queries: 1. *Whether in a Pſalm a man muſt be tyed to* Meeter, Rythme, *and* Tune? *and, Whether* Voluntary *be not as neceſſary in* Tune *and Words, as well as Matter?* And, 2. *Whether* Meeter, Rythme, *and* Tune, *be not* quenching the Spirit?

14. According to which Reſolution of the *New Separation*, every man, when the Congregation ſhall be met together, may firſt conceive his own Matter in the Act of Praiſing; deliver it in Proſe or Meeter, as he liſts himſelf; and in the ſame inſtant chant out in what Tune ſoever, that which comes firſt into his own head: Which would be ſuch a horrible confuſion of Tongues and Voices, that hardly any howling or gnaſhing of teeth, can be like unto it. And yet it follows ſo directly on the former Principles, that if we baniſh all ſet-forms of Common-Prayer, (which is but only one part of God's Publick Worſhip) from the uſe of the Church, we cannot but in Juſtice and in Reaſon both, baniſh all *ſtudied* and *premeditated* Sermons, from the Houſe of God, and utterly caſt out all King *David*'s Pſalms, (whether in Proſe or Meeter, that comes all to one) and all Divine Hymns alſo into the bargain. Finally, as to Forms of Government, they declared thus; (or to this purpoſe, at the leaſt, if my memory fail not) That as they which live under the Tyranny of the Pope and Cardinals, worſhip the *very Beaſt* it ſelf; and they which live under the Government of Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, do worſhip the *Image of the Beaſt*; ſo they which willingly obey the Reformed Presbytery of Paſtors, Elders, and Deacons, worſhip the *ſhadow of that Image*. To ſuch ridiculous Follies are men commonly brought, when once preſuming on ſome *New Light* to direct their Actions, they ſuffer themſelves to be miſ-guided by the *Ignis fatuus* of their own Inventions. And in this poſture ſtood the *Brethren of the Separation*, Anno 1606, when *Smith* firſt publiſhed his Book of the preſent differences between the Churches of the *Separation*, as he honeſtly calls them. But afterwards there grew another great diſpute between *Ainſworth* and *Broughton*, Whether the colour of *Aaron*'s Linnen *Ephod* were of

Blew,

Blew, or a *Sea-water Green*: Which did not only trouble all the *Dyers* in *Amsterdam*, but drew their several Followers into Sides and Factions, and made good sport to all the World, but themselves alone. By reason of which Divisions and Sub-divisions, they fell at last into so many Fractions, that one of them in the end became a Church of himself, and having none to joyn in Opinion with him, baptized himself, and thereby got the name of a *Se-baptist*; which never any Sectary or Heretick had obtained before.

15. It fell not out much otherwise in the *Belgick* Provinces, with those of the *Calvinian* Judgment, who then began to find some diminution of that Power and Credit wherewith they carried all before them in the times preceding. *Junius*, a very moderate and learned man, and one of the Professors for Divinity in the Schools of *Leyden*, departed out of this life in the same year also; into whose Place the Overseers, or *Curators*, as they call them, of that University, made choice of *Jacob Van Harmine*, a man of equal Learning, and no less Piety. He had for fifteen years before, been Pastor (as they love to phrase it) to the great Church of *Amsterdam*, the chief City of *Holland*; during which time he published his Discourse against the Doctrine of *Predestination*, as laid down by *Perkins*, who at that time had printed his *Armilla Aurea*, and therein justified all the Rigours of the *Supra-lapsarians*. Encouraged with his good success in this Adventure, he undertakes a Conference on the same Argument, with the Learned *Junius*, one of the *Sub-lapsarian* Judgment; the sum whereof being spread abroad in several Papers, was afterward set forth by the name of *Amica Collatio*. By means whereof, as he attained a great esteem with all moderate men, so he exceedingly exasperated most of the *Calvinian* Ministers, who thereupon opposed his coming to *Leyden* with their utmost power, accusing him of Heterodoxies and unsound Opinions, to the Council of *Holland*. But the *Curators* being constant in their Resolutions, and *Harmin* having purged himself from all Crimes objected, before his Judges at the *Hague*; he is dispatched for *Leyden*, admitted by the University, and confirmed by the Estate: Towards which, the Testimonial-Letters sent from *Amsterdam*, did not help a little; in which he stands commended for a man of an * *unblamable life, sound Doctrine, and fair behaviour*; as by their Letters may appear, exemplified in an Oration which was made at his Funeral.

* *Ob vitæ inculpatæ, sanæ doctrinæ, & morum summam integritatem, Hunc.* Orat.

16. By which Attractives he prevailed as much amongst the Students of *Leyden*, as he had done amongst the Merchants at *Amsterdam*. For during the short time of his sitting in the Chair of *Leyden*, he drew unto him a great part of that University; who by the Piety of the man, his powerful Arguments, his extream diligence in that place, and the clear light of Reason which appeared in all his Discourses, became so wedded at the last unto his Opinions, that no time or trouble could divorce them from *Harmin*: Dying in the year 1609, the Heats betwixt his Scholars, and those of a contrary Perswasion, were rather encreased than abated; the more

encreased

encreaſed for want of ſuch prudent Moderators as had before preſerved the Churches from a publick Rupture. The breach between them growing wider and wider, each ſide thought fit to ſeek the countenance of the State; and they did accordingly. For in the year 1610, the Followers of *Arminius* addreſs their *Remonſtrance* (containing the Antiquity of their Doctrines, and the ſubſtance of them) to the States of *Holland*, which was encountred preſently by a *Contra-Remonſtrance*, exhibited by thoſe of *Calvin*'s Party: from hence the Name of *Remonſtrants*, and *Contra-Remonſtrants*, ſo frequent in their Books and Writings. Which though it brought ſome trouble for the preſent on the Churches of *Holland*, conduced much more to the advantage of the Church of *England*, whoſe Doctrine in thoſe points had been ſo over-born, if not quite ſuppreſſed, by thoſe of the *Calvinian* Party, that it was almoſt reckoned for a Hereſie to be found and Orthodox, according to the tenour of the Book of Articles, and other publick Monuments of the Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed. For being awakened by the noiſe of the *Belgick* Troubles, moſt men began to look about them, to ſearch more narrowly into the Doctrines of the Church, and by degrees to propagate, maintain, and teach them againſt all Oppoſers, as ſhall appear more largely and particularly in another place.

17. At the ſame time more troubles were projected in the Realm of *Sweden*; Prince *Sigiſmund*, the eldeſt Son of *John*, and the Grand-child of *Guſtavus Ericus*, the firſt King of that Family, was in his Father's life-time choſen King of *Poland*, in reference to his Mother, the Lady *Catherine*, Siſter to *SIGISMUND* the Second. But either being better pleaſed with the Court of *Poland*, or not permitted by that people to go out of the Kingdom, he left the Government of *Sweden* to his Unkle *CHARLES*; a Prince of no ſmall Courage, but of more Ambition. At firſt he governed all Affairs as Lord Deputy only, but practiſed by degrees the exerciſe of a greater Power than was belonging to a Vice-Roy. Finding the *Lutherans* not ſo favourable unto his Deſigns, as he conceived that he had merited by his Favours to them, he raiſed up a *Calvinian* Party within the Realm, according to whoſe Principles he began firſt to withdraw his obedience from his Natural Prince, and after to aſſume the Government to himſelf. But firſt, he ſuffers all Affairs to fall into great Diſorders, the Realm to be invaded by the *Muſcovites* on the one ſide, by the *Danes* on the other, that ſo the people might be caſt on ſome neceſſity of putting themſelves abſolutely under his protection. In which diſtractions he is earneſtly ſolicited by all ſorts of people, except only thoſe of his own Party, to accept the Crown; which he conſents to at the laſt, as if forced unto it by the neceſſities of his Countrey. But he ſo play'd his Game withall, that he would neither take the ſame, nor protect the Subjects, till a Law was made for entailing the Crown for ever unto his Poſterity, whether *Male* or *Female*, as an Hereditary Kingdom. In all which Plots and Purpoſes, he thrived ſo luckily, (if to uſurp another Prince's Realm may be called *Good luck*) that after a long Warr, and ſome

Bloody Victories, he forced his Nephew to desist from all further Enterprises, and was Crowned King at *Stockholm*, in the year 1607. But as he got this Kingdom by no better Title than of Force and Fraud; so by the same, the Daughter of his Son *Gustavus Adolphus*, was divested of it, partly compelled, and partly cheated out of her Estate. So soon expired the Race of this great Politician, that many thousands of that people who saw the first beginning of it, lived to see the end.

18. Such Fortune also had the *French Calvinians* in their glorious Projects, though afterwards it turned to their destruction. For in the year 1603, they held a general Synod at *Gappe* in *Daulphine*, anciently the chief City of the *Apencenses*, and at this time a Bishop's-See. Nothing more memorable in this Synod (as to points of Doctrine) than, that it was determined for an Article of their Faith, That *the Pope was Antichrist*. But far more memorable was it for their Usurpations on the Civil Power. For at this Meeting they gave Audience to the Ambassadors of some Forreign States, as if they had been a Common-wealth distinct from the Realm of *France*. More than which, they audaciously importuned the King (of whose affection to them they presumed too far) by their several Agents, for liberty of going whersoever they listed, or sending whomsoever they pleased, to the Councils and Assemblies of all Neighbouring-Estates and Nations which profest the same Religion with them. This, though it had not been the first, was looked on as their greatest encroachment on the Royal Authority, which in conclusion proved the ruin of their Cause and Party. For what else could this aim at, (as was well observed by the King then reigning) but to make themselves a State distinct and independent, to raise up a new Commonwealth in the midst of a Kingdom, and to make the Schism as great in Civil; as in Sacred matters: Which wrought so far upon the Councils of his next Successor, who had not been trained up amongst them as his Father was, that he resolved to call them to a sober reckoning on the next occasion, and to deprive them all at once of those Powers and Priviledges which they so wantonly abused unto his disturbance. Of which we shall speak more hereafter in its proper place.

1605. In the mean time let us cross over into *Scotland*, where all Affairs moved retrograde, and seemed to threaten a relapse to their old Confusions. A general Assembly had been intimated to be held at *Aberdeen*, in the Month of *July*, *Anno* 1604: which by reason that the King was wholly taken up with effecting the Union, was adjourned to the same Month, in the year next following. In the mean season, some of the more Factious Ministers, hoping to raise no small advantage to themselves and their Party, by the absence of so many persons of most Power and Credit, began to entertain new Counsels for the unravelling of that Web which the King had lately wrought with such care and cunning. The King hears of it, and gives Order to suspend the Meeting till his further Pleasure were declared. Wherein he was so far obeyed by the major part, that

of

the fifty Presbyteries, into which the whole Kingdom was divided, *Anno* 1592, nine only sent Commissioners to attend at *Aberdeen*. When the day came, the Meeting was so thin and slender, that there appeared not above one and twenty, when they were at the fullest. But they were such as were resolved to stand stoutly to it, each man conceiving himself able, in the Cause of God, to make resistance to an Army. The Laird of *Lowreston* commands them in the King's Name to return to their Houses, to discontinue that unlawful Assembly, and not to meet on any publick occasion which concerned the Church, but by his Majesty's Appointment. They answer, That they were assembled at that time and place, according to the word of God, and the Laws of the Land; and, that they would not betray the Liberties of the Kirk of *Scotland*, by obeying such unlawful Prohibitions. Which said, and having desired him to withdraw a while, they made choice of one *Forbes* for their Moderator, and so adjourned themselves to *September* following. *Lowreston* thereupon denounced them Rebels; and fearing that some new affront might be put upon him, and consequently on the King, in whose Name he acted, he seeks for Remedy and Prevention, to the Lords of the Council: *Forbes* and *Welch*, the two chief sticklers in the Cause, are by them convented; and not abating any thing of their former obstinacy, are both sent Prisoners unto *Blackness*: A day is given for the appearance of the rest, which was the third day of *October*; at what time thirteen of the number made acknowledgment of their offence, and humbly supplicated, that their Lordships would endeavour to procure their Pardon: the rest remaining in their disobedience, are by the Lords disposed of into several Prisons.

19. But these proceedings did so little edifie with that stubborn Faction, that the Lords of the Council were condemned for their just severity, and all their Actings made to aim at no other end, but by degrees to introduce the Rights and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*. The King endeavours by a Declaration to undeceive his good people, and reclaim these obstinate persons from the ways of ruin; and intimates withall, that a new Assembly should be held at *Dundee* in the *July* following. But this prevails as little as the former course. Which puts the business on so far, that either the King must be conformable to their present humour, or they submit themselves to the King's just Power. The Lords resolve upon the last, command them to appear at the Council-Table, to receive their Sentence, and nominated the 24*th* of *October* for the Day of Doom. Accordingly they came, but they came prepared, having subscribed a publick Instrument under all their hands, by which they absolutely decline the Judgment of the King and Council, as altogether incompetent, and put themselves upon the tryal of the next Assembly, as their lawful Judg. Before they were convented only for their Disobedience; but by this Declinator, they have made themselves Traytors. The King is certified of all this; and being resolved upon the maintenance of his own Authority, gave order, That the Law should pass upon them, according to the Statute made in Parlia-

ment, *Anno* 1584. Hereupon *Forbes*, *Welch*, *Duncam*, *Sharp*, *Davie*, *Straghan*, are removed from *Blackneſs*, arraigned at an Aſſize held in *Linlithgoe*, found guilty by the Jury, and condemned to death; but all of them returned to their ſeveral Priſons, till the King's Pleaſure ſhould be known for their Execution. The *Melvins*, and ſome other of the principal Zealots, cauſed Prayers and Supplications to be made in behalf of the Traytors, though they had generally refuſed to perform that office when the King's Mother was upon the point of loſing her life, upon a more unwarrantable Sentence of Condemnation. This brought forth firſt a Proclamation, inhibiting all Miniſters to recommend the condemned perſons unto God in their Prayers or Sermons; and afterwards, a Letter to ſome Chiefs amongſt them, for waiting on His Majeſty at the Court in *England*, where they ſhould be admitted to a publick Conference, and have the King to be their Judg.

20. Upon this Summons there appear in behalf of the Church, the Arch-biſhops of St. *Andrews* and *Glaſgow*, the Biſhops of *Orkney* and *Galloway*; together with *Nicolſon*, the deſigned Biſhop of *Dunkeeden*: And for the Kirk, the two *Melvins*, *Colt*, *Carmichall*, *Scot*, *Balfour*, and *Watſon*. The place appointed for the Conference, was *Hampton-Court*, at which they all attended on *Septemb.* 20. But the Kirk-Party came reſolved neither to ſatisfie the King, nor be ſatisfied by him, though he endeavoured all fit ways for their information. To which end he appointed four Eminent and Learned Prelates to preach before them in their turns: the firſt of which, was Dr. *Barlow*, then Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who learnedly aſſerted the Epiſcopal Power, out of thoſe words to the Elders at *Epheſus*, recorded *Acts* 20. *v.* 28. The ſecond was Dr. *Buckeridg*, then Maſter of St. *John*'s Colledg in *Oxon*, and afterwards preferred to the See of *Rocheſter*; who no leſs learnedly evinced the King's Supremacy in all Concernments of the Church; ſelecting for his Text, the words of ſame Apoſtle, *Rom.* 13. *v.* 1. Next followed Dr. *Andrews*, then Biſhop of *Chichеſter*; who taking for his Text thoſe words of *Moſes*, viz. *Make thee two Trumpets of ſilver*, &c. *Numb.* 10. *v.* 2. convincingly demonſtrated out of all Antiquity, That the calling of all General and National Councils, had appertained unto the Supreme Chriſtian Magiſtrate. Dr. *King*, then Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, brings up the Rear; and taking for his Text thoſe words of the *Canticles*, Cap. 8. v. 11. diſproved the calling of Lay-Elders, as men that had no Power in governing the Church of Chriſt; nor were ſo much as heard of in the Primitive times. But neither the Learned Diſcourſes of theſe Four Prelates, nor the Arguments of the *Scottiſh* Biſhops, nor the Authority and Elocution of the King, could gain at all on theſe deaf Adders, who came reſolved not to hear the voice of thoſe Charmers, *charmed they never ſo wiſely*. Thus have we ſeen them in their Crimes, and now we are to look upon them in their ſeveral Puniſhments. And firſt, the Miniſters which had been ſummoned into *England*, were there commanded to remain until further. The ſix which were condemned for Treaſon, were ſentenced by the King

to

to perpetual baniſhment, and never to return to their Native Countrey upon pain of death. And as for thoſe which had acknowledged their offence, and ſubmitted to mercy, they were confined unto the Iſles, and out-parts of the Kingdom, where they may poſſibly work ſome good, but could do no harm. After which, *Andrew Melvin* having made a Seditious Libel againſt the Altar, and the Furniture thereof, in His Majeſty's Chappel, was brought into the Starr-Chamber by an *Ore tenus*, where he behaved himſelf ſo malepertly toward all the Lords, and more particularly towards the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, that he was ſentenced to impriſonment in the Tower of *London*, and there remained till he was begged by the Duke of *Bouillon*, and by him made Profeſſor of Divinity in the School of *Sedan*.

21. During the time that all men's Eyes were faſtned on the iſſue of this great Diſpute, the King thought fit to call a Parliament in *Scotland*, which he managed by Sir *George Hume*, his right truſty Servant, not long before created Earl of *Dunbar*, and made Lord Treaſurer of that Kingdom. His chief Work was to ſettle the Authority of the King, and the Calling of Biſhops, that they might mutually ſupport each other in the Government of the Church and State. It was ſuppoſed, that no ſmall oppoſition would be made againſt him by ſome *Puritan* Miniſters, who repaired in great numbers to the Town, as on their parts it was reſolved on. But he applyed himſelf unto them with ſuch Art and Prudence, that having taken off their edg, the Acts paſſed eaſily enough with the Lords and Commons. By the firſt Act, the King's Prerogative was confirmed over all Perſons, and in all Cauſes whatſoever: Which made Him much more Abſolute in all Affairs which had relation to the Church, than he had been formerly. And by the next, entituled, *An Act for Reſtitution of the Eſtate of Biſhops*; the Name of *Biſhops* was conferred upon ſuch of the Miniſters, as by the King were nominated unto any of the Biſhop-Sees, and thereby authorized to have place in Parliament: A courſe was alſo taken by it, to repoſſeſs the Biſhops of the Lands of their ſeveral Churches, as well as their Titles and Degree: not that a Plenary re-poſſeſſion of their Lands was then given unto them; but, that by a Repeal of the late Act of Annexation, the King was put into a capacity of reſtoring ſo much of the Rents as remained in the Crown, and otherwiſe providing for them 1606.
out of his Revenues. And, that the like diſtraction might not be made of their Eſtates for the time to come, an Act was paſſed for reſtraining ſuch Dilapidations as had impoveriſh'd all the Biſhopricks ſince the Reformation. After which, and the dooming of the greater Zealots to their ſeveral Puniſhments, he indicts a general Aſſembly at *Linlithgow*, in *December* following: at which convened One hundred thirty ſix Miniſters, and about Thirty three of the Nobility and principal Gentry. In this Aſſembly it was offered in behalf of his Majeſty, That all Presbyteries ſhould have their conſtant Moderators; for whoſe encouragement his Majeſty would aſſign to each of them a yearly ſtipend, amounting to One hundred pounds,

or Two hundred Marks in the *Scots* account: That the Bishops ſhould be Moderators of all Presbyteries in the Towns and Cities where they made their reſidence; as alſo, in Provincial and Dioceſan Synods: and that the Biſhops ſhould aſſume upon themſelves the charge of proſecuting *Papiſts*, till they returned to their obedience to the King and the Church. In the obtaining of which Acts, there was no ſmall difficulty; but he obtained them at the laſt, though not without ſome limitations and reſtrictions ſuper-added to them, under pretence of keeping the Commiſſioners (hereafter to be called *Biſhops*) within their bounds.

22. The *Presbyterians*, notwithſtanding, were not willing to forgo their Power; but ſtrugling, like half-dying men betwixt life and death, laid hold on all advantages which were offered to them, in oppoſition to the Acts before agreed on. *Gladſtanes*, Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*, taking upon him to preſide as Moderator in the Synod of *Fife*, being within his proper Dioceſe and Juriſdiction, was for a while oppoſed by ſome of the Miniſters, who would have gone to an Election as at other times. The Presbyteries alſo in ſome places, refuſed to admit the Biſhops for their Moderators, according to the Acts and Conſtitutions of the ſaid Aſſembly. Which though it put the Church into ſome diſorder, yet the Biſhops carried it at the laſt, the ſtouteſt of the Miniſters ſubmitting in the end unto that Authority which they were not able to contend with. In which
1609. conjuncture the King gives order for a Parliament to be held in *June*; in which He paſſed ſome ſevere Laws againſt the *Papiſts*, prohibiting the ſending of their Children to be educated beyond the Seas; and giving order for the choice of Pedagogues or Tutors to inſtruct them there; as alſo, againſt Jeſuits, and the Sayers and Hearers of Maſs. The cognizance of ſeveral Cauſes which anciently belonged to the Biſhops Courts, had of late times been ſetled in the Seſſions or Colledg of Juſtice: But by an Act of this Parliament, they are ſevered from it, and the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction reſtored as formerly; the Lords of the Seſſion being, in lieu thereof, rewarded with Ten thouſand pounds yearly, (which muſt be underſtood according to the *Scottiſh* account) out of the Cuſtoms of that Kingdom. It was enacted alſo, That the King from thenceforth might appoint ſuch Habit as to him ſeemed beſt, to Judges, Magiſtrates, and Churchmen. Which Acts being paſt, Patterns were ſent from *London*, in a ſhort time after, for the Apparel of the Lords of the Seſſion, the Juſtice, and other inferior Judges; for the Advocates, the Lawyers, the Commiſſairs, and all that lived by practiſe of the Law; with a command given to every one whom the Statutes concerned, to provide themſelves of the Habits preſcribed, within a certain ſpace, under the pain of Rebellion. But for the habit of the Biſhops, and other Church-men, it was thought fit to reſpite the like appointment of them, till the new Biſhops had received their Conſecration; to which now we haſten

23. But by the way, we muſt take notice of ſuch preparations as were made towards it in the next General Aſſembly held at *Glaſgow*,

Anno

Anno 1610, and managed by the Earl of *Dunbar*, as the former was: in which it was concluded, *That the King ſhould have the indiction of all General Aſſemblies. That the Biſhops, or their Deputies, ſhould be perpetual Moderators of the Dioceſan Synods. That no Excommunication, or Abſolution, ſhould be pronounced without their approbation. That all preſentations of Benefices ſhould be made by them*; and, *that the deprivation or ſuſpenſion of Miniſters, ſhould belong to them. That every Miniſter, at his admiſſion to a Benefice, ſhould take the Oath of Supremacy, and Canonical Obedience: That the Viſitation of the Dioceſe ſhall be performed by the Biſhop or his Deputy only.* And finally, *That the Biſhop ſhould be Moderator of all Conventions, for Exerciſings, or Propheſyings*, (call them which you will) *which ſhould be held within their bounds.* All which Concluſions were confirmed by Act of Parliament, in the year 1612: in which the Earl of *Dumferling*, then being Lord Chancellor of that Kingdom, ſate as chief Commiſſioner; who in the ſame Seſſion, alſo, procured a Repeal of all ſuch former Acts (more particularly, of that which paſſed in favour of the Diſcipline, 1592.) as were ſuppoſed to be derogatory to the ſaid Concluſions. In the mean time, the King being advertiſed of all which had been done at *Glaſgow*, calls to the Court by ſpecial Letters under his Sign-Manual, Mr. *John Spotſwood*, the deſigned Arch-biſhop of *Glaſgow*: Mr. *Gawen Hamilton*, nominated to the See of *Galloway*; and Mr. *Andrew Lamb*, appointed to the Church of *Brechin*; to the intent that being conſecrated Biſhops in due Form and Order, they might at their return give conſecration to the reſt of their Brethren. They had before been authorized to vote in Parliament, commended by the King unto their ſeveral Sees, made the perpetual Moderators of Presbyteries and Dioceſan Synods: and finally, by the Concluſions made at *Glaſgow*, they were reſtored to all conſiderable Acts of their Juriſdiction. The Character was only wanting to compleat the Work, which could not be imprinted but by Conſecration according to the Rules and Canons of the Primitive times.

24. And that this Character might be indelibly imprinted on them, His Majeſty iſſues a Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England*, to the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Wells*, and *Rocheſter*, whereby they were required to proceed to the Conſecration of the ſaid three Biſhops, according to the Rules of the *Engliſh* Ordination; which was by them performed with all due ſolemnity, in the Chappel of the Biſhop of *London*'s Houſe, near the Church of St. *Pauls*, *Octob.* 21, 1610. But firſt, a ſcruple had been moved by the Biſhop of *Ely*, concerning the capacity of the perſons nominated, for receiving the Epiſcopal Conſecration, in regard that none of them had formally been ordained Prieſts: which ſcruple was removed by Arch-biſhop *Bancroft*, alledging, that there was no ſuch neceſſity of receiving the Order of Prieſthood, but that Epiſcopal Conſecrations might be given without it; as might have been exemplified in the Caſes of *Ambroſe* and *Nectarius*; of which, the firſt was made Arch-biſhop of *Millain*; and the other, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, without

without receiving any intermediate Orders, whether of Prieſt, Deacon, or any other (if there were any other) at that time in the Church. And on the other ſide, the Prelates of *Scotland* alſo had their Doubts and Scruples, fearing leſt by receiving Conſecration of the *Engliſh* Biſhops, they might be brought to an acknowledgment of that Superiority which had been exerciſed and enjoyed by the *Primates* of *England*, before the firſt breaking out of the Civil Warrs betwixt *York* and *Lancaſter*. Againſt which fear, the King ſufficiently provided, by excluding the two Arch-biſhops of *Canterbury* and *York* (who only could pretend to that Superiority) out of His Commiſſion; which *Bancroft* very cheerfully condeſcended to, though he had chiefly laid the plot, and brought on the work; not caring who participated in the Honour of it, as long as the Churches of both Kingdoms might receive the Benefit.

25. This great Work being thus paſt over, the King erects a Court of *High Commiſſion* in the Realm of *Scotland*, for ordering all matters which concerned that Church, and could not ſafely be redreſſed in the Biſhops Courts. He alſo gave them ſome Directions for the better exerciſe of their Authority, by them to be communicated to the Biſhops, and ſome principal Church-men, whom he appointed to be called to *Edenborough* in the following *February*; where they were generally well approved. But as all general Rules have ſome Exceptions; ſo ſome Exceptions were found out againſt theſe Commiſſions, and the proceedings thereupon. Not very pleaſing to thoſe great Perſons who then ſate at the Helm, and looked upon it as a diminution to their own Authority, and could not brook that any of the Clergy ſhould be raiſed to ſo great a Power; much more diſpleaſing to the principal ſticklers in the Cauſe of *Presbytery*, who now beheld the downfall of their glorious Throne, which they had erected for themſelves in the Name of Chriſt. One thing perhaps might comfort them in the midſt of their ſorrows, that is to ſay, the death of the moſt Reverend Arch-biſhop *Bancroft*, who left this life upon the ſecond of *November*, not living above thirteen days after the *Scottiſh* Biſhops had received Conſecration. For which great bleſſing to the Church, he had ſcarce time to render his juſt acknowledgments unto God and the King, when he is called on to prepare for his *Nunc Dimittis*. And having ſeen ſo great a work accompliſhed for the glory of God, the honour of his Majeſty, and the good of both Kingdoms, beſeecheth God to give him leave to depart in peace, that with his eyes he might behold that great Salvation which was ordained to be a Light unto the Gentiles, and to be the Glory of his people *Iſrael*.

26. *Bancroft* being dead, ſome Biſhops of the Court held a Conſultation touching the fitteſt Perſon to ſucceed him in that eminent Dignity: The great Abilities and moſt exemplary Piety of Dr. *Lancelot Andrews*, then Biſhop of *Ely*, pointed him out to be the man, as one ſufficiently able to diſcharge a Truſt of ſuch main importance; and rather looked on as a Preferment to that See, than preferred unto it. Him they commended to King *JAMES*, who had

him

him in a high esteem for his Parts and Piety; and setled all things, as they thought, in so good a posture, that some of them retired to their Countrey-houses, and others slackned their attendance about the Court. Which opportunity being taken by the Earl of *Dunbar*, he puts in for *Abbot*, who had attended him in some of his Negotiations with the Kirk of *Scotland*. Upon the merits of which Service, he was preferred first to the See of *Litchfield*, to which he received his Episcopal Consecration on the third of *December*, 1609; and within the compass of the year, was removed to *London*. But *Dunbar* was resolved to advance him higher. And he put in so powerfully on his behalf, that at last he carried it to the great detriment of the Church, as it after proved. For, as one very well observeth of him, he seemed to be *better qualified with merit to attain that Dignity, than with a spirit answerable to so great a Function*. Which made him slack and negligent in the course of his Government, and too indulgent to that Party, which *Bancroft* had kept under with such just severity. But take his Character in the words of the said Historian, and we shall find that he was a man *too facil and yeelding* in the exercise of that great Office: that by his *extraordinary remisness in not exacting strict conformity to the prescribed Orders of the Church in point of Ceremony, he seemed to resolve those Legal determinations to their first indifferency*: and finally, That he brought in *such a habit of Nonconformity*, that the future reduction of *those tender Conscienced-men to a long discontinued obedience*, was at the last *interpreted* for an *Innovation*.

27. But to go forwards where we left, *Bancroft* being dead, the *English Puritans* began to put forth again, not pushing at the Liturgy and Episcopal Government (as in former times); but in pursuance of the *Sabbatarian* and *Calvinian* Rigors: Which having been advanced in the year 1595, as is there declared, and afterward laid aside till a fitter season, were now thought fit to be resumed as the most proper Mediums for inferring the desired Conclusion. In both which, they received some countenance from K. *JAMES* himself; but more from the connivence (if I may not call it, the encouragement) of the new Arch-bishop. In reference to the first, the King had published a Proclamation in the first year of his Reign, prohibiting some rude and disorderly Pastimes, (as namely, Ball, Baitings, Bear-baitings, and common Interludes) from being followed on the *Sunday*, because they drew away much people from God's publick Service. And he had caused the Morality of the Lord's-day-Sabbath, to be confirmed amongst the rest of the *Irish* Articles, *Anno* 1615, of which more anon. Which Condescentions were so husbanded by the *Puritan* Faction, that by the raising of the Sabbath, they depressed the Festivals; and with the Festivals, all those ancient and Annual Fasts which had been kept upon the Eves. And following close upon the Doctrines of *Aerius*, before remembred, they introduced, by little and little, a general neglect of the Weekly Fasts, the holy time of *Lent*, and the Embring-days; reducing all the Acts of Humiliation, to solemn and occasional Fasts, as amongst the *Scots*;

and yet this was not all the mischief which ensued on their Sabbath-Doctrines. By which, and by the temper of the present Government, they gave occasion to some Preachers, and not a few publick Ministers of Justice, in their several Countreys, to interdict all lawful sports upon that Day. By means whereof, the people were perswaded by some Priests and Jesuits, especially in *Lancashire*, and some others of the Northern Counties, that the Reformed Religion, was incompetible with that Christian Liberty which God and Nature had indulged to the sons of men. And having brought them to that point, it was no hard matter to perswade them to fall off to Popery, as a Religion more agreeable to human Society, and such as would permit them all such lawful pleasures as by the *stoicism* of the other had been interdicted. Which brought the King to a necessity of publishing his Declaration about lawful sports, dated at *Greenwich* on the 24*th* day of *May*, *Anno* 1620. Which as it put some Water into the Wine of the *Sabbatarians*; so shewed he, within few years after, how little he affected the *Calvinian Rigors*.

28. In reference to which last, some of the Zealots in the Cause had took encouragement from his Declaration against *Vorstus*, a Divine of the *Netherlands*, in which he had bestowed some unhandsome Epethetes upon the Followers of *Van Harmine*, in the *Belgick* Provinces. This seemed sufficient to expose all those of the same Perswasions, unto scorn and hatred; and on the other side, to animate all those who favoured *Calvinism*, to act such things as drew upon them at the last the King's high displeasure. *Calvin* had published a blasphemous Fancy touching Christ's suffering of Hell-torments in the time of his Passion, even to the horrors of Despair. Which being touched upon by *Corbet*, one of the Students of *Christ-Church*, in a Passion-Sermon, 1613, he was most sharply reprehended by the *Repetitioner*, for so great a saucineſs. Dr. *John Houson*, one of the Canons of that Church, who had most worthily discharged the Office of Vice-Chancellor twelve years before, declared himself somewhat to the prejudice of the *Annotations* which were made on the *Genevian* Bibles; and for so doing, is condemned to a Recantation much about that time; though the said *Annotations* had been censured for their partiality and seditiousness, by the Tongue of K. *JAMES*. And finally, Dr. *William Laud*, being then President of St. *John's* Colledg, had showed himself no Friend to *Calvinism*, in Doctrine or Discipline; and must be therefore branded for a *Papist*; in a publick Sermon preached upon *Easter Sunday*, by Dr. *Robert Abbot*, then Vice-Chancellor and Doctor of the Chair in that University: Which passages so closely following upon one another, occasioned (as most conceived) the publishing of some Directions by His Majesty, in the year next following: In which it was injoyned, among other things, *That young Students in Divinity should be directed to study such Books as were most agreeable in Doctrine and Discipline to the Church of* England; *and be excited to bestow their time in the Fathers and Councils*; *School-men*, *Histories*, *and Controversies*;

and

and not to insist too long upon Compendiums and Abbreviators, making them the grounds of those Sacred Studies. Which as it was the first great blow which was given to *Calvinism*, so was it followed not long after, by the King's *Instructions touching Preaching and Preachers.* In which it was precisely cautioned amongst other things, *That no Preacher, of what Title soever, under the Degree of a Bishop, or Dean at the least, should from thenceforth presume to preach in any popular Auditory; the deep points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or of the Universality, Efficacity, Resistibility, or Irresistibility, of God's Grace; but should rather leave those Theams to be handled by Learned men; as being fitter for Schools and Universities, than for simple Auditories.* Which said Instructions bearing date at *Windsor*, on the 10*th* of *August*, 1622, opened the way to the suppression of that heat and fierceness by which the *Calvinists* had been acted in some years fore-going.

29. During which Heats and Agitations between the Parties, a Plot was set on foot to subvert the Church, in the undoing of the Clergy; and there could be no readier way to undo the Clergy, than to reduce them unto such a Beggerly Competency (for by that name they love to call it) as they had brought them to in all the rest of the *Calvinian* or *Genevian* Churches. This the design of many hands, by whom all passages had been scored in *Cotton*'s Library, which either did relate to the point of Tythes, or the manner of payment. But the Collections being brought together, and the Work compleated, there appeared no other Name before it, than that of *Selden*, then of great Credit in the World for his known Abilities in the retired Walks of Learning. *The History of Tythes* writ by such an Author, could not but raise much expectation amongst some of the Laity, who for a long time had gaped after the Church's Patrimony, and now conceived and hoped to swallow it down without any chewing. The Author highly magnified, the Book held unanswerable, and all the Clergy looked on but as Pigmies to that great *Goliah*, who in his Preface had reproached them with *Ignorance* and *Laziness*; upbraided them with having nothing to keep up their Credit, but *Beard*, *Title*, and *Habit*; and that their studies reached no further than the *Breviary*, the *Postills*, and the *Polyanthea*. Provoked wherewith, he was so galled by *Tilleſly*, so gagged by *Mountague*, and stung by *Netles*; that he never came off in any of his Undertakings, with more loss of Credit. By which he found, that some of the *Ignorant* and *Lazy* Clergy, were of as retired Studies as himself; and could not only match, but over-match him too, in his own Philology. But the chief Governours of the Church went a shorter way; and not expecting till the Book was answered by particular men, resolved to seek for reparation of the wrong, from the Author himself, upon an Information to be brought against him in the High Commission. Fearing the issue of the business, and understanding what displeasures were conceived against him by the King and the Bishops, he made his personal appearance in the open Court at *Lambeth*, on the 28*th* day of *January*, 1618;

where in a full Court he tendred his ſubmiſſion and acknowledgment, all of his own hand-writing, in theſe following words.

My Lords, I moſt humbly acknowledg my Error which I have committed, in publiſhing The Hiſtory of Tythes; *and eſpecially, in that I have at all, by ſhewing any Interpretations of Holy Scriptures, by medling with Councils, Fathers, or Canons, or by whatſoever occurrs in it, offered any occaſion of Argument againſt any Right of Maintenance* Jure Divino, *of the Miniſters of the Goſpel; beſeeching your Lordſhips to receive this ingenuous and humble acknowledgment, together with the unfeigned Proteſtation of my grief, for that through it I have ſo incurred both His Majeſty's and your Lordſhips Diſpleaſure conceived againſt me in behalf of the Church of* England.

JOHN SELDEN.

This for the preſent was conceived to be the moſt likely Remedy for the preventing of the Miſchief; but left ſuch ſmart Remembrances in the mind of the Author, as put him on to act more vigorouſly for the *Preſbyterians*, (of which more hereafter) by whom he ſeemed to be engaged in the preſent Service.

30. But it is now high time for us to croſs over St. *George*'s Channel, and take a ſhort view of the poor and weak Eſtate of the Church of *Ireland*, where theſe Deſigns were carried on with better Fortune. A Church which for the moſt part had been modelled by the Reformation which was made in *England*. But lying at a greater diſtance, and more out of ſight, it was more eaſily made a prey to all Invaders; the *Papiſts* prevailing on the one ſide, and the *Puritans* on the other, getting ſo much ground, that the poor *Proteſtants* ſeemed to be crucified in the midſt between them. Some Order had been taken for eſtabliſhing the *Engliſh* Liturgy, together with the Bible in the *Engliſh* Tongue, in all the Churches of that Kingdom: which not being underſtood by the natural *Iriſh*, left them as much in Ignorance and Superſtition, as in the darkeſt times of the Papal Tyranny. And for the Churches of the Pale, which very well underſtood the *Engliſh* Language, they ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced from the Rules of the Church, and yeelded to the prevalency of thoſe zealous Miniſters who carried on the *Calvinian* Project with their utmoſt power. In order whereunto, it was held neceſſary to expoſe the Patrimony of the Biſhops and Cathedral Churches, to a publick Port-ſale; that being as much weakned in their Power as they were in Eſtate, they might be rendred inconſiderable in the eyes of the people. Hence-forward ſuch a general devaſtation of the Lands of the Church, that ſome Epiſcopal-Sees were never ſince able to maintain a Biſhop, but have been added to ſome others; two or three, for failing, to make up ſomewhat like a Competency for an *Iriſh* Prelate. The Biſhoprick of *Ardagh* was thereupon united unto that of *Killmore*; but the Cathedral of the one, together with the Biſhop's Houſe adjoyning to it, had been levelled with the very ground:

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the other in some better repair; but neither furnished with Bell, Font, or Chalice. The like union had been also made between the Bishopricks of *Clonfert* and *Killmare*, *Ossery* and *Kilkenny*, *Down* and *Connour*, *Waterford* and *Lismore*, *Cork* and *Rosse*, &c. and was projected by the late Lord Primate, between the See of *Kilfanore*, and that of *Killallow*: not to descend any more particulars of the like Conjunctions.

21. Such also were the Fortunes of the Rural Clergy, whose Churches in some places lay unrooted, in others unrepaired, and much out of order. The Tythes annexed, for the most part, to Religious Houses, fell (by the ruin of those Houses) to the Power of the Crown, and by the Kings and Queens of *England*, were alienated from the Church, and by them became Lay-Fees. The Vicaridges generally so ill provided, that in the whole Province of *Connaught*, most of the Vicars Pensions came but to forty shillings *per annum*, and in some places but sixteen only. And of such Vicaridges as appeared to be better endowed, three, four, or five, were many times ingrossed into one man's hands, who neither understood the Language, nor performed the Service. In which respect it was no marvel if the people took up that Religion which came next to hand, such as did either serve most fitly to continue them in their former Errors, or to secure them in the quiet enjoyment of those Estates which they had ravished from the Church, and still possessed by the Title of the first Usurpers. In which estate we find the Church of *Ireland*, at the death of the Queen, not much improved, in case it were not made more miserable. In the time of K. *JAMES*, some Propositions had been offered by Him in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, about sending Preachers into *Ireland*, of which he was but half King, as himself complained, their Bodies being subject unto his Authority, but their Souls and Consciences to the Pope. But I find nothing done in pursuance of it, till after the year 1607, where the Earl of *Tir-owen*, *Tir-connel*, Sir *John Odaghartie*, and other great Lords of the North, together with their Wives and Families, took their flight from *Ireland*, and left their whole Estates to the King's disposing. Hereupon followed the Plantation of *Ulster*, first undertaken by the City of *London*, who fortified *Colraine*, and built *London-Derrie*, and purchased many thousand Acres of Lands in the parts adjoyning. But it was carried on more vigorously, as more unfortunately withall, by some Adventurers of the *Scottish* Nation, who poured themselves into this Countrey as the richer Soil: And though they were sufficiently industrious in improving their own Fortunes there, and set up Preaching in all Churches wheresoever they fixed; yet, whether it happened for the better, or for the worse, the event hath showed: For they brought with them hither such a stock of *Puritanism*, such a contempt of Bishops, such a neglect of the publick Liturgy, and other Divine Offices of this Church, that there was nothing less to be found amongst them, than the Government and Forms of Worship established in the Church of *England*.

32. Nor did the Doctrine ſpeed much better, if it ſped not worſe: For *Calviniſm* by degrees had taken ſuch deep root amongſt them, that at the laſt it was received and countenanced as the only Doctrine which was to be defended in the Church of *Ireland*. For, not contented with the *Articles* of the Church of *England*, they were reſolved to frame a *Confeſſion* of their own; the drawing up whereof was referred to Dr. *James Uſher*, then Provoſt of the Colledg of *Dublin*, and afterwards Arce-biſhop of *Armagh*, and Lord Primate of *Ireland*. By whom the Book was ſo contrived, that all the *Sabbatarian* and *Calvinian* Rigors were declared therein to be the Doctrines of that Church. For firſt, the Articles of *Lambeth*, rejected at the *Conference* at *Hampton-Court*, muſt be inſerted into this *Confeſſion*, as the chief parts of it. And ſecondly, An Article muſt be made of purpoſe to juſtifie the Morality of the Lord's-day-Sabbath, and to require the ſpending of it wholly in Religious Exerciſes. Beſides which deviations from the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, moſt grievous Torments immediately in His Soul, are there affirmed to be endured by Chriſt our Saviour, which *Calvin* makes to be the ſame with his deſcent into Hell. The Abſtinencies from eating Fleſh upon certain days, declared not to be Religious Faſts, but to be grounded upon Politick Ends and Conſiderations: All Miniſters adjudged to be lawfully called, who are called unto the work of the Miniſtry by thoſe that have publick Authority given them in the Church (but whether they be Biſhops, or not, it makes no matter, ſo they be authorized unto it by their ſeveral Churches). The Sacerdotal Power of Abſolution, made *declarative* only; and conſequently, quite ſubverted. No Power aſcribed to the Church in making Canons, or Cenſuring any of thoſe who either careleſly or maliciouſly do infringe the ſame. The Pope made Antichriſt, according to the like determination of the *French Hugonots* at *Gappe* in *Daulphine*. And finally, Such a ſilence concerning the Conſecration of Arch-biſhops and Biſhops (expreſly juſtified and avowed in the *Engliſh* Book), as if they were not a diſtinct Order from the common Presbyters. All which, being *Uſher*'s own private Opinions, were diſperſed in ſeveral places of the Articles for the Church of *Ireland*; approved of in the Convocation of the year 1615: and finally, confirmed by the Lord Deputy *Chicheſter*, in the Name of King *JAMES*.

33. What might induce King *JAMES* to confirm theſe Articles, differing in ſo many points from his own Opinion, is not clearly known: but it is probable, that he might be drawn to it on theſe following grounds: For firſt, He was much governed at that time, in all Church-concernments, by Dr. *George Abbot*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*; and Dr. *James Mountague*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*: who having formerly engaged in maintenance of ſome or moſt of thoſe Opinions, as before is ſaid, might find it no hard matter to perſwade the King to a like approbation of them. And ſecondly, The King had ſo far declared himſelf in the Cauſe againſt *Vorſtius*, and ſo affectionately had eſpouſed the Quarrel of the Prince of *Orange* againſt

againſt thoſe of the *Remonſtrant* Party in the *Belgick* Churches, that he could not handſomely refuſe to confirm thoſe Doctrines in the Church of *Ireland*, which he had countenanced in *Holland*. Thirdly, The *Iriſh* Nation at that time were moſt tenaciouſly addicted to the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, and therefore muſt be bended to the other Extream, before they could be ſtraight and Orthodox in theſe points of Doctrine. Fourthly, and finally, It was an uſual practiſe with that King, in the whole courſe of His Government, to balance one Extream by the other; countenancing the *Papiſts* againſt the *Puritans*, and the *Puritans* againſt the *Papiſts*; that betwixt both, the true Religion, and Profeſſors of it, might be kept in ſafety. But whether I hit right, or not, certain it is, that it proved a matter of ſad conſequence to the Church of *England*; there being nothing more ordinary amongſt thoſe of the *Puritan* Party, when they were preſſed in any of the points aforeſaid, then to appeal unto the Articles of *Ireland*, and the infallible Judgment of K. *JAMES*, who confirmed the ſame. And ſo it ſtood until the year 1634, when by the Power of the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, and the Dexterity of Dr. *John Bramhall*, then Lord Biſhop of *Derry*, the *Iriſh* Articles were repealed in a full Convocation, and thoſe of *England* authoriſed in the place thereof.

34. Paſs we next over to the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, where the *Genevian* Diſcipline had been ſetled under Queen *ELIZABETH*; and being ſo ſetled by that Queen, was confirmed by K. *JAMES* at his firſt coming to this Crown; though at the ſame time he endeavoured a ſubverſion of it in the Kirk of *Scotland*. But being to do it by degrees, and ſo to practiſe the reſtoring of the old *Epiſcopacy*, as not to threaten a deſtruction to their new *Presbyteries*; it was thought fit to tolerate that Form of Government in thoſe petit Iſlands, which could have no great influence upon either Kingdom. Upon which ground he ſends his Letter to them of the 8*th* of *Auguſt*, firſt writ in *French*, and thus tranſlated into *Engliſh*; that is to ſay:

35. JAMES, *by the Grace of God, King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *&c. Unto all thoſe whom theſe Preſents ſhall concern, greeting. Whereas We Our ſelves, and the Lords of Our Council, have been given to underſtand, that it pleaſed God to put into the heart of the late Queen, Our moſt dear Siſter, to permit and allow unto the Iſles of* Jerſey *and* Guernſey, *parcel of the Dutchy of* Normandy, *the uſe of the Government of the Reformed Churches of the ſaid Dutchy, whereof they have ſtood poſſeſſed until Our coming to the Crown. For this cauſe We, deſiring to follow the pious Example of Our ſaid Siſter in this behalf, as well for the advancement of the Glory of Almighty God, as for the edification of his Church; do will and ordain, That Our ſaid Iſles ſhall quietly enjoy their ſaid Liberty in the uſe of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, there now eſtabliſhed. Forbidding any one to give them any trouble or impeachment, ſo long as they contain themſelves in Our obedience, and*

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attempt not any thing againſt the Power and Sacred Word of God. Given at our Palace at Hampton-Court, *the* 8th *of* Auguſt, *in the firſt year of Our Reign of* England, 1603.

36. This Letter was communicated unto all whom it might concern, in a Synod of both Iſlands, held in *Jerſey*, *Anno* 1605. But long they were not ſuffered to enjoy the benefit of this Diſpenſation: For Sir *John Peiton*, who ſucceeded Governour of *Jerſey* in the place of *Raleigh*, had of himſelf no good affections to that Plat-
1603. form, and poſſibly might be furniſhed with ſome ſecret Inſtructions for altering it in the Iſland on the firſt conveniency. The ground whereof was laid upon this occaſion: The Curate of St. *John*'s being lately dead, it pleaſed the *Colloquie* of that Iſland, according to their former method, to appoint one *Brevin* to ſucceed him. Againſt this courſe, the Governour, the King's Attorney, and other the Officers of the Crown, proteſted publickly, as being prejudicial to the Rights and Profits of the King. Howbeit, the Caſe was over-ruled, and the *Colloquie* for that time carried it. Hereupon a Bill of Articles was exhibited to the Lords of the Council, againſt the Miniſters of that Iſland, by *Peiton* the Governour, *Marret* the Attorney, and the reſt; as, viz. *That they had uſurped the Patronage of all Benefices in the Iſland: That thereby they admitted men to Livings without any Form or Preſentation; and by that means deprived his Majeſty of Vacancies and Firſt-fruits. That by the connivance* (to ſay no worſe of it) *of the former Governours, they exerciſed a kind of Arbitrary Juriſdiction, making and diſannulling Laws at their own moſt uncertain pleaſure.* In conſideration whereof, they humbly pray His Sacred Majeſty to grant them ſuch a Diſcipline as might be fitteſt to the nature of the Place, and leſs derogatory to the Royal Prerogative.

37. In the purſuance of this Project, Sir *Robert Gardiner*, once Chief Juſtice of *Ireland*; and *James Huſſey*, Dr. of the Laws, are ſent Commiſſioners unto that Iſland, though not without the colour of ſome other buſineſs. To theſe Commiſſioners the Miniſters give in their Anſwer, which may be generally reduced to theſe two heads: Firſt, That their appointment of men into the Miniſtry, and the exerciſe of Juriſdiction, being principal parts of the Church-Diſcipline, had been confirmed unto them by His Sacred Majeſty. And ſecondly, That the payment of Firſt-fruits and Tenths, had never been exacted from them ſince they were freed from their ſubordination to the Biſhops of *Conſtance*, to whom formerly they had been due. But theſe Anſwers giving no juſt ſatisfaction unto the Council of *England*, and nothing being done in order to a preſent Settlement, a foul deformity both of Confuſion and Diſtraction, did ſuddenly overgrow the face of thoſe wretched Churches. For in the former times, all ſuch as took upon them any publick Charge either in Church or Common-wealth, had bound themſelves by Oath to cheriſh and maintain the Diſcipline: That Oath is now diſclaimed as dangerous and unwarrantable. Before, it was their cuſtom to exact ſubſcription to their Plat-form, of all ſuch as purpoſed to receive

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the Sacrament: but now the King's Attorney, and others of that Party, chose rather to abstain from the Communion, than to yeeld Subscription. Nay, even the very *Elders*, silly souls, that thought themselves as *sacro sancti* as a *Roman Tribune*, were drawn with Process into the Civil Courts, and there reputed with the Vulgar. Nor was the Case much better in the *Sacred Consistory*; the Jurates in their *Cohu*, or Town-Hall, relieving such by their Authority, whom that (once *paramount*) Tribunal had condemned or censured. And yet this was not all the Mischief which befel them neither: Those of the lower rank seeing the Ministers begin to stagger in their Chairs, refused to set out their Tythes; and if the Curates mean to exact their Dues, the Law is open to all comers, to try their Title. Their Benefices, which before were accounted as exempt and priviledged, are now brought to reckon for First-fruits and Tenths; and that not according to the Book of *Constance* (as they had been formerly), but by the will and pleasure of the present Governour. And, to make up the total sum of their Mis-fortunes, one of the Constables preferrs a Bill against them in the common *Cohu*, in which they were accused of Hypocrisie in their Conversation, and Tyranny in the Exercise of their Jurisdiction: and finally, of holding some secret practises against the Governour, which consequentially did reflect on the King Himself.

38. In this Confusion they address themselves to the Earl of *Salisbury*, then being Lord Treasurer of *England*, and in great credit with King *JAMES*; who seeming very much pleased with their Application, advised them to invite their Brethren of the Isle of *Guernsey*, to joyn with them in a Petition to the King, for a redress of those Grievances which they then complained of. A Counsel which then seemed rational, and of great respect; but in it self of greater cunning than it seemed in the first appearance. For by this means (as certainly he was a man of a subtile Wit) he gave the King more time to compass his Designs in *Scotland*, before he should declare himself in the present business; and, by engaging those of *Guernsey* in the same desires, intended to subject them also to the same conclusion. But this Counsel taking no effect by reason of the death of the Councellor, they fall into another trouble of their own creating. The Parish of St. *Peters* falling void by the death of the Minister, the Governour presents unto it one *Aaron Messering*, one that had spent his time in *Oxon*, and had received the Order of Priesthood from the Right Reverend Dr. *Bridges*, then Bishop of that Diocess, but of himself a Native of the Isle of *Jersey*. A thing so infinitely stomacked by those of the *Colloquy*, that they would by no means yeeld unto his admission; not so much in regard of his presentation by the Power of the Governour, as because he had taken Orders from the hands of a Bishop: For now they thought that Popery began to break in upon them, and therefore that it did concern them to oppose it to the very last. A new Complaint is hereupon preferred against them to the Lords of the Council; in which their Lordships were informed, That the Inhabitants generally of the

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1615.

Isle were discontented with the present Discipline and guidance of the Church, that most of them would be easily perswaded to submit to the *English* Goverment, and that many of them did desire it.

1618. 39. This brings both Parties to the Court; the Governour and his Adherents, to prosecute the Suit, and make good their Intelligence; the Ministers to answer to the Complaint, and stand to the Pleasure of His Majesty in the final Judgment. And at the first, the Ministers stood fast together: but as it always happeneth, that there is no Confederacy so well jointed, but one Member of it may be severed from the rest, and thereby the whole Practise overthrown: so was it also in this business. For those who there sollicited some private business of the Governour's, had kindly wrought upon the weakness and ambition of *De la Place*, (one of the Ministers appointed to attend the Service) perswading him, That if the Government were altered, and the Dean restored, he was infallibly resolved on to be the man. Being fashioned into this hope, he speedily betrayed the Counsels of his Fellows, and furnished their Opponents at all their Interviews, with such Intelligence as might make most for their advantage. At last the Ministers not well agreeing in their own demands, and having little to say in defence of their proper Cause, whereunto their Answers were not provided before-hand; my Lord of *Canterbury*, at the Council Table, thus declared unto them the Pleasure of the King and Council, *viz. That for the speedy redress of their disorders, it was reputed most convenient to establish amongst them the Authority and Office of the Dean. That the Book of Common-Prayer being again Printed in the* French, *should be received into their Churches; but the Ministers not tyed to the strict observance of it in all particulars. That* Messervy *should be admitted to his Benefice, and that so they might return to their several Charges.* This said, they were commanded to depart, and to signifie to those from whom they came, the full scope of His Majesty's Resolution, and so they did. But being somewhat backward in obeying this Decree, the Council intimated to them by Sir *Philip de Carteret*, chief Agent for the Governour and Estates of the Island. That the Ministers from among themselves should make choice of three Learned and Grave persons, whose Names they should return unto the Board, out of which His Majesty should resolve on one to be their Dean.

1619. 40. But this Proposal little edified amongst the Brethren; not so much out of any dislike of the alteration, with which they seemed all well enough contented; but because every one of them gave himself some hopes of being the man: And being that all of them could not be elected, they were not willing to destroy their particular hopes, by the appointment of another. In the mean time, Mr. *David Bandinell*, an *Italian* born, then being Minister of St. *Mary's*, under pretence of other business of his own, is dispatched for *England*, and recommended by the Governour as the fittest person for that Place and Dignity. And being well approved of by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, who found him answerable in all points to the Governour's Character, he was established in the Place by his Majesty's Letters

Letters Patents, bearing date *Anno* 1619, and was accordingly inveſted in all ſuch Rights as formerly had been inherent in that Office, whether it were in point of Profit, or of Juriſdiction. And for the executing of this Office, ſome Articles were drawn and ratified by His Sacred Majeſty, to be in force until a certain Body of Eccleſiaſtical Canons ſhould be digeſted and confirmed: Which Articles he was pleaſed to call the *Interim*, (a Name deviſed by *CHARLES* the fifth, on the like occaſion) as appears by His Majeſty's Letters Paters Patents, for confirmation of the Canons, not long after made. And by this *Interim* it was permitted for the preſent, that the Miniſters ſhould not be obliged to bid the Holy-days, to uſe the Croſs in Baptiſm, or to wear the Surplice, or not to give the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper unto any others but ſuch as did receive it kneeling; but in all other things, it little differed from the Book of Canons; which being firſt drawn up by the Dean and Miniſters, was afterwards carefully peruſed, corrected, and accommodated for the uſe of that Iſland, by the Right Reverend Fathers in God, *George*, Lord Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*; *John*, Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*; and *Lancelot*, Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, whoſe Dioceſs or Juriſdiction did extend over both the Iſlands. In which reſpect it was appointed in the Letters Patents (by which His Majeſty confirmed theſe Canons, *Anno* 1623), That the ſaid Reverend Father in God, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſhould forthwith by his Commiſſion under his Epiſcopal Seal, as Ordinary of the place, give Authority unto the ſaid Dean to exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in the ſaid Iſle, according to the Canons and Conſtitutions thus made and eſtabliſhed. Such were the Means, and ſuch the Counſels, by which this Iſland was reduced to a full conformity with the Church of *England*. 1620. 1623.

41. *Guernſey* had followed in the like, if firſt the breach between K. *JAMES* and the King of *Spain*; and afterwards between K. *CHARLES* and the Crown of *France*, had not took off the edg of the proſecution. During which time, the Miniſters were much heartned in their Inconformity, by the Practiſes of *De la Place*, before remembred: Who ſtomacking his diſappointment in the loſs of the Deanry, abandoned his Native Countrey, and retired unto *Guernſey*, where he breathed nothing but diſgrace to the *Engliſh* Liturgy, the Perſon of the new Dean, and the change of the Government. Againſt the firſt, ſo perverſly oppoſite, that when ſome Forces were ſent over by King *CHARLES* for defence of the Iſland, he would not ſuffer them to have the uſe of the *Engliſh* Liturgy in the Church of St. *Peter's*, being the principal of that Iſland, but upon theſe Conditions; that is to ſay, *That they ſhould neither uſe the Liturgy therein, nor receive the Sacrament.* And ſecondly, *Whereas there was a Lecture weekly, every* Thurſday, *in the ſaid Church of St.* Peters, *when once the Feaſt of* Chriſt's Nativity *fell upon that day, he rather choſe to diſappoint the Hearers, and put off the Sermon, than that the leaſt honour ſhould reflect on that ancient Feſtival.* An Oppoſition far more ſuperſtitious, than any obſervation of a day, though meerly *Jewiſh*.

By his Example others were encouraged to the like perverſneſs, inſomuch that they refuſed to baptize any Child or Children, though weak, and in apparent danger of preſent death, but ſuch as were preſented unto them on the day of Preaching: And when ſome of them were compelled by the Civil Magiſtrate to perform their duty in this kind, a great Complaint thereof was made to the Earl of *Darby*, being then Governour of that Iſland, as if the Magiſtrate had intrenched on the Miniſter's Office, and took upon them the adminiſtration of the bleſſed Sacraments: Of theſe particulars, and many others of that nature, intelligence was given to the late Arch-biſhop, Dr. *Laud*, who had proceeded thereupon to a Reformation, *Anno* 1637, if the Diſtraction then ariſing in the *Realm* of *Scotland*, had not enforced him to a diſcontinuance of that Reſolution.

AERIUS

AERIUS REDIVIVUS:

OR,

The Hiſtory

OF THE

PRESBYTERIANS.

LIB. XII.

Containing,

Their Tumultuating in the Belgick *Provinces; their Practiſes and Inſurrections in the* Higher Germany; *the fruſtrating of their Deſign on the Churches of* Brandenbourgh; *the Revolts of* Tranſilvania, Hungary, Auſtria, *and* Bohemia, *and the Rebellions of the* French, *from the Year* 1610, *to the Year* 1628.

FRom *Guernſey* we ſet ſail for *Holland*, in which we left the Miniſters divided into two main Factions; the one being called the *Remonſtrants*, the other taking to themſelves the Name of *Contra-Remonſtrants*. To put an end to thoſe Diſorders, a Conference was appointed between the Parties, held at the *Hague*, before the General Aſſembly of Eſtates of the *Belgick* Provinces, *Anno* 1610. The Controverſie reduced to five Articles only, and the Diſpute managed by the ableſt men who appeared in the Quarrel on either ſide. In which it was conceived, that the *Remonſtrants* had the better of the day, and came off with Victory. But what the *Contra-Remonſtrants* wanted

in the ſtrength of Argument, they made good by Power: For, being far the greater number, and countenanced by the Prince of *Orange*, as their principal Patron, they proſecuted their Opponents in their ſeveral Conſiſtories, by Suſpenſions, Excommunications, and Deprivations, the higheſt Cenſures of the Church. This forced the *Remonſtrant* Party to put themſelves under the protection of *John Olden Barnevelt*, an *Hollander* by birth, and one of the moſt powerful men of all that Nation; who fearing that the Prince of *Orange* had ſome ſecret purpoſe to make Himſelf abſolute Lord of thoſe Eſtates, received them very cheerfully into his protection, not without hope of raiſing a ſtrong Party by them to oppoſe the Prince. This draws K. *JAMES* into the Quarrel; who being diſpleaſed with the Election of *Conradus Vorſtius*, to a Divinity-Reader's Place in the Schools of *Leiden*, and not ſo readily gratified by the Eſtates in the choice of another; publiſhed a Declaration againſt this *Vorſtius*, and therein falls exceeding foul upon *James Van Harmine*, and all that followed his Opinions in the preſent Controverſies. Which notwithſtanding, *Barnevelt* gains an Edict from the States of *Holland*, *Anno* 1613, by which a mutual Toleration was indulged to either 1613. Party, more to the benefit of the *Remonſtrants*, than the contentment of the others. An Edict highly magnified by the Learned *Grotius*, in his *Pietas Ordinum*, &c. Againſt which, ſome Anſwers were returned by *Bogerman*, *Sibrandus*, and ſome others, not without ſome reflections on the Magiſtrates for their actings in it.

2. This made the breach much wider than it was before; King *JAMES* appearing openly in favour of the Prince of *Orange*; the *Spaniard* ſecretly fomenting the Deſigns of *Barnevelt*, as it was afterwards ſuggeſted, with what truth I know not. But ſure it is, that as K. *JAMES* had formerly aſperſed the *Remonſtrant* Party, in His Declaration againſt *Vorſtius*, before remembred; ſo He continued a moſt bitter Enemy unto them, till he had brought them at the laſt to an extermination. But what induced him thereunto, hath been made a queſtion. Some think that he was drawn unto it by the powerful perſwaſions of Arch-biſhop *Abbot*, and Biſhop *Mountague*, who then much governed his Counſels in all Church-concernments. Others impute it to his Education in the Church of *Scotland*, where all the *Heterodoxies* of *Calvin* were received as Goſpel; which might incline him the more ſtrongly to thoſe Opinions, which he had ſucked in, as it were, with his Nurſe's Milk. Some ſay, that he was carried in this buſineſs, not ſo much by the clear light of his own underſtanding, as by a tranſport of affection to the Prince of *Orange*, to whom he had a dear regard, and a ſecret ſympathy. Others more rationally aſcribe it unto Reaſon of State, for the preventing of a dangerous and uncurable Rupture, which otherwiſe was like to follow in the State of the *Netherlands*. He had then a great Stock going amongſt them, in regard of the two Towns of *Brill* and *Vluſhing*, together with the Fort of *Ramekins*, which had been put into the hands of Queen *ELIZABETH*, for great ſums of money. In which regard, the Governour of the Town of *Vluſhing*, and the Ambaſ-

Ambaſſador reſident for the Crown of *England*, were to have place in all publick Councils which concerned thoſe Provinces; on whoſe Tranquillity and Power, he placed a great part of the peace and happineſs of his own Dominions. He knew that Concord was the ſtrongeſt Ligament of their Confederation; and looked on the *Remonſtrants* as the breakers of that Bond of Unity which formerly had held them ſo cloſe together.

3. Upon this reaſon he exhorts them in his ſaid Declaration, *To take heed of ſuch infected perſons; their own Countrey-men being already divided into Factions upon this occaſion; which was a matter ſo oppoſite to Unity, (the only prop and ſafety of their State, next under God) as muſt of neceſſity, by little and little, bring them to utter ruin, if wiſely and in time they did not provide againſt it.* And on the ſame reaſon he concurred in Counſel and Deſign, with the Prince of *Orange*, for the ſuppreſſing of that Party which he conceived to be ſo dangerous to the common Peace; and ſending ſuch of his Divines to the Synod of *Dort*, as were moſt like to be ſufficiently active in their condemnation. For ſo it hapned, that the Prince of *Orange* being animated by ſo great a Monarch, ſuddenly puts himſelf into the head of his Forces, marches from one ſtrong Town to another, changeth the Garriſons in ſome, the chief Commanders in the reſt, and many of the principal Magiſtrates in moſt Towns of *Holland*, *Utrecht*, and the reſt of thoſe Provinces. Which done, he ſeizeth on the perſon of *Barnevelt*, as alſo on *Grotius*, and *Leidebrogius*; and then proclaims a National Synod to be held at *Dort*, in *November* following; 1618. to which the *Calviniſts* were invited from all parts of Chriſtendom. And yet not thinking themſelves ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs their Adverſaries, they firſt diſabled ſome of them by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, from being choſen Members of it. Others who had been lawfully choſen, were not permitted to give ſuffrage with the reſt of the Synodiſts, unleſs they would renounce their Party. And finally, They took ſuch Order with the reſt, that they would not ſuffer them to ſit as Judges in the preſent Controverſies, but only to appear before them as Parties Criminal. All which being condeſcended to, though againſt all reaſon, they were reſtrained to ſuch a method in their diſputation, as carried with it a betraying of their Cauſe and Intereſt; and for not yeelding hereunto, they were diſmiſt by *Bogerman* in a moſt bitter Oration, uttered with fiery eys, and moſt virulent language.

4. It might be rationally conceived, that they who did conſpire with ſuch unanimity, to condemn their oppoſites, ſhould not fall out amongſt themſelves: but ſo it was, that there was ſcarce a point in difference between the Parties, wherein they had not very frequent and moſt fearful bickerings with one another; the Provincials many times enterfering with the Forreign Divines, and ſometimes falling foul on thoſe of different Judgment, though of the ſame Univerſity with them. The *Britiſh* Divines, together with one of thoſe that came from *Breme*, maintained an Univerſality of Redemption of Mankind by the death of Chriſt. But this by no means would be granted by the reſt of the Synod, for fear of yeelding any thing in

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the leaſt degree to the oppoſite Party. *Martinius*, another of the Divines of *Breme*, declared his diſſent from the common Opinion, touching the manner of Chriſt's being *Fundamentum Electionis*; and that he thought Chriſt not only to be the Effector of our Election, but alſo the Author and Procurer of it. But hereupon *Gomarus* flings down his Glove, and openly defies *Martinius* to a Duel, telling the Synod, that he knew *Martinius* was able to ſay nothing at all in refutation of that Doctrine. The ſaid *Martinius* had affirmed, That God was *Cauſa Phyſica Converſionis*; and for the truth thereof, appealed unto *Goclenius*, a Renowned Philoſopher, who was then preſent in the Synod, and confirmed the ſame. But preſently *Sibrandus Lubbertus* takes fire at this, and falls expreſly upon both. And though the Controverſie for the preſent was ſtilled by *Bogerman*; yet was it revived by *Gomarus* within few days after; who being backed by ſome of the *Palatine* Divines, behaved himſelf ſo rudely and uncivilly againſt *Martinius*, that he had almoſt driven him to a reſolution of forſaking their company.

5. The General Body of the Synod not being able to avoid the Inconveniences which the *Supra-lapſarian* way brought with it, were generally intent on the *Sub-lapſarian*. But on the other ſide, the Commiſſioners of the Churches of *South-Holland* thought it not neceſſary to determine whether God conſidered man fallen, or not fallen, while he paſſed the degrees of Election and Reprobation. But far more poſitive was *Gomarus*, one of the Four Profeſſors of *Leyden*, who ſtood as ſtrongly to the Abſolute, Irreſpective, and Irreverſible Decree, (excluſive of man's ſin, and our Saviour's ſufferings) as he could have done for the Holy Trinity. And not being able to draw the reſt unto his Opinion, nor willing to conform to theirs, he delivered his own Judgment in writing, apart by it ſelf, not joyning in ſubſcription with the reſt of his Brethren, for Conformity ſake, as is accuſtomed in ſuch caſes. But *Macrovius*, one of the Profeſſors of *Franekar*, in *Weſt-Frieſland*, went beyond them all, contending with great heat and violence, againſt all the reſt, *That God propounds his Word to Reprobates, to no other purpoſe, but to leave them wholly inexcuſable. That if the Goſpel is conſidered in reſpect of God's intention, the proper end thereof, and not the accidental, in regard of Reprobates, is to deprive them totally of all excuſe. And finally, That Chriſt knows all the hearts of men; and therefore only knocketh at the hearts of Reprobates, not with a mind of entring in (becauſe he knows they cannot open to him if they would); but partly, that he might upbraid them for their impotency; and partly, that he might encreaſe their damnation by it.* Nor reſted the Blaſphemer here, but publickly maintained againſt *Sibrandus Lubbertus*, his Collegue (in the open Synod), *That God wills Sin: That he ordains Sin, as it is Sin.* And, *That by no means he would have all men to be ſaved.* And more than ſo, he publickly declared at all adventures, *That if thoſe points were not maintained, they muſt forſake the chief Doctors of the Reformation.* Which, whether it were more unſeaſonably, or more truly ſpoken, I regard not now. In the agitation of which Points, they ſuffered themſelves to

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be transported into such extremities, that greater noise and tumult hath been seldom heard of in a sober Meeting. Insomuch, that when the Bishop of *Landaff*, to avoid the scandal, put them in mind of Moderation, and to endeavour to retain the Spirit of Unity in the Bond of Peace; *Gomarus* snapt him up, and told him, *That matters were not to be carried in Synodical Meetings, by the Authority of the Person, but the strength of the Argument.* For further proof of which particulars, if more proof be necessary, I shall refer the *English* Reader to two Books only; that is, to say, the *Golden Remains* of Mr. *Hales*; and the *Arcana Anti-Remonstrantium*, by *Tilenus Junior*.

Non agendum hic est in Synodo Authoritate sed Ratione

6. From Consultation and Debate, let us proceed in the next place to Execution, which we find full of Cruelty and accursed Rigour. The Acts hereof first ratified in the Blood of *Barnevelt*, for whose dispatch they violated all the Fundamental Laws of the *Belgick* Liberty; in maintenance whereof, they first pretended to take Arms against the *Spaniard*, their most Rightful Prince. The Party being thus beheaded, it was no hard matter to disperse the whole Trunk or Body: For presently upon the ending of the Synod, the *Remonstrants* are required to subscribe to their own condemnation; and for refusing so to do, they were all banished by a Decree of the States-General, with their Wives and Children, (to the number of Seven hundred Families, or thereabout) and forced to beg their bread, even in desolate places. But yet this was no end of their sorrows neither; they must come under a new *Cross*, and be calumniated for holding many horrid Blasphemies, and gross Impieties, which they most abhorred. For in the Continuation of the History of the *Netherlands*, writ by one *Crosse*, a Fellow of neither Judgment nor Learning, and so more apt to be abused with a false report; it is there affirmed, (whether with greater Ignorance, or Malice, it is hard to say) *That there was a Synod called at* Dort, *to suppress the* Arminians; *and that the said* Arminians *held, amongst other Heresies, first, That God was the Author of sin. Secondly, That he created the far greater part of Mankind, for no other purpose but only to find cause to damn them.* And to say truth, it had been well for them in respect of their Temporal Fortunes, had they taught those Heresies, for then they might have sped no worse than *Macrovius* did, who notwithstanding all his Heterodoxies, and most horrid Blasphemies, was only looked upon as one of their *Erring-Brethren*; subjected to no other Censure, but an Admonition to forbear all such Forms of Speech as might give any just offence *to tender Ears*, and could not be *digested by persons ignorant and uncapable of so great Mysteries.* As on the other side it is reported of *Franciscus Auratus*, a right Learned man, and one of the Professors for Divinity in the Schools of *Sedan*, (a Town and Seignury belonging to the Dukes of *Bouilion*) *That he was most disgracefully deprived of his Place and Function; by those of the* Calvinian *Party, because he had delivered in a Sermon on those words of St.* James, *c.* 1. *v.* 13. God tempteth no man, *&c. That God was not the* Author of Sin.

1619. 7. But possibly it may be said, That these Oppressions, Tyrannies, and Partialities, are not to be ascribed to the Sect of *Calvin*, in the capacity of *Presbyterians*, but of *Predestinarians*; and therefore we will now see what they acted in behalf of *Presbytery*, which was as dear to all the Members of that Synod, but the *English* only, as any of the Five Points, whatsoever it was: For in the Hundred forty fifth Session, being held on the 20*th* of *April*, the *Belgick* Confession was brought in to be subscribed by the Provincials, and publickly approved by the Forreign Divines: In which Confession there occurred one Article which tended plainly to the derogation and dishonour of the Church of *England*. For in the Thirty one Article, it is said expressly, *That, forasmuch as doth concern the Ministers of the Church of Christ, in what place soever, they are all of* * *equal Power and Authority with one another, as being all of them the Ministers of Jesus Christ, who is the only Universal Bishop, and sole Head of His Church.* Which Article being as agreeable to *Calvin*'s Judgment in point of Discipline, as their Determinations were to his Opinion in point of Doctrine; was very cheerfully entertained by the Forreign Divines, though found in few of the Confessions of the Forreign Churches. But being found directly opposite to the Government of the Church by Arch-bishops and Bishops, with which a parity of Ministers can have no consistence, was cordially opposed by the Divines of the *British* Colledg, but most especially by Dr. *George Carlton*, then Lord Bishop of *Landaff*, and afterwards translated to the See of *Chichester*; who having too much debased himself beneath his Calling, in being present in a Synod or Synodical Meeting, in which an ordinary Presbyter was to take the Chair, and have precedency before him, thought it high time to vindicate himself, and the Church of *England*; to enter a Legal Protestation against those proceedings. Which though it was admitted, and perhaps recorded, received no other Answer but neglect, if not scorn withall. Concerning which, he published a Declaration after his return, in these words ensuing.

* *Quantum verò attinet divini Verbi ministros, eandem illi Potestatem & Authoritatem habent.* Confes. Belg. Art 31.

8. *When we were to yeeld our consent to the* Belgick *Confession at* Dort, *I made open protestation in the Synod, That whereas in the Confession there was inserted a strange conceit of the Parity of Ministers to be instituted by Christ; I declared our dissent utterly in that point. I showed, that by Christ a Parity was never instituted in the Church: that he ordained Twelve Apostles, as also Seventy Disciples: that the Authority of the Twelve was above the other: that the Church preserved this Order left by our Saviour: And therefore, when the extraordinary Power of the Apostles ceased; yet this ordinary Authority continued in Bishops, who succeeded them, who were by the Apostles left in the Government of the Church, to ordain Ministers; and to see that they who were so ordained, should preach no other Doctrine: that in an inferior degree, the Ministers were governed by Bishops, who succeeded the Seventy Disciples: that this Order hath been maintained in the Church from the times of the Apostles; and herein I*

appealed

appealed to the Judgment of Antiquity, and to the Judgment of any Learned man now living; and craved herein to be satisfied, if any man of Learning could speak to the contrary. My Lord of Salisbury *is my Witness, and so are all the rest of our Company, who speak also in the Cause. To this there was no answer made by any; whereupon we conceived that they yeelded to the truth of the Protestation.* But it was only he and his Associates which conceived so of it: and so let it go.

9. His Lordship adds, that in a Conference which he had with some Divines of that Synod, he told them, *That the cause of all their troubles, was because they had no Bishops amongst them, who by their Authority might repress turbulent spirits, that broached Novelty, every man having liberty to speak or write what they list; and that as long as there were no Ecclesiastical men in Authority to repress and censure such contentious Spirits, their Church could never be without trouble.* To which they answered, That they did much honour and reverence the good Order and Discipline of the Church of *England*, and with all their hearts would be glad to have it established amongst them; but that could not be hoped for in their State: that their hope was, That seeing they could not do what they desired, God would be merciful to them, if they did what they could. This was, saith he, the sum and substance of their Answer, which he conceived to be enough to free that people from aiming at an *Anarchy*, and open Confusion; adding withall, that they groaned under the weight of that burden, and would be eased of it if they could. But by his Lordship's leave, I take this to be nothing but a piece of dissimulation of such a sanctified Hypocrisie as some of the *Calvinians* do affirm to be in Almighty God: For certainly they might have Bishops if they would, as well as the Popish Cantons of the *Switzers*, or the State of *Venice*; of which, the one is subject to an *Aristocracy*, the other to a Government no less popular than that of the *Netherlands*. In which respect it was conceived more lawful, by the late Lord Primate, for any *English* Protestant to communicate with the Reformed Churches in *France*, who cannot have Bishops if they would; than with the *Dutch*, who will not have Bishops, though they may; there still remaining in their hands Seven Episcopal Sees, with all the Honours and Revenues belonging to them; that is to say, the Bishoprick of *Harlem* in *Holland*, of *Middlebourgh* in *Zealand*, of *Lewarden* in *Friesland*, of *Groining* in the Province so called, of *Deventer* in the County of *Overyssell*, and of *Ruremond* in the Dutchy of *Gueldres*; all of them, but the last, subordinate to the Church of *Utrect*, which they keep also in their Power.

10. Somewhat was also done in the present Synod, in order to the better keeping of the Lord's Day, than it had been formerly: For till this time they had their Faires and Markets upon this day, their *Kirk-masses*, as they commonly called them: Which, as they constantly kept in most of the great Towns of *Holland*, *Zealand*, &c. even in *Dort* it self; so by the constant keeping of them, they must needs draw away much people from the Morning-Service, to attend

tend the busines of their Trades. And in the Afternoon (as before was noted) all Divine Offices were interdicted by a Constitution, which received life here, *Anno* 1574, that time being wholly left to be disposed of as the people pleased, either upon their profit, or their recreation. But their acquaintance with the *English*, brought them to more sense of Piety. And now they took the opportunity to train the people to the Church in the Afternoon, by the Authority and Reputation of the present Synod: For, having entertained the *Palatine Catechism* in their publick Schools, it was resolved that it should be taught in all their Churches on *Sunday* in the After-noon: That the Ministers should be bound to read and expound that Catechism, though none were present at the Exercises, but those of their own Families, only in hope that others might be drawn after their example; and that the Civil Magistrate should be employed by the Synod to restrain all Servile Works, and other Prophanations of that day, wherewith the Afternoons had commonly been spent, that so the people might repair to the Catechisings. And though some Reformation did ensue upon it in the greater Towns; yet in their lesser Villages (where men are more intent on their Worldly businesses) it remains as formerly.

11. As little of the *Sabbatarian*, had the *Palatine* Churches, which in all points adhered tenaciously unto *Calvin*'s Doctrine: For in those Churches it was ordinary for the Gentlemen to betake themselves in the After-noon of the Lord's Day, unto *Hawking* and *Hunting*, as the season of the year was fit for either; or otherwise, in taking the Air, visiting their Friends, or whatsoever else shall seem pleasing unto them. As usual it was also with the Husband-man, to spend the greatest part of the After-noon in looking over his Grounds, ordering his Cattel, and following of such Recreations as are most agreeable to his Nature and Education: no publick Divine Offices being prescribed for any part of that Day, but the Morning only. And so it stood in the year 1612: At what time the Lady *ELIZABETH*, Daughter to K. *JAMES*, and Wife to *Frederick* the fifth, Prince Elector *Palatine*, came first into that Countrey; whose having Divine Service every After-noon in her Chappel, or Closet, officiated by her own Chaplains, according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, gave the first hint unto that Prince to cause the like Religious Offices to be celebrated in his part of the Family; afterwards, by degrees, in all the Churches of *Heldenbourgh*; and finally, in most other Cities and Towns of his Dominions. Had he adventured no further on the confidence of that Power and Greatness which accrued to him by contracting an Alliance with so great a Monarch, it had been happy for himself and the Peace of Christendom. But being tempted by *Scultetus*, and some other of the Divines about him, Not to neglect the opportunity of advancing the Gospel, and making himself the principal Patron of it, he fell on some Designs destructive to himself and his. Who, though he were a Prince of a Flegmatick nature, and of small Activity; yet, being prest by the continual sollicitation of some eager Spirits, he drew

1612.

drew all the Provinces and Princes which profeſt the *Calvinian* Doctrines, to enter into a ſtrict League or Union amongſt themſelves, under pretence of looking to the Peace and Happineſs of the true Religion.

12. It much advantaged the Deſign, that the *Calviniani* in all parts of *Germany*, had began to ſtir, as men reſolved to keep the Saddle, or to loſe the Horſe. In *Aix*, (the *Latins* call it *Aquiſgranum*) an Imperial City, they firſt appeared conſiderable for their Power and Numbers, *Anno* 1605, at what time they ſhrewdly ſhaked the Eſtate thereof. But being thereupon debarred the exerciſe of their Religion, and puniſhed for the Miſdemeanor, they kept themſelves quiet till the year 1614; when in a popular Tumult they ſurpriſe the City, ſecure the principal Magiſtrates of it, and eject the Jeſuits. And though by the Mediation of the *French* Agents, and thoſe of *Julier's*, a Peace was for the preſent clapt up between them; yet neither Party was reſolved to ſtand longer to it, than might ſerve their turns. But whoſoever made the reckoning, the *Calviniſts* were at laſt compelled to pay the ſhot: For the Town being proſcribed by *Matthias* the Emperor, and the execution of the *Ban* committed to Arch-Duke *Albert*; he ſends the Marqueſs of *Spinola* with an Army thither, by whom the Town is brought to a ſurrender, the ancient Magiſtrates reſtored, and the *Calvinians* either forced to forſake the place, or to ſubmit themſelves unto Fine and Ranſome, if they kept their dwellings. Nor did they ſpeed much better in the City of *Colen*, where their Party was not ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs the Catholicks; and therefore they forſook the City, and retired to *Mulleime*, which they began to build and fortifie for their habitation. But thoſe of *Colen* fearing that this new Town might in ſhort time overtop that City both in Wealth and Power, addreſt themſelves unto the Emperor *Matthias*: By whoſe Command the Duke of *Newbourgh* falls upon it, deſtroys the greateſt part thereof, and leaves the finiſhing of that Work to the Marqueſs *Spinola*.

13. In *Haſſia* their Affairs ſucceeded with more proſperous Fortune, where *Lodowick*, of the ſecond Houſe of the *Lantgraves*, who had the City of *Marperge* for his Seat and Reſidence, declared himſelf in favour of their Forms and Doctrines, at ſuch time as the *Calviniſts* of *Aix* (before remembred) firſt began to ſtirr, followed therein by *George* his Brother, commonly called the *Lantgrave* of *Darmſtad*, from the place of his dwelling; half of which Town belonging to the Patrimony of the Prince Elector, had eaſily made way for *Calviniſm* into all the reſt. And though this *Lodowick* was diſturbed in his Government or Poſſeſſion, by his Couſin *Maurice*, commonly called the *Lantgrave* of *Caſſells*, from his principal City; who ſeized upon the Town of *Marperge*, *Anno* 1612; yet was he ſhortly after reſtored to his whole Eſtate, by the *Palatine*-League, which for the time carried a great ſway in thoſe parts of *Germany*. But, of greater conſequence were the agitations about *Cleve* and *Gulick*, occaſioned by a difference between the Marqueſs of *Brandenbourgh*, and the Duke of *Newbourgh*, about the partage of the

Patrimony and Estates of the Duke of *Cleve*: For *John-William*, the last Duke of *Cleve*, deceasing without Issue, in the year 1618, left his Estates between the Children of his Sisters; of which the eldest, called *Maria Leonora*, was married to *Albert* of *Brandenbourgh*, Duke of *Prussia*; whose Daughter *Ann* being married to *John Sigismund*, the Elector of *Brandenbough*, was Mother of *George-William*, the young Marquess of *Brandenbourgh*; who in her Right pretended to the whole Estate. The like pretence was made by *Wolfgangus Guilielmus*, Duke of *Newbourgh*; descended from the Electoral Family of the Princes *Palatine*, whose Mother *Magdalen* was the second Sister of the said *John-William*. The first of these Pretenders was wholly of a *Lutheran* Stock; and the other as inclinable to the Sect of *Calvin*; though afterwards, for the better carrying on of their Affairs, they forsook their Parties.

14. For so it hapned, that the Duke of *Newbourgh* finding himself too weak for the House of *Brandenbourgh*, put himself under the protection of the Catholick King; who having concluded a Truce of Twelve years with the States United, wanted Employment for his Army; and, that he might engage that King with the greater confidence, he reconciles himself to the Church of *Rome*, and marries the Lady *Magdalen*, Daughter to the Duke of *Bavaria*, the most potent of the *German* Princes of that Religion; which also he established in his own Dominions on the death of his Father. This puts the young Marquess to new Counsels; who thereupon calls in the Forces of the *States United*; the Warr continuing upon this occasion betwixt them and *Spain*, though the Scene was shifted. And that they might more cordially espouse his Quarrel, he took to Wife the Sister of *Frederick* the fifth, Prince Elector *Palatine*, and Neece of *William* of *Nassaw*, Prince of *Orange*, by his youngest Daughter; and consequently, Cousin-German, once removed to Count *Maurice* of *Nassaw*, Commander-General of the Forces of the *Sates United*, both by Sea and Land. This kept the Balance even between them; the one possessing the Estates of *Cleve* and *Mark*; and the other, the greatest part of *Berge* and *Gulick*. But so it was, that the old Marquess of *Brandenbourgh* having setled his abode in the Dukedom of *Prussia*, and left the management of the Marquisate to the Prince his Son; left him withall unto the Plots and Practises of a subtil Lady: Who being throughly instructed in all points of *Calvinism*, and having gotten a great Empire in her Husband's Affections, prevailed so far upon him in the first year of their Marriage, *Anno* 1614, that he renounced his own Religion, and declared for Her's; which he more cheerfully embraced, in hope to arm all the *Calvinians* both of the Higher and the Lower *Germany*, in defence of his Cause, as his Competitor of *Newbourgh* had armed the *Catholicks* to preserve his Interest.

15. Being thus resolved, he publisheth an Edict in the Month of *February*, *Anno* 1615; published in his Father's Name, but only in his own Authority and sole Command, under pretence of pacifying some distempers about Religion; but tending, in good earnest, to

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the plain ſuppreſſion of the *Lutheran* forms: for, having ſpent a tedious and impertinent Preamble touching the Animoſities fomented in the *Proteſtant* Churches, between the *Lutherans*, and thoſe of the *Calvinian* Party, he firſt requires that all unneceſſary Diſputes be laid aſide, that ſo all grounds of ſtrife and diſaffection might be alſo buried. Which ſaid, he next commands all Miniſters within the Marquiſſate, to preach the Word purely and ſincerely, according to the Writings of the holy Prophets and Apoſtles, the Four Creeds commonly received (amongſt which the *Te Deum* is to go for one), and the Confeſſion of *Ausberg*, of the laſt Correction; and that omitting all new gloſſes and interpretations of idle and ambitious men, affecting a Primacy in the Church, and a Power in the State, they aim at nothing in their Preachings, but the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Mankind. He commands alſo, That they ſhould abſtain from all calumniating of thoſe Churches which either were not ſubject to their Juriſdiction, nor were not lawfully convicted of the Crime of Hereſie; which he reſolved not to connive at for the time to come, but to proceed unto the puniſhment of all thoſe who wilfully ſhould refuſe to conform themſelves to his Will and Pleaſure. After which, giving them ſome good Counſel for following a more moderate courſe in their Preachings and Writings, than they had been accuſtomed to in the times fore-going, and in all points to be obedient to their principal Magiſtrate; he pulls off the Diſguiſe, and ſpeaks plainly thus.

16. "Theſe are *(ſaith he) the Heads of that Reformation, "which is to be obſerved in all the Churches of *Brandenbourgh*; "that is to ſay, All Images, Statua's, and Croſſes, to be removed "out of the place of publick Meetings; all Altars, as the Relicks "of *Popery*, and purpoſely erected for the Sacrifices of the Popiſh "Maſs, to be taken away; that in their room they ſhould ſet up a "Table of a long ſquare Figure, covered at all times with a Carpet "of Black, and at the time of the Communion with a Linnen Cloth: "That Wafers ſhould be uſed inſtead of the former Hoſts; which "being cut into long pieces, ſhould be received and broken by the "hands of thoſe who were admitted to communicate at the holy "Table. That ordinary Cups ſhould be made uſe of for the future, "inſtead of the old Popiſh Chalice. That the Veſtments uſed in "the Maſs, ſhould be forborn; no Candles lighted in any of their "Churches at noon-day. No Napkin to be held to thoſe that recei- "ved the Sacrament; nor any of them to receive it upon their knees, "as if Chriſt were corporally preſent. The ſign of the Croſs to be "from thenceforth diſcontinued: The Miniſter not to turn his back "to the people at the Miniſtration. The Prayers and Epiſtles be- "fore the Sermon, to be from thenceforth read, not ſung; and the "ſaid Prayers not to be muttered with a low voice in the Pulpit, or "Reading-Pew, but pronounced audibly and diſtinctly. Auricular "Confeſſion to be laid aſide, and the Communion not to be admini- "ſtred to ſick perſons in the time of any common Plague, or Con- "tagious Sickneſs. No bowing of their knee at the Name of *Jeſus*.

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* *Ceterum Reformationi in Electoratu Brandenburgico inſtituendæ, hæc capita memorantur.* Thuan. Contin. lib. 1. An. 1614.

"Nor Fonts of ſtone to be retained in their Churches, the want "whereof may be ſupplied by a common Baſon. The Decalogue to "be repeated wholly without mutilation; and the Catechiſm, in ſome "other points no leſs erroneous, to be corrected and amended. The "Trinity to be adored, but not expreſt in any Images, either carved or "painted. The words of Conſecration in the holy Supper, to be in-"terpreted and underſtood according unto that Analogy which they "held with the Sacrament, and other Texts of holy Scripture. And "finally, That the Miniſters ſhould not be ſo tyed to preach upon "the Goſpels and Epiſtles that were appointed for the day, but that "they might make choice of any other Text of Scriptures, as beſt "pleaſed themſelves. Such was the tenour of this Edict; on which I have inſiſted the more at large, to ſhow the difference between the *Lutheran* and *Genevian* Churches; and the great correſpondence of the firſt, with the Church of *England*. But this *Calvinian* Pill did not work ſo kindly, as not to ſtirr more Humours than it could remove. For the *Lutherans* being in poſſeſſion, would not deliver up their Churches, or deſert thoſe Uſages to which they had been trained up, and in which they were principled, according to the Rules of their firſt Reformation. And hereupon ſome Rupture was like to grow betwixt the young Marqueſs and his Subjects, if by the intervention of ſome honeſt Patriots it had not been cloſed up in this manner, or to this effect: That the *Lutheran* Forms only ſhould be uſed in all the Churches of the *Marquiſſate*, for the contentation of the people; and, that the Marqueſs ſhould have the exerciſe of his new Religion, for Himſelf, his Lady, and thoſe of his Opinion, in their private Chappels.

17. But the main buſineſs of theſe times, were the Commotions raiſed in *Tranſylvania*, *Hungary*, *Auſtria*, and *Bohemia*, by thoſe of the *Calvinian* Party; which drew all the Provinces of the Empire into ſuch confuſions, as have diſturbed the Peace thereof to this very day. For, laying down the true Original thereof, we may pleaſe to know, that *Ferdinand* the younger, Brother of *Charles* the fifth, ſucceeding on the death of *Maximilian* the Emperor, in the Dukedom of *Auſtria*, and afterwards attaining, by Marriage, to the Crown of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, which he was not born to, endeavoured to oblige his Subjects in all thoſe Dominions, by a connivance at ſuch Deviations from the Church of *Rome*, as were maintained by thoſe who adhered to *Luther*, and held themſelves to the Confeſſion of *Ausberg*; which afterwards was ratified by Imperial Edict. Followed therein by *Maximilian* the ſecond, who ſucceeded him in his Eſtates; and being a mild and gracious Prince, not only ſhowed himſelf unwilling to challenge any Power over Souls and Conſciences, but was pleaſed to mediate in behalf of his *Proteſtant* Subjects, with the Fathers at *Trent*, amongſt whom he incurred the ſuſpition of being a *Lutheran*. But *Rodolphus* the eldeſt of his Sons, and his next Succeſſor, was of a different temper from his Father and Grandfather, a profeſt Enemy to all that held not a Conformity with the Church of *Rome*, which he endeavoured to promote with

with ſuch terrible Edicts, as threatned nothing but deſtruction unto all gain-ſayers. He had five Brethren at that time, but none of them the father of any children; which made him caſt his eyes on *Ferdinand* of *Gratts*, Son of *Charles* Duke of *Gratts*, and Nephew of *Ferdinand* the Emperor, before remembred. Who going to *Rome* in the Year of *Jubile*, *Anno* 1600, obliged himſelf by Oath to the Pope then being, to extirpate all the Proteſtants out of his Dominions; which upon the inſtigation of the *Jeſuits* he did accordingly, by pillaging and baniſhing all of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, thorough *Styria*, *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*, though they had paid for the Freedom of their Conſcience, a great ſum of Money.

18. This ſo endeared him to *Rodolphus*, that he reſolved upon him for his next Succeſſor, and at the preſent to eſtate him in the Realm of *Hungary*, as a ſtep unto it. In which Deſign, as he was ſeconded by the *Pope* and *Spaniard*, ſo queſtionleſs it had been effected, if *Matthias* the Emperor's Brother, and next Heir, had not countermined them, by countenancing thoſe of the *Calvinian* or Reformed Religion, who then began to ſeem conſiderable in the eye of that Kingdom. To carry on which *Spaniſh* Plot to the End deſired, the Prelates of *Hungary*, in an Aſſembly held at *Presburgh*, *Anno* 1604, publiſhed a Decree without the conſent of the Nobility and Eſtates of the Kingdom, for the burning or perpetual baniſhment of all ſuch as were of the Reformed Religion. Which having been entertained in the Realm of *Poland*, found no great difficulty in croſſing the *Carpathian* Mountains, and gaining the like favourable admiſſion in this Kingdom alſo. Againſt which Edict of the Biſhops, a *Proteſt* is preſently made by the Eſtates of the Realm, under the Seal of the *Palatine*, the chief Officer of it: By whom it was publickly affirmed, *That they would with juſt Arms defend themſelves, if they ſhould be queſtioned for the Cauſe of Religion.* Which notwithſtanding, *Beliojoſa* (one of the Emperor's chief Commanders in the Realm of *Hungary*) firſt got into his hands the ſtrong Town of *Caſſovia*, ſtanding upon the borders of *Tranſylvania*. And that being done, he did not only interdict all thoſe of the *Reformed Religion* from making any uſes of them as they had done formerly; but he inhibits them from having Sermons in their private Houſes, from reading in the holy Bible, and from the burying of their dead in hallowed places. 1604.

19. Nor ſtaid he there, but pick'd a needleſs quarrel with *Iſtivon Botſcay*, a great man of that Countrey; two of whoſe Caſtles he ſurpriſed and razed, and thereupon provoked him to become his Enemy. For, being ſo provoked, he takes upon himſelf the Patronage of his Native Countrey, then miſerably oppreſſed by the *German* Soldiers; calls himſelf Prince of *Tranſylvania*, confederates himſelf with the *Turkiſh Baſſa's*, and thrived ſo well in his Deſigns, that he compelled the Emperor to recall his Forces out of *Tranſylvania*, and procured Liberty of Conſcience for all his Followers. For, being aſſiſted by the *Turks*, he encountred the ſaid *Beliojoſa*, cuts off 6000 of his men; and ſends a great part of the

Enemy's Ensigns, to the *Visier Bassa*, as a sign of his Victory. Which Blow he followed by a Proclamation to this effect, viz. *That all such as desired Liberty of Conscience, and to live free from the Corruptions and Idolatries of the Church of* Rome, *should repair to him as to their Head, and that he would allow to each of them Five Dollars weekly.* Which Proclamation did not only draw unto him many thousands of the common people, together with a great part of the Nobility and Gentry; but tempted many of the Emperor's Soldiers to forsake their General, and joyn themselves unto his Party. Strengthned wherewith, he makes himself Master of *Cassovia*; in which he changed not only the Religion, but the Civil Government: insomuch that many of those which were addicted to the Church of *Rome*, were presently slain upon the place, and most of the rest turned out of the City, together with the greatest part of the Church-men, the Bishops, and the Emperor's Treasurer. Upon which fortunate Success, a great Party in the *Upper Hungary* declare in favour of his Cause, violently break open the Religious Houses, compel the Fryers to put themselves into fortified places; and finally, to abandon *Presburgh*, the chief Town of that Kingdom, and to flye for shelter to *Vienna*, as their surest Refuge.

1605. 20. After this, *Basta*, the Lord-General of the Emperor's Forces, obtained the better of them in some Fortunate Skirmishes, which rather served to prolong, than to end the Warr. For *Botscay* was grown to so great strength, and made such spoil in all places wherever he came, that *Pallas Lippa* his Lieutenant, was found to be possessed at the time of his death, of no fewer than Seven hundred Chains of Gold, and One hundred thousand Ducats in ready money, which he had raked together within less than a year. This Treasure coming into *Botscay*'s hands by the death of *Lippa*, he mightily encreased his Army, with which he took in many strong Towns, and brought in some of the Nobility of the *Upper Hungary*, sending his Forces into *Styria*, *Austria*, and *Moravia*, which he spoiled and wasted. Insomuch that the Emperor, being forced to send Commissioners to him to accord the Differences, could obtain no better Conditions from him, but, *That Liberty of Conscience, and the free exercise of the Reformed Religion, should be permitted to all those who demanded the same; and that himself should be estated in the Principality of* Transylvania, *for the term of his life.* And though the Emperor at first refused to yeeld to these hard Conditions; yet in the next year, *Anno* 1606, upon a second Treaty with the Estates of
1606. that Kingdom, it was agreed upon by the Commissioners on both sides, That the free exercise as well of the *Reformed*, as of the *Romish* Religion, should be permitted to all men in the Realm of *Hungary*, as in the time of *Maximilian* the Father, and *Ferdinand* the Grandfather, of the present Emperor. Which Articles were more fully ratified in the Pacification made at *Vienna*, on the fourteenth of *September* then next following. In which it was expresly cautioned and capitulated, *That the* Calvinian *Religion should from thenceforth be exercised as freely as either the* Lutheran *or the* Romish

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In managing which Negation between the Parties, *Matthias* the Arch-Duke, who hitherto had secretly encouraged the *Hungarian Gospellers*, was not only present, but openly gave both countenance and consent unto it.

21. The gaining of this point, put them upon a hope of obtaining greater, even to the abrogating of all Laws and Ordinances for the burning of Hereticks, and whatsoever else were contrary to their Religion; as also, to the nominating of the *Palatine*, or Principal Officers, and to the making of Confederacies with their neighbour-Nation. During the agitating of which matters, *Botscay* dyes in *Cassovia*; but leaves his Faction so well formed, that they are able to go on without their Leader. An Assembly of the States of *Hungary* is called, by the Emperor, at *Presburgh*, in the middle of *August*, *Anno* 1607; but nothing done, for want of the presence of Arch-Duke *Matthias*, who was appointed by the Emperor to preside therein. Which happed also to the like Assembly of Estates of the Dukedom of *Austria*, and of the whole Empire, the next year, at the City of *Ratisbone*. *Matthias*, in the mean season, had his own Designs apart: For, at such time as the Assembly of the Estates was held at *Ratisbone*, he makes a journey unto *Presburgh*, convocates thither the Estates of *Hungary*; confirms the Pacification made before at *Vienna*, suffers them to confederate with their Neighbours of *Austria*, and makes himself the Head of that Confederation. By vertue whereof, he commands the people of both Countreys to put themselves into Arms, pretending an Expedition into *Moravia*, but aiming directly against *Prague*, the chief Town of *Bohemia*, where the Emperor *RODOLPHUS* then resided: Whom he so terrified with his coming with an Army of Eighteen thousand, that he consented to deliver the Crown of *Hungary* into the hands of *Matthias*, to yeeld unto him the possession of all that Kingdom, and to discharge his Subjects from their former Allegiance; upon condition that the Estates of that Realm should chuse no other King but the said Arch-Duke. Which Agreement being made the 17*th* of *June*, 1608, *Matthias* is accordingly Crowned King of *Hungary*; and *Illisachius*, a professt *Calvinian*, and one of the principal Sticklers in these Agitations, is made *Palatine* of it. 1607. 1608.

22. By this Transaction, the whole Dukedom of *Austria*, and so many of the Provinces subordinate to it, as were not actually possessed by the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand*, are consigned over to *Matthias*. Many Inhabitants whereof, professing the *Calvinian* Forms and Doctrines, (which only must be called the Reformed Religion) and building on the late Confederation with the Realm of *Hungary*, presumed so far upon the patience of their Prince, as to invade some publick Churches for the exercise of it. But they soon found themselves deceived: For *Matthias* having somewhat of the Statesman in him, and being withall exasperated by the Pope's *Nuncio*, interdicts all such publick Meetings. He had now served his turn in getting the possession of the Crown of *Hungary*, and was not willing to connive at those Exorbitances in his *Austrian* Subjects, (over

whom he challenged a more absolute *Soveraignty*, than over any of the rest) which he had cherished for self-ends in the Kingdom of *Hungary*. The *Austrians*, on the other side, who professed the Reformed Religion, refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance to him, if they might not exercise their Religion in as free a manner as the *Hungarians* were permitted to do by the Pacification. And thereupon they presently give Order to their Tenants and Vassals, to put themselves into Arms, appoint a general Assembly of the *Protestant* and Reformed States, to be held at *Horn*, and there resolve to extort that by way of Force, which they could not hope to gain by Favour. Some pains was took by *Maximilian* the Arch-Duke, another of the Emperor's Brothers, to accord the difference; who offered them, in the name of the King, to tolerate the free exercise of their Religion without the Cities; and that in the bestowing of the publick Offices, there should be no exception taken at them in regard of their difference in Religion; and withall, gave them many Reasons why such a general Liberty as they desired, could not be granted by the King, with reference to his Honour, Conscience, or particular safety.

23. But this reasonable Offer did not satisfie the Reformed Party, (for so the *Calvinians* must be called) by whom the *Hungarians* and *Moravians* are sollicited to associate with them, till they had compassed their desires: And upon confidence thereof, refused more obstinately to take the Oath, than before they did; levying new Forces for the Warr, and quartering them in great numbers round about the City of *Crema*, the chief City of the *Upper Austria*. But in the end, upon the intervention of the *Moravian* Ambassadors, the new King was content to yeeld to these Conditions following, viz. *That the Nobility in their Castles or Towns, as also in their City-Houses, should for themselves and their people, have the free exercise of their Religion. That the free exercise of Preaching might be used in the three Churches of* Iserdorf, Trihelcuircel, *and* Horn. *That the like freedom of Religion might be also exercised in all those Churches in which they enjoyed the same till the King's late Edict: and, that the Councellors of State, and other publick Officers, should from thenceforth be chose promiscuously out of both Religions.* Upon the granting of which Articles, but not before, they did not only take the Oath of Allegiance, but gave him a Magnificent Reception in the Town of *Lintz*; which hapned on the 17*th* of *May*, 1609. 1609.

24. No sooner were the *Austrians* gratified in the point of Religion, but the *Bohemians* take their turn to require the like; concerning which, we are to look a little backward, as far as to the year 1400. About which time, we find a strong Party to be raised amongst them, against some Superstitions and Corruptions in the Church of *Rome*; occasioned, as some say, by reading the Works of *Wickliff*, and by the Diligence of *Piccardus*, a *Flemming* born, as is affirmed by some others, from whom they had the Name of *Piccards*; cruelly persecuted by their own Kings, and publickly condemned in the Council of *Constance*; they continued constant, notwithstanding, to their own Perswasions: Distinguished also from the rest of the *Bohemians*,

hemians, by the Name of *Calixtins*, from the uſe of the Chalice; and *Subutraque*, from communicating in *both kinds*, againſt all oppoſers. Their Adverſaries in the Church of *Rome*, reproached them by the Name of *Adamites*, and ſometimes of *Piccards*; imputing to them many Heterodoxies, and ſome filthy Obſcenities, of which they never proved them guilty. In this condition they remained till the preaching of *Luther*, and the receiving of the *Auguſtin* Confeſſion in moſt parts of the Empire; which gave them ſo much confidence, as to purge themſelves from all former Calumnies, by publiſhing a Declaration of their Faith and Doctrine: Which they preſented at *Vienna* to the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand*, about ten years before choſen King of *Bohemia*, together with a large Apology prefixt before it. By which Confeſſion it appears, that they aſcribe no Power to the Civil Magiſtrate in the Concernments of the Church. That they had fallen upon a way of Ordaining Miniſters amongſt themſelves, without recourſe unto the Biſhop, or any ſuch Superior Officer, as a Super-Intendent. And finally, That they retained the uſe of Excommunication, and other Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, for the chaſtiſing of irregular and ſcandalous perſons. In which laſt Point, and almoſt all the other Branches of the ſaid Confeſſion, though they appeared as ſound and Orthodox as any others which had ſeparated from the Church of *Rome*; yet by their ſymbolizing with *Geneva* in ſo many particulars, it was no hard matter for the whole Body of *Calvinianiſm* to creep in amongſt them; the growth whereof inflamed them to ſuch deſperate courſes as they now purſued.

25. For this, they laid a good Foundation in the former year, 1609: when *Matthias* with his great Army was preparing for *Prague*, they found the Emperor in ſome fear, from which he could not be ſecured, but by their aſſiſtance; and they reſolved to husband the conjuncture for their beſt advantage. In confidence whereof, they propoſe unto him theſe Conditions, viz. *That the free exerciſe of Religion, as well according to the* Bohemian, *as the* Auguſtin *Confeſſion, might be kept inviolable; and that they which profeſſed the one, ſhould neither ſcoff or deſpiſe the other. That all Arch-biſhopricks, Biſhopricks, Abbotſhips, and other Spiritual Preferments, ſhould be given to the* Bohemians *only; and that Eccleſiaſtical Offices ſhould be permitted to Proteſtant Miniſters as in former times. That it ſhould be lawful for all men in their own Bounds and Territories, to build Churches for their own Religion: and that the Profeſſors and Patrons of the Univerſity of* Prague, *ſhould be joyned to the Conſiſtory as in former times. That all Political Offices ſhould be indifferently permitted unto men of both Religions.* With many other things of like weight and moment, in their Civil Concernments. But the Emperor was not yet reduced to that neceſſity, as to conſent to all at once. He gratified them at the preſent with a Confirmation of their Civil Rights; but put off the Demands which concerned Religion; to the next Aſſembly of Eſtates; conniving, in the mean time, at the exerciſe of that Religion which he could not tolerate. 1609.

26. But the *Calvinian Calixtins*, or *Confessionists*, call them which you will, perceiving a strong Party of the Catholicks to be made against them, appointed a General Assembly to be held in the City of *New Prague*, the 4th of *May*, to consist of all their Masters and concerned their Cause, protesting publickly (according to the accustomed Custom of that kind), That this Assembly, though not called by the Emperor's Authority, aimed at no other End than the Safety only, and the prosperity of that Kingdom; that both the Emperor and the Kingdom too, might not through the *Persuasions* of the *Popish Councellors*, be brought to extream peril and danger. This done, they send their Letters to the new King of *Hungary*, the Prince Elector *Palatine*; the Dukes of *Saxony* and *Brunswick*, and other Princes of the Empire; beseeching them, That by their powerful intercession with His Imperial Majesty, they might be suffered to enjoy the exercise of their own Religion, which they affirmed to differ in no material Point from the Confession of *Ausberg*. Following their blow, they first Remonstrate to the Emperor how much they had been disappointed of their hopes and expectations, from one time to another; and, in fine, tells him in plain terms, That they will do their best endeavour for the raising of Arms, to the end they might be able with their utmost power, *to defend him their Soveraign*, together with themselves and the whole Kingdom, against the Practises of their Forreign and Domestick Enemies. According to which Resolution, they forthwith raised a great number both of Horse and Foot, whom they ranged under good Commanders, and brought them openly into *Prague*. They procured also, that Ambassadors were sent from the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Estates of *Silesia*, (a Province many years since incorporated with the Realm of *Bohemia*) to intercede in their behalf. This gave the Emperor a fair colour to consent to that, which nothing but extream necessity could have wrested from him.

1610. 27. For thereupon he published his Letters of the 14th of *July*, 1610, by which it was declared, That all his Subjects communicating under one or both kinds, should live together peaceably and freely, and without wronging or reviling one another, under the pain and penalty of the Law to be inflicted upon them who should do the contrary. That as they who communicated under one kind, enjoyed the exercise of their Religion in all points, throughout the Kingdom of *Bohemia*; so they which did communicate under both kinds, should enjoy the field, without the lett or interruption of any; and that they should enjoy the same till a general union in Religion, and an end of all Controversies, should be fully made: That they should have the lower Consistory in the City of *Prague*, with Power to conform the same according to their own Confession. That they might lawfully make their Priests as well of the *Bohemian*, as of the *German* Nation; and settle them in their several Parishes, without lett or molestation of the Arch-bishop of *Prague*; and that besides the Schools and Churches which they had already, it might be lawful for them to erect more of either sort; as well in

Cities,

Cities, as in Towns and Countrey Villages. He declared alſo, that all Edicts formerly publiſhed againſt the free exerciſe of Religion, ſhould be void, fruſtrate, and of none effect: and that no contrary Edict againſt the States of the Religion, ſhould either be publiſhed by Himſelf, or any of his Heirs and Succeſſors; or if any were, ſhould be eſteemed of any force or effect in Law: and finally, That all ſuch of His Majeſty's Subjects that ſhould do any thing contrary to theſe His Letters, whether they were Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal perſons, ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed as the Troublers of the Common Peace.

28. The paſſing of this Gracious Edict (which the *Confeſſioniſts* were not ſlow of putting into execution), exceedingly exaſperated all thoſe of the Catholick Party; who thereupon called in the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, Biſhop of *Paſſaw*, and one of the Emperor's younger Brothers: Which Invitation he obeyed, entred the Countrey with an Army of Twelve thouſand men, makes himſelf Maſter of *New Prague*, and attempts the *Old*. But he found ſuch reſiſtance there, that K. *Matthias*, with a powerful Army, came time enough to their relief, and diſlodged the Beſiegers. Which Aid he brought them at that time, not out of love to their Religion, or their Perſons either, but only upon ſome Advertiſement which had been given him of Duke *Leopold*'s purpoſes, of getting that Kingdom to himſelf, as formerly. *Matthias* had extorted the Realm of *Hungary*, in deſpight of the Emperor. But meaning to make ſure work of it, he prevailed ſo far, that the Emperor reſigned unto him that Kingdom alſo, to which he was cheerfully elected by the Eſtates of the Countrey, before the end of this year, *Anno* 1610. And within two years after, was raiſed to the Imperial Dignity on the death of his Brother. Advanced unto which Power and Height, he governed his Dominions with great Moderation, till the year 1617. When being Himſelf, and all his Brothers, without hope of Children, he caſt his eyes upon his Couſin *Ferdinand*, then Duke of *Gratzi*, (a Prince wholly acted by the Jeſuits) whom he adopted for his Son, declared him for his Succeſſor in all the Patrimony and Eſtates belonging to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and in the year 1618, put him into the actual poſſeſſion of the Realms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; but not with any ſuch formality of Election unto either of them, as in his own caſe had been obſerved.

29. This gave encouragement to ſome of the Catholick Party, to take offence at ſome Churches lately erected by thoſe of the Reformed Religion, and either totally to deface them, or to ſhut them up. Complaint hereof is made unto the Emperor, but without any remedy. So that being doubly injured, as they gave it out, they called an Aſſembly of the States, that order might be taken for the preſervation of Religion, and their Civil Rights, both equally endangered by theſe new encroachments. The Emperor diſallows the Meeting, commanding them by Proclamation to diſſolve the ſame. Which ſo exaſperated ſome hot ſpirits, that the Emperor's Secretary, and two of his principal Councellors, were caſt headlong out of the Caſtle-Windows.

Windows. And though all three miraculoully escaped with life; yet the Conspirators conceived the Fact to be so unpardonable, that they could find no means of doing better, but by doing worse. For hereupon they set a Guard of Soldiers on the Baron of *Sternberge*, Governour of the Castle and Kingdom; they secure *Prague*, displace all the Emperor's old Councellors, and totally clear the Kingdom of all the Jesuits; and presently, as well by Letters to *Matthias* himself, as by a publick Declaration scattered in all parts of the Kingdom, they justifie themselves and their actings in it. Which done, they nominate Two and thirty persons of their own Perswasion, to have a superintendency over all Affairs which concerned that Kingdom, whom they called by the name of *Directors*; and enter into a Solemn League or Covenant, to defend each other against all persons whatsoever, without excepting either King or Emperor. For punishing these Insolencies, on the one side; and preserving the Malefactors, on the other, from the hands of Justice; a terrible Confusion first, and afterwards a more terrible Warr, breaks out amongst them. In the first heats whereof, the Emperor *Matthias* dyes, and *Ferdinand* is lawfully elected to succeed in the Empire. To stop the course of whose good Fortunes, the *Bohemian* Confederates renounce all Allegiance to him, proclaim him for no King of theirs, nor so to be acknowledged by the Princes and Estates of *Germany*.

30. But their new Governours (or *Directors*, as they called them) being generally worsted in the Warr, and fearing to be called to a strict account for these multiplyed Injuries, resolve upon the choice of some Potent Prince, to take that unfortunate Crown upon him. And who more like to carry it with success and honour, than *Frederick* the fifth, Prince Elector *Palatine*, the Head of the *Calvinian* Party, Son-in-law to the King of *England*, descended from a Daughter of the Prince of *Orange*, and by his Wife allyed to the King of *Denmark*, the Dukes of *Holstein* and *Brunswick*, three great *Lutheran* Princes. These were the Motives on their part to invite him to it; and they prevailed as much with him to accept the offer, to which he was pushed forward by the secret instigation of the States United, whose Truce with *Spain* was now upon the point of expiration; and they thought fit, in point of State-craft, that he should exercise his Army further off, than in their Dominions. And unto these it may be added, He had before incurred the Emperor's Displeasure on a double account; first, for projecting the Confederacy of the Chiefs of the *Calvinists*, (whom they called the *Princes of the Union*) for defence of themselves and their Religion. And secondly, for demolishing the Fortifications which were raised at *Udenhaine*, though authorized by the *Placart* of *Matthias* himself, for which he was impleaded in the Chamber of *Spires*. Upon which Motives and Temptations, he first sends forth his Letters to the Estates of *Bohemia*, in which he signified his acceptance of the Honour conferred upon him, and then acquaints K. *JAMES* with the Proposition, whose Counsel he desired therein for his better direction.

rection. But King *JAMES* was not pleased in the precipitancy of this rash adventure, and thought himself unhandsomely handled, in having his Advice asked upon the post-fact, when all his Counsels to the contrary must have come too late. Besides, he had a strong Party of *Calvinists* in his own Dominions, who were not to be trusted with a Power of disposing Kingdoms, for fear they might be brought to practise that against Himself, which he had countenanced in others. He knew no Prince could reign in safety, or be established on his Throne with Peace and Honour, if once Religion should be made a Cloak to disguise Rebellions.

31. Upon these grounds of Christian Prudence, he did not only disallow the Action in his own particular, but gave command that none of his Subjects should from thenceforth own his Son-in-law for the King of *Bohemia*, or pray for him in the Liturgy, or before their Sermons, by any other Title than *the Prince Elector*. At which the *English Calvinists* were extreamly vexed, who had already fancied to themselves upon this occasion the raising of a *Fifth Monarchy* in these parts of Christendom, even to the dethroning of the Pope, the setting up of *Calvin* in St. *Peter*'s Chair; and carrying on the Warr to the Walls of *Constantinople*. No man more zealous in the Cause, than Arch-bishop *Abbot*, who prest to have the News received with Bells and Bonfires, the King to be engaged in a Warr for the defence of such a *Righteous* and *Religious Cause*, and the Jewels of the Crown to be pawned in pursuance of it, as appears plainly by his Letters to Sir *Robert Naunton*, principal Secretary of Estate. Which Letters bearing date on the 12*th* of *December*, *Anno* 1619, are to be found at large in the Printed *Cabala*, p. 169, *&c.* and thither I refer the *Reader* for his satisfaction. But neither the Perswasions of so great a Prelate, nor the sollicitations of the Princess and her publick Ministers, nor the troublesome interposings of the House of Commons in a following Parliament, were able to remove that King from his first Resolution. By which, though he incurred the high displeasure of the *English Puritans*, and those of the *Calvinian* Party in other places; yet he acquired the Reputation of a Just and and Religious Prince, with most men besides, and those not only of the *Romish*, but the *Lutheran* Churches. And it is hard to say which of the two were most offended with the Prince Elector, for his accepting of that Crown; which of them had more ground to fear the ruin of their Cause and Party, if he had prevailed; and which of them were more impertinently provoked to make Head against him, after he had declared his acceptance of it.

32. For when he was to be Inaugurated in the Church of *Prague*, he neither would be crowned in the usual Form, nor by the hands of the Arch-bishop, to whom the performing of that Ceremony did of Right belong; but after such a form and manner as was digested by *Scultetus*, his Domestick Chaplain, who chiefly governed his Affairs in all Sacred matters. Nor would *Scultetus* undertake the Ceremony of the Coronation, though very ambitious of that Honour, till he had cleared the Church of all Carved Images, and defaced all the

Painted alſo. In both reſpects a-like offenſive to the *Romiſh* Clergy, who found themſelves diſ-priviledged, their Churches Sacrilegiouſly invaded, and further ruin threatned by theſe Innovations. A Maſſie Crucifix had bin erected on thebridg of *Prague*, which had ſtood there for many hundred years before; neither affronted by the *Lutherans*, nor defaced by the *Jews*, though more averſe from Images than all people elſe: *Scultetus* takes offence at the ſight thereof, as if the Brazen Serpent were ſet up and worſhipped; perſwades the King to cauſe it preſently to be demoliſhed, or elſe he never would be reckoned for an *Hezekiah*; in which he found Conformity to his Humour alſo. And thereby did as much offend all ſober *Lutherans*, (who retain Images in their Churches, and other places) as he had done the *Romiſh* Clergy by his former Follies. This gave ſome new encreaſe to thoſe former Jealouſies which had been given them by that Prince; firſt, by endeavouring to ſuppreſs the *Lutheran* Forms in the Churches of *Brandenburgh*, by the Arts and Practiſes of his Siſter. And ſecondly, By condemning their Doctrine at the Synod of *Dort*, (in which his Miniſters were more active than the reſt of the Forreigners) though in the perſons of thoſe men whom they called *Arminians*. But that which gave them greateſt cauſe of offence and fear, was his determinarion in a Cauſe depending between two Siſters, at his firſt coming to the Crown; of which, the youngeſt had been married to a *Calvinian*, the eldeſt to a *Lutheran* Lord. The place in difference, was the Caſtle and Seignury of *Gutſcin*, of which the eldeſt Siſter had took poſſeſſion, as the Seat of her Anceſtors. But the King paſſing Sentence for the younger Siſter, and ſending certain Judges and other Officers, to put the place into her actual poſſeſſion, they were all blown up with Gun-Powder, by the *Lutheran* Lady, not able to concoct the Indignity offered, nor to ſubmit unto Judgment which appeared ſo partial.

33. In the mean time, whilſt the Elector was preparing for his Journey to *Prague*, the Faction of *Bohemia* not being able to withſtand ſuch Forces as the Emperor had poured in upon them, invited *Bethlem Gabor* (not long before made Prince of *Tranſylvania*, by the help of the *Turks*) to repair ſpeedily to their ſucceſs. Which invitation he accepts, raiſeth an Army of Eighteen thouſand men, ranſacks all Monaſteries and Religious Houſes, whereſoever he came; and in ſhort time becomes the Maſter of the *Upper Hungary*, and the City of *Presburgh*; the Proteſtants in all places, but moſt eſpecially the *Calvinians*, ſubmitting readily unto him, whom they looked upon as their Deliverer from ſome preſent ſervitude. From thence he ſends his Forces to the Gates of *Vienna*, and impudently craves that the Provinces of *Styria*, *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*, ſhould be united from thenceforth to the Realm of *Hungary*, the better to enable the *Hungarians* to reſiſt the *Turk*. And having a deſign for ruining the Houſe of *Auſtria*, he doth not only crave protection from the *Ottoman* Emperor, but requires the new King and Eſtates of *Bohemia*, with the Provinces incorporate to it, to ſend their Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, for entring into a Confederacy with the common Enemy.

1620.

Enemy. Hereupon followed a great Meeting of Ambassadors from *Bohemia*, *Austria*, *Silesia*, *Lusatia*, *Venice*, *Poland*, and *Turkie*. All which assembled at *Newhasall*, in the *Upper Hungary*; where the *Turk* readily entred into the Association, and the *Venetian* Ambassador undertook the like in the Name of that Seignury. Encouraged wherewith, the *Transylvanian* is proclaimed King of *Hungary*; who to make good a Title so unjustly gotten, provides an Army of no fewer than Thirty thousand (others say Fifty thousand) men. With which if he had entred into any part of *Bohemia* before the new King had lost himself in the Battel of *Prague*, it is most probable that he might have absolutely assured that Kingdom to the Prince Elector, acquired the other for himself, and parted the Estates of *Austria* amongst their Confederates.

34. But so it hapned, that some *Lutheran* and *Popish* Princes, being both equally jealous of their own Estates, and careful to preserve the Interest of their several Parties, entred into League with the Emperor *FERDINAND*, for the defence of one another, and the recovery of that Kingdom to the House of *Austria*. In prosecution of which League, *John-George*, the Duke Elector of *Saxony*, invades *Lusatia* (another of the incorporate Provinces) with a puissant Army, and in short time reduceth it under his Command. And with like puissance, *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, the most potent of the Catholick Princes, falleth into *Bohemia*, and openeth all the way before him, to the Walls of *Prague*. Joyning with the Imperial Forces under Count *Bucquoy*, they are said to have made up an Army of Fifty thousand. With which they gave battel to the Army of the Prince Elector, consisting of Thirty thousand men, under the Conduct of the Prince of *Anhalt*, and the Count of *Thurne*. It is reported, that the Prince Elector was so good a Husband for the Emperor, as to preserve his Treasures in the Castle of *Prague*, without diminishing so much thereof as might pay his Soldiers: which made many of them throw away their Arms, and refuse to fight. But sure it is, that the Imperials gained a great and an easie Victory; in the pursuit whereof, the young Prince of *Anhalt*, together with Count *Thurne*, and *Saxon Weimar*, were taken Prisoners, the *Bohemian* Ordnance all supriſed, *Prague* forced to yeeld unto the Victor, the King and Queen compelled to flye into *Silesia*, from whence by many difficult passages, and untravelled ways, they came at last in safety to the *Hague* in *Holland*. Nor is it altogether unworthy of our observation, That this great Victory was obtained on a *Sunday* morning, being the 8*th* of *November*, and the 23*d Sunday* after *Trinity*; in the Gospel of which day occurred that memorable passage, *Reddite Cæsari, qua sunt Cæsaris*: that is to say, *Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsars*: Which seemed to judg the Quartel on the Emperor's side. Hereupon followed the most Tragical, or rather most Tyranical Execution of the chief *Directors*, who had a hand in the Design; the suppressing of the Protestant Reformed Religion, in all the Emperor's Estates, the falling back of *Bethlem Gabor* into *Transylvania*, the proscribing

of the Prince Elector and his Adherents, the transferring of the Electoral Dignity, together with the Upper *Palatinate*, on the Duke of *Bavaria*; the Conquest of the lower *Palatinate* by the King of *Spain*, and the setting up of Popery in all parts of both. In which condition they remained till the restoring of *Charles Lodowick*, the now Prince
1618. Elector, to the best part of his Estate, by the Treaty of *Munster*, 1648.

35. Such was the miserable end of the Warr of *Bohemia*, raised chiefly by the Pride and Pragmaticalness of *Calvin's* Followers, out of a hope to propagate their Doctrines, and advance their Discipline in all parts of the Empire. Nor sped the *Hugonots* much better in the Realm of *France*; where, by the countenance and connivance of King *HENRY* the 4*th*, who would not see it; and during the minority of *LEWIS* the 13*th*, who could not help it; they possessed themselves of some whole Countreys, and near Two hundred strong Towns, and fortified places. Proud of which Strength, they took upon them as a Commonwealth, in the midst of a Kingdom; summoned Assemblies for the managing of their own Affairs, when, and as often as they pleased. Gave Audience to the Ministers of Forreign Churches; and impowred Agents of their own to negotiate with them. At the same Meetings they consulted about Religion, made new Laws for Government, displaced some of their old Officers, and elected new ones; the King's consent being never asked to the Alterations. In which licentious calling of their own Assemblies, they abused their Power to a neglect of the King's Authority; and not dissolving those Assemblies when they were commanded, they improved that Neglect to a Disobedience. Nay, sometimes they run cross therein to those very Edicts which they had gained by the effusion of much Christian Blood, and the expence of many Hundred thousand Crowns. For by the last Edict of Pacification, the King had granted the free exercise of both Religions, even in such Towns as were assigned for Caution to the *Hugonot* Party. Which liberty being enjoyed for many years, was at last interrupted by those very men who with so much difficulty had procured it. For in an Assembly of theirs which they held at *Loudun*, *Anno* 1619, they strictly commanded all their Governours, Mayors, and Sheriffs, not to suffer any Jesuit, nor those of any other Order, to preach in any of the Towns assigned to them, though licensed by the Bishop of the Dioceſs, in due Form of Law. And when, upon a dislike of their proceedings, the King had declared their Meetings to be unlawful, and contrary to the Publick Peace; and had procured that Declaration to be verified in the Court of Parliament; they did not only refuse to separate themselves, as they were required, but still insisted upon terms of Capitulation, even to a plain justifying of their actings in it.

36. These carriages gave the King such just offence, that he denied them leave to send Commissioners to the Synod of *Dort*, to which they had been earnestly invited by the States of the *Netherlands*. For being so troublesome and imperious, when they acted only by the strength of their Provincial or National Meetings; what danger might not be suspected from a general Confluence, in which

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the Heads of all the Faction might be laid together? But then to sweeten them a little after this Refusal, he gave them leave to hold an Assembly at *Charenton*, four miles from *Paris*, there to debate those points, and to agree those differences which in that Synod had been agitated by the rest of their Party. Which Liberty they made such use of; in the said Assembly, that they approved all the Determinations which were made at *Dort*, commanded them to be subscribed, and bound themselves and their Successors in the Ministry, by a solemn Oath, * Not only stedfastly and constantly to adhere unto them, but to persist in maintenance thereof, to the last gasp of their breath. But to return to the Assembly at *Loudun*; They would not rise from thence, though the King commanded it, till they had taken order for another Assembly to be held at *Rochel*, the chief place of their strength, and the Metropolis or principal City of their Common-wealth. Which General Assembly being called by their own Authority, and called at such a time as had given the King some trouble in composing the Affairs of *Bearn*, was by the King so far disliked, and by especial Edict so far prohibited, that they were all declared to be guilty of Treason, who should continue in the same without further Order. Which notwithstanding, they sate still, and very undutifully proceeded in their former purposes. Their business was to draw up a Remonstrance of their present Grievances, or rather of the Fears and Jealousies which they had conceived on the King's journey into *Bearn*. This they presented to the King by their own Commissioners, and thereunto received a fair and plausible Answer, sent in a Letter to them by the Duke *Des Diguiers*; by whom they were advised to dissolve the Assembly, and submit themselves unto the King. Instead whereof, they published a Declaration in defence of their former Actions, and signified a Resolution not to separate or break up that Meeting, until their Grievances were redressed. 1615

* *Non tantum constanter firmiterq; sed ad extremum usque halitium perstiturus.* Exact. Cens.

37. It hapned at the same time, that the Lord of *Privas* (a Town in which the *Hugonots* made the strongest Party) married his Daughter and Heir to the Viscount of *Cheylane*; and dying, left the same wholly unto his disposal. Who being of different perswasions from the greatest part of his Vassals, altered the Garrison, and placed his own Servants and Dependents in it, as by Law he might. This moved the *Hugonots* of the Town, and the Neighbouring Villages, to put themselves into a posture of Warr, to seize upon the places adjoining, and thereby to compel the young Noble-man to forsake his Inheritance. Which being signified to the King, he presently scored this insolence on the account of the *Rochellers*, who standing in defiance of his Authority, was thought to have given some animation unto the Town of *Privas*. to commit those out-rages. Doubly affronted and provoked, the King resolves to right Himself in the way of Arms. But at the instant request of *Des Diguiers*, before remembred, (who had been hitherto a true Zealot to the *Hugonot* Cause) he was content to give them Four and twenty days of deliberation before he drew into the Field. He offered them also very fair and reasonable

reasonable Conditions; not altogether such as their Commissioners had desired for them; but far better than those which they were glad to accept at the end of the Warr, when all their strengths were taken from them. But the *Hugonots* were not to be told, that all the *Calvinian* Princes and Estates of the Empire, had put themselves into a posture of Warr; some for defence of the *Palatinate*, and others in pursuance of the Warr of *Bohemia*. Of which they gave themselves more hopes than they had just cause for. In which conjuncture, some hot spirits then assembled at *Rochel*, blinded with pride, or hurried on by the *fatality* of those *Decrees* which they maintained to be resolved upon by God before all Eternity, reject all offers tending to a Pacification, and wilfully run on to their own destruction. For presently upon the tendry of the King's Proposals, they publish certain Orders for the regulating of their Disobedience; as namely, *That no Agreement should be made with the King, but by the consent of a General Convocation of the Chiefs of their Party; about the payment of their Soldiers Wages, and intercepting the Revenues of the King and Clergie, toward the maintenance of the Warr.* They also Cantoned the whole Kingdom into seven Divisions; assigned to each of those Divisions, a Commander in Chief; and unto each Commander, their particular Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and other Officers, with several Limitations and Directions prescribed to each of them for their proceeding in this service.

1621. 38. This makes it evident, that the King did not take up Arms, but on great necessities. He saw his Regal Authority neglected, his especial Edicts wilfully violated, his Gracious Offers scornfully slighted, his Revenues Feloniously intercepted, his whole Realm Cantoned before his face, and put into the power of such Commanders as he could not trust: So that the Warr being just on his part, he had the more reason to expect such an issue of it, as was agreeable to the Equity of so good a Cause. He had besides, all those Advantages both at home and abroad, which in all probability might assure him of the End desired. The Prince Elector Palatine had been worsted in the Warr of *Bohemia*, and all the Princes of the Union scattered to their several Homes, which they were hardly able to defend against so many Enemies; so that there was no danger to be feared from them. And on the other side, the King of *Great Britain*, whom he had most cause to be afraid of, had denied assistance to his own Children in the Warr of *Bohemia*, which seemed to have more Justice in it than the Warr of the *Hugonots*; and therefore was not like to engage in behalf of strangers, who rather, out of wantonness, than any unavoidable necessity, had took up Arms against their Lawful and Undoubted Soveraign. At home the *Rochellers* were worse befriended than they were abroad; I mean *the Common-wealth of Rochel*, as King *LEWIS* called it. The whole Confederacy of the *Hugonots* there contrived and sworn to; they had Cantoned the whole Realm into seven Divisions, which they assigned to the Command of the Earl of *Chastillon*, the Marquess *De la Force*, the Duke of *Soubize*, the Duke of *Rohan*, the Duke of

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Trimoville, the Duke *Des Diguer*, and the Duke of *Bouillon*, whom they designed to be the Generaliſſimo over all their Forces. But neither he, nor *Des Diguers*, nor the Duke of *Trimoville*, nor *Chaſtillon*, would act any thing in it, or accept any ſuch Commiſſions as were ſent unto them: Whether it were that they were terrified with the ill ſucceſs of the Warr of *Bohemia*; or that the Conſcience of their duty did direct them in it, I diſpute not now. So that the *Rochellers* being deſerted both at home and abroad, were forced to rely upon the Power and Prudence of the other three; and to ſupply all other wants, out of the Magazine of Obſtinacy and Perverſneſs; with which they were plentifully ſtored. Two inſtances I ſhall only touch at, and paſs over the reſt. The Town of *Clerack* being ſummoned the 21 of *July*, 1621, returned this Anſwer to the King, viz. *That if he would permit them to enjoy their Liberties, withdraw his Armies, and leave their Fortifications in the ſame eſtate in which he found them, they would remain his faithful and obedient Subjects.* More fully, thoſe of *Mount Albon* on the like occaſion, *That they reſolve to live and dye* (not in obedience to the King, as they ſhould have ſaid, but) *in the Union of the Churches.* Moſt Religious Rebels!

39. Next, let us look upon the King; who being brought to a neceſſity of taking Arms, firſt made his way unto it by his Declaration of the ſecond of *April*, publiſhed in favour of all thoſe of that Religion who would contain themſelves in their due obedience. In purſuance whereof, he cauſed five perſons to be executed in the City of *Tours*, who had tumultuouſly diſturbed the *Hugonots*, whom they found buſied at the burial of one of their dead. He alſo ſignified to the King of *Great Britain*, the Princes of the Empire, and the States of the *Netherlands*, That he had not undertook this Warr to ſuppreſs the Religion, but to chaſtiſe the Inſolencies of Rebellious Subjects. And what he ſignified in words, he made good by his deeds: For when the Warr was at the hotteſt, all thoſe of the Religion in the City of *Paris*, lived as ſecurely as before, and had their accuſtomed Meetings at *Charenton*, as in times of peace. Which ſafety and ſecurity was enjoyed in all other places, even where the King's Armies lodged and quartered. Nay, ſuch a care was taken of their preſervation, that when ſome of the Raſcality in the City of *Paris*, upon the firſt tydings of the death of the Duke of *Mayenne*, (who had been ſlain at the Siege of *Mont-albon*, amongſt many others) breathed nothing but ſlaughter and revenge to the *Hugonot* Party; the Duke of *Mounbazon*, being then Governour of the City, commanded their Houſes and the Streets to be ſafely guarded, ſo that no hurt was done to their Goods or Perſons. And when the Rabble, being diſappointed of their Ends in *Paris*, had run tumultuouſly the next day to *Charenton*, and burned down their Temple, an Order was preſently made by the Court of Parliament, for the re-edifying it at the King's ſole Charges, and that too in a far more beautiful Fabrick than before it had. But in the conduct of the Warr, he governed not his Counſels with like moderation, ſuffering the Sword too often to range at liberty; as if he meant to be as terrible in his

Executions,

Executions, as he desired to be accounted just in his Undertakings. But possibly this may be excused, though not defended, as being done in hot blood, when the spirits of the Soldiers were enflamed with anger, by reason of the loss of so many of their Chief Commanders, occasioned by the holding out of the obstinate Party; or the loss of their Fellows; and could not easily be quenched but by the blood of their Enemies.

1622. 40. I shall not touch upon the particulars of this Warr, which was quick and violent; and as succesful on the King's part, as he could desire. Let it suffice, that within the compass of Eighteen Months, or thereabouts, he stript them of no fewer than One hundred of their strongest places: so that their whole strength was reduced in a manner to two Towns only; that is to say, the strong Town of *Montalbon*, and the Port of *Rochel*; the rest submitting one by one, at the first demand. A Peace is thereupon concluded before *Montpellier*, agreeable enough to the Will of the Victor, and with security enough to the vanquished Party, if all Conclusions had been kept with as great a constancy, as they had been agreed upon with a seeming alacrity. By which Accord, the said two Towns were to be held in caution for three years only; and the last seemed much over-awed by the Fort of K. *Lewis*, erected by the Count of *Soissons*, when he lay before it. For the demolishing of which Fort, the King was earnestly solicited by their Commissioners; and for the not granting whereof, when it was desired, he was accused for violating the Pacification which he had made with them before *Montpellier*, and solemnly confirmed in the Courts of Parliament. And on the other side, the King complained as sensibly against the *Hugonots*, in regard they had not setled the *Ecclesiasticks* in their lawful Possessions, nor admitted those of the *Roman-Catholick* Religion, unto Civil Offices, in any of their Towns and Territories, as by the Articles of that Pacification they were bound to do. So that the Wound seemed rather to be skinned, than healed; and suddenly became more dangerous than at first it was. For those of *Rochel* being somewhat blocked up by Fort *Lewis*, toward the Land, practised with the Duke of *Soubize* to grow strong by Sea, and make up a Fleet consisting of Eleven men of Warr, besides lesser Vessels, enter the large Haven of *Blavet* in *Bretagne*, seize upon all the Ships which they found therein; and amongst others, six of great strength and beauty, belonging to the Duke of *Nevers*. By the accession of this Strength, they seize upon the Isles of *Rhe* and *Oleron*, with all the Shipping in the same; and having gathered together a Navy of no fewer than Seventy Sail, they infest the Seas, and interrupt the course of Traffick.

1625. 41. For the repressing of these Pyrates, (for they were no better) the King sends out the Duke of *Montmorency*, with a Naval Power; hires Twenty men of Warr of the States of *Holland*, and borrows Eight tall Ships of the King of *England*: With which he gives battel to *Soubize*, beats him at Sea, and forceth him to flye dishonourably from the Isle of *Rhe*, which the *French* presently possess, and begin

begin to fortifie. For the removal of whose Forces from that Island, which blockt up their Haven, the *Rochellers* mediate, by *Soubize*, with K. *CHARLES* of *England*; betwixt whom, and his Brother of *France*, some disgust had hapned, for sending back the *French* of both Sexes, whom the Queen brought with her. For hereupon the *French* King seizeth upon all the *English* Ships which traded on the River of *Bourdeaux*; and the *English*, to revenge the wrong, sets out a Fleet of Thirty sail, all Men of Warr, commanded by the Earls of *Denbigh* and *Lindsey*, with an intent to steer for *Rochel*, and relieve that Town. But being encountred with cross winds, they came back again, and leave the prosecuting of the Action to the Duke of *Buckingham*. Who, the next year, sets forward with a puissant Army, consisting of Ten thousand men, and wafted over in One hundred and fifty Sail of Ships, all fit for Service. His Design was for the recovering of the Isle of *Rhe*, and relieving *Rochel*. Both which he might have compassed without any great difficulty, if he had not lost the opportunities which he gained at his landing; passed by the Fort of *La Pre*, as not worth the taking, and suffering himself to be complemented out of the storming of *St. Martins*, when it was at his mercy. For the *French* Forces entring by the Fort of *La Pre*, compelled him to an unsafe Retreat, but of a great part of his Army; and sent him back with far less Honour than he brought a-long with him. 1626. 1627.

42. But the Relief of *Rochel* is not so given over. A strong Fleet is prepared for the year next following, to be commanded by the Duke, who gave himself more hopes of good Fortune in it, than his Fates assigned him. For being villanously slain at *Portsmouth*, when he was almost ready to embark his Soldiers, the Conduct of the Action is committed to the Earl of *Lindsey*; who very cheerfully and couragiously undertook the Service. But the *French* had blockt up the Haven of *Rochel*, with Piles and Ramparts, and other most stupendious Works in the midst of the Ocean, that it was utterly impossible for the Earl to force his passage, though he did most gallantly attempt it. Which being observed by those of *Rochel*, who were then besieged to Landward, by the King in Person, and even reduced unto the last extremity, by Plagues and Famine; they presently set open their Gates, and without making any Conditions for their preservation, submitted absolutely to that Mercy which they had scorned so often in their prosperous Fortunes. The King thus Master of the Town, dismantleth all their Fortifications, leaves it quite open both to Sea and Land, commands them to renounce the Name of *Rochel*, and to take unto the Town the Name of *Mary Ville*, or *Bourg de* St. *Mary*. But herein his Command found but small compliance; the Name of *Rochel* still remaining, and that of *Mary Ville*, or *Bourg de* St. *Mary*, almost as soon forgotten as it had been given. After which followed the surrendry of *Nismes*, and *Montalbon*, two impregnable places; the first of which had been re-fortified in these last Commotions. For, What Town could presume of standing out against the King, when *Rochel* had been forced to submit to Mercy. 1628.

43. See now to what a low condition theſe hot *Calvinian* ſpirits have reduced themſelves by their frequent Inſolencies; how different their Affairs were at the end of this Warr, from that Felicity which they enjoyed when they firſt began it. Before the beginning of the Warr, *Anno* 1620, they were poſſeſſed of well-near Two hundred ſtrong Towns and Caſtles, well fortified for their perſonal ſafety, beſides many fair Houſes, and large Territories, which they had in the Villages, in which their Pleaſures and their Profits were a-like conſulted; they ſlept all of them under their own Vines, and their own Fig-trees, neither fearing, nor having cauſe to fear the leaſt diſturbance. With thoſe of the *Catholick* Party they were grown ſo intimate, by reaſon of their frequent inter-marriages with one another, that in few years they might have been incorporated with them, and made of the ſame Family, though of different Faiths. The exerciſe of their Religion had been permitted to them ſince the paſſing of the Edict of *Nants*, 1598, without interruption. And that they might have ſatisfaction alſo in the Courts of Juſtice, ſome Courts were purpoſely erected for their eaſe and benefit, which they called *Les Chambres d' l' Edict*, wherein there were as many Judges and other Officers of their own Perſwaſions, as there were of the contrary. In a word, they lived ſo ſecure and happy, that they wanted nothing to perpetuate their Felicities to ſucceeding Ages, but Moderation in themſelves, Gratitude to Almighty God, and good Affections towards their King.

44. Such were the Fortunes and Succeſſes of the *Presbyterians* in the reſt of Chriſtendom, during the laſt ten years of the Reign of K. *JAMES*, and the beginnings of K. *CHARLES*. By which both Kings might ſee how unſafe they were, if men of ſuch Pragmatical Spirits, and Seditious Principles, ſhould get ground upon them. But K. *JAMES* had ſo far ſupported them in the *Belgick* Provinces, that his own *Calviniſts* preſumed on the like Indulgence; which prompted them to ſet nought by his Proclamations, to vilifie his *Inſtructions*, and deſpiſe his Meſſages. Finally, they made tryal of his patience alſo, by ſetting up one *Knight*, of *Broadgates* (now called *Pembroke* Colledg) to preach upon the Power of ſuch popular Officers as *Calvin* thinks to be ordained by Almighty God, for curbing and reſtraining the Power of Kings. In which, though *Knight* himſelf was cenſured, the Doctrines ſolemnly condemned, & execution done upon a Book of *Pareus*, which had miſguided the unfortunate and ignorant man; yet the *Calvinians* moſt tenaciouſly adhered to their Maſters tendries, with an intent to bring them into uſe and practiſe, when occaſion ſerved. So that K. *JAMES* with all his King-craft, could find no better way to ſuppreſs their Inſolencies, than by turning *Mountague* upon them; a man of mighty Parts, and an undaunted Spirit; and one who knew, as well as any, how to diſcriminate the Doctrines of the Church of *England*, from thoſe which were peculiar to the Sect of *Calvin*. By which he galled and gagged them more than his Popiſh Adverſary; but raiſed thereby ſo many Pens againſt himſelf, that he might ſeem to have ſucceeded in the ſtate of *Iſmael*.

45. In

45. In this conjuncture of Affairs, K. *JAMES* departs this life, and K. *CHARLES* ſucceeds; who to ingratiate himſelf with this powerful Faction, had plunged his Father in a Warr with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, by which he was brought under the neceſſity of calling Parliaments, and gave thoſe Parliaments the courage to diſpute his Actions. For though they promiſed to ſtand to him with their Lives and Fortunes, in proſecution of that Warr; yet when they had engaged him in it, they would not part with any money to defray that Charge, till they had ſtripped him of the Richeſt Jewels in the Regal Diadem. But he was much more puniſhed in the conſequence of his own Example in aiding thoſe of *Rochel* againſt their King, whereby he trained up his own Subjects in the School of Rebellion, and taught them to confederate themſelves with the *Scots* and *Dutch*, to ſeize upon his Forts and Caſtles, invade the Patrimony of the Church, and to make uſe of his Revenue againſt himſelf. To ſuch Misfortunes many Princes do reduce themſelves, when either they engage themſelves to maintain a Party, or govern not their Actions by the Rules of Juſtice; but are directed by ſelf-ends, or ſwayed by the corrupt Affections of untruſty Miniſters. Theſe things I only touch at here, which I reſerve for the Materials of another Hiſtory, as I do alſo all the intermediate paſſages in the Reign of K. *CHARLES*, before the breaking out of the *Scottiſh* Tumults, and moſt of the preparatives to the Warr of *England*.

AERIUS REDIVIVUS:

OR,

The Hiſtory

OF THE

PRESBYTERIANS.

LIB. XIII.

Containing

The Inſurrections of the Presbyterian *or* Puritan *Faction, in the Realm of* Scotland: *The Rebellions raiſed by them in* England: *Their horrid Sacriledges, Murders, Spoils, and Rapines, in purſuit thereof: Their Innovations both in Doctrine and Diſcipline: And the greateſt Alteration made in the Civil Government, from the year 1626, to the year 1647, when they were ſtript of all Command by the* Independents.

1. THE *Presbyterian-Scots*, and the *Puritan-Engliſh*, were not ſo much diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſſes of their Brethren in *France* and *Germany*, as animated by the proſperous Fortunes of their Friends in *Holland*. Who by Rebellion were grown Powerful; and by Rapine, Wealthy; and by the Reputation of their Wealth and Power, were able to avenge themſelves on the oppoſite Party. To whoſe Felicities, if thoſe in *England* did aſpire, they were to entertain thoſe Counſels, and purſue thoſe courſes, by which the others had attained them; that is to ſay, They were by

ſecret practiſes to diminiſh the King's Power and Greatneſs, to draw the people to depend upon their Directions, to diſſolve all the Ligaments of the former Government; and either call in Forreign Forces, or form an Army of their own to maintain their doings. And this had been the buſineſs of the *Puritan* Faction, ſince the death of *Bancroft*; when by the retirements of K. *JAMES* from all cares of Government, and the connivance or remiſſneſs of Arch-biſhop *Abbot*, the Reins were put into their hands. Which gave them time and opportunity to grow ſtrong in Parliaments, under pretence of ſtanding for the Subjects Property, againſt the encroachments of the Court, and for the preſervation of the true Religion, againſt the practiſes of the *Papiſts*. By which two Artifices, they firſt weakned the Prerogative Royal, to advance their own; and by the diminution of the King's Authority, endeavoured to erect the People's, whom they repreſented. And then they practiſed to aſperſe with the Name of *Papiſt*, all thoſe who either join not with them in their Sabbath-Doctrines, or would not captivate their Judgments unto *Calvin's* Dictates. Their actings in all which particulars, either as Zealots for the Goſpel, in maintaining *Calviniſm*; or Patriots for the Common-wealth, in bringing down the Power and Reputation of the two laſt Kings; ſhall be at large delivered in the Life of the late Arch-biſhop, and conſequently may be thought unneceſſary to be here related. And therefore, pretermitting all their former practiſes, by which their Party was prepared, and the Deſign made ready to appear in publick; we will proceed to a Relation of the following paſſages, when they had pulled off their Diſguiſe, and openly declared themſelves to be ripe for Action.

2. The Party in both Kingdoms being grown ſo ſtrong that they were able to proceed from Counſel unto Execution; there wanted nothing but a fair occaſion for putting themſelves into a poſture of defence; and from that poſture, breaking out into open Warr. But finding no occaſion, they reſolve to make one; and to begin their firſt Embroilments upon the ſending of the new Liturgy and Book of Canons to the Kirk of *Scotland*. For though the *Scots* in a general
1617. Aſſembly held at *Aberdeen*, had given conſent unto the making of a Liturgy for the uſe of that Kirk, and for drawing up a Book of Canons out of the Acts of their Aſſemblies, and ſome Acts of Parliament; yet when thoſe Books were finiſhed by the Care of King *CHARLES*, and by his Piety recommended unto uſe and practiſe, it muſt be looked on as a violation of their Rights and Liberties. And
1618. though in another of their Aſſemblies which was held at *Perth*, they had paſt five Articles for introducing private Baptiſm, communicating of the ſick, kneeling at the Communion, Epiſcopal Confirmation, and the obſerving of ſuch ancient Feſtivals as belonged immediately unto Chriſt: yet when thoſe Articles were incorporated in the Common-prayer-Book, they were beheld as Innovations in the Worſhip of God; and therefore not to be admitted in ſo pure and Reformed a Church as that of *Scotland*. Theſe were the Hooks by which they drew the people to them, who never look on their Superiors

periors with a greater reverence, than when they ſee them active in the Cauſe of Religion; and willing, in appearance, to loſe all which was dear unto them, whereby they might preſerve the Goſpel in its native purity. But it was rather Gain than Godlineſs, which brought the great men of the Realm to eſpouſe this Quarrel; who by the Commiſſion of *Surrendries* (of which more elſewhere), began to fear the loſing of their Tithes and Superiorities, to which they could pretend no other title, than plain Uſurpation. And on the other ſide, it was Ambition, and not Zeal, which enflamed the *Presbyters*; who had no other way to invade that Power which was conferred upon the Biſhops by Divine Inſtitution, and countenanced by many Acts of Parliament in the Reign of K. *JAMES*, than by embracing that occaſion to incenſe the people, to put the whole Nation into tumult, and thereby to compel the Biſhops and the Regular Clergy to forſake the Kingdom. So the *Genevians* dealt before with their Biſhop and Clergy, when the Reforming-Humour came firſt upon them: And what could they do leſs in *Scotland*, than follow the Example of their Mother-City? 1630.

3. Theſe breakings-out in *Scotland*, ſmoothed the way to the like in *England*, from which they had received encouragement, and preſumed on Succours. The *Engliſh Puritans* had begun with Libelling againſt the Biſhops, as the *Scots* did againſt the King: For which, the Authors and Abettors had received ſome puniſhment; but ſuch, as did rather reſerve them for enſuing Miſchiefs, than make them ſenſible of their Crimes, or reclaim them from it. So that upon the coming of the Liturgy and Book of Canons, the *Scots* were put into ſuch heat, that they diſturbed the execution of the one by an open Tumult, and refuſed obedience to the other by a wilful obſtinacy. The King had then a Fleet at Sea, ſufficiently powerful to have blockt up all the Havens of *Scotland*; and, by deſtroying that ſmall Trade which they had amongſt them, to have reduced them abſolutely to His Will and Pleaſure. But they had ſo many of their Party in the Council of *Scotland*, and had ſo great a confidence in the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, and many Friends of both Nations in the Court of *England*, that they feared nothing leſs than the Power of the King, or to be enforced to their obedience in the way of Arms. In confidence whereof, they deſpiſe all His Proclamations, with which Weapons only He encountred them in their firſt Seditions; and publickly proteſted againſt all Declarations which He ſent unto them, in the Streets of *Edenborough*. Nothing elſe being done againſt them in the firſt year of their Tumults, they caſt themſelves into four Tables for diſpatch of buſineſs; but chiefly, for the cementing of their Combination. For which, they could not eaſily bethink themſelves of a ſpeedier courſe, than to unite the people to them by a League or Covenant. Which to effect, it was thought neceſſary to renew the old Confeſſion, excogitated in the year 1580, for the abjuring of the Tyranny and Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*; ſubſcribed firſt by the King and His Houſhold-Servants; and the next year by all the Natives of the Kingdom, as was ſaid before. 1637.

And

And it was also said before, that unto this Confession they adjoined a Band, *Anno* 1592, for standing unto one another in defence thereof, against all *Papists*, and other professed Adversaries of their Religion. This is now made to serve their turn against the King: For by a strange interpretation which was put upon it, it was declared, That both the Government of the Church by Bishops, and the Five Articles of *Perth*, the Liturgy, and the Book of Canons, were all abjured by that Confession, and the Band annexed; though the three last had no existency or being in the Kirk of *Scotland*, when that Confession was first formed, or the Band subjoined.

1638. 4. These Insolencies might have given the King a just cause to arm, when they were utterly unprovided of all such necessaries as might enable them to make the least show of a weak resistance. But the King deals more gently with them, negociates for some fair accord of the present differences, and sends the Marques of *Hamilton* as his chief Commissioner for the transacting of the same. By whose sollicitation he revokes the Liturgy and the Book of Canons, suspends the Articles of *Perth*, and then rescinds all Acts of Parliament which confirmed the same; submits the Bishops to the next General Assembly, as their competent Judges; and thereupon gives intimation of a General Assembly to be held at *Glasgow*, in which the point of Church-Government was to be debated, and all his Condescentions enrolled and registred. And, which made most to their advantage, he caused the *Solemn League or Covenant* to be imposed on all the Subjects, and subscribed by them. Which in effect was to legitimate the Rebellion, and countenance the Combination with the face of Authority. But all this would not do his business, though it might do theirs. For they had so contrived the matter, that none were chosen to have voices in that Assembly, but such as were sure unto the side, such as had formerly been under the Censures of the Church for their Inconformity, and had refused to acknowledg the King's Supremacy, or had declared their disaffections to Episcopal Government. And that the Bishops might have no encouragement to sit amongst them, they cite them to appear as Criminal persons, Libel against them in a scandalous and unchristian manner; and finally, make choice of *Henderson*, a Seditious *Presbyter*, to sit as Moderator or chief President in it. And though upon the sense of their disobedience, the Assembly was again dissolved by the King's Proclamation; yet they continued, as before, in contempt thereof. In which Session they condemned the Calling of Bishops, the Articles of *Perth*, the Liturgy, and the Book of Canons, as inconsistent with the Scripture, and the Kirk of *Scotland*. They proceed next to the rejecting of the five controverted points, which they called *Arminianism*: and finally, decreed a general subscription to be made to these Constitutions. For not conforming whereunto, the Bishops, and a great part of the Regular Clergy, are expelled the Countrey, although they had been animated unto that Refusal, as well by the Conscience of their duty, as by his Majesty's Proclamation which required it of them.

5. They

5. They could not hope that the King's Lenity ſo abuſed, might not turn to Fury; and therefore thought it was high time to put themſelves into Arms, to call back moſt of their old Soldiers from the Warrs in *Germany*; and almoſt all their Officers from ſuch Commands in the *Netherlands*; whom to maintain, they intercept the King's *Revenue*, and the Rents of the Biſhops, and lay great Taxes on the people, taking up Arms and Ammunition from the *States United*, with whom they went on Ticket, and long days of payment, for want of ready money for their ſatisfaction. But all this had not ſerved their turn, if the King could have been perſwaded to have given them battel, or ſuffered any part of that great Army which he brought againſt them, to lay waſte their Countrey. Whoſe tenderneſs when they once perceived, and knew withall how many friends they had about him, they thought it would be no hard matter to obtain ſuch a Pacification as might ſecure them for the preſent from an abſolute Conqueſt, and give them opportunity to provide better for themſelves in the time to come, upon the reputation of being able to divert or break ſuch a puiſſant Army. And ſo it proved in the event. For the King had no ſooner retired his Forces both by Sea and Land, and given his Soldiers a Licenſe to return to their ſeveral Houſes, but the *Scots* preſently proteſt againſt all the Articles of the Pacification, put harder preſſures on the King's Party, than before they ſuffered, keep all their Officers in pay; by their Meſſengers and Letters, apply themſelves to the *French* King for ſupport and ſuccours. By whom encouraged under-hand, and openly countenanced by ſome Agents of the Cardinal *Richelieu*, who then governed all Affairs in *France*, they enter into *England* with a puiſſant Army, making their way to that Invaſion, by ſome Printed Pamphlets, which they diſperſed into all parts, thereby to colour their Rebellions, and bewitch the people.

6. And now the *Engliſh Presbyterians* take the courage to appear more publickly in the defence of the *Scots*, and their proceedings, than they had done hitherto. A Parliament had been called on the 13*th* of *April*, for granting Moneys to maintain the Warr againſt the *Scots*. But the Commons were ſo backward in complying with the King's Deſires, that he found himſelf under the neceſſity of diſſolving the Parliament, which elſe had blaſted his Deſign, and openly declared in favour of the publick Enemies. This puts the diſcontented Rabble into ſuch a fury, that they violently aſſaulted *Lambeth-Houſe*, but were as valiantly repulſed; and the next day break open all the Priſons in *Southwark*, and releaſe all the Priſoners whom they found committed for their Inconformities. *Benſtead*, the Ringleader in theſe Tumults, is apprehended and arraigned, condemned and executed; the whole proceeding being grounded on the Statute of the 25*th* of K. *EDWARD* the 3*d*, for puniſhing all Treaſons and Rebellions againſt the King. But that which threatned greater danger to the King and the Church, than either the Arms of the *Scots*, or the Tumults in *Southwark*; was a Petition ſent unto the King, who was then at *York*, ſubſcribed by ſundry Noble-men of the Popular 1640.

pular Faction; concluded on the 28th of *August*; carried by the
1640. Lord *Mandevil*, and the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrigg*: and finally, preſented on the third of *September*. In which it was petitioned, amongſt other things, *That the preſent War might be compoſed without loſs of blood. That a Parliament ſhould be forthwith called for redreſs of Grievances*, (amongſt which, ſome pretended *Innovations* in Religion muſt be none of the leaſt) *and that the Authors and Counſellors of ſuch Grievances as are there complained of, might be there brought to ſuch a Legal Tryal, and receive ſuch condign puniſhment as their Crimes required.* This haſtned the aſſembling of the great Council of the Peers at *York*, and put the King upon the calling of a Parliament of His own accord, which otherwiſe might be thought extorted by their importunity.

7. The *Scots*, in the mean time, had put by ſuch *Engliſh* Forces as lay on the South-ſide of the *Tine*, at the paſſage of *Newborn*, make themſelves Maſters of *Newcaſtle*, deface the goodly Church of *Durham*, bring all the Countreys on the North-ſide of the *Tees*, under contribution, and tax the people to all payments at their only pleaſure. The Council of Peers, and a Petition from the *Scots*, prepare the King to entertain a Treaty with them; the managing whereof was chiefly left unto thoſe Lords who had ſubſcribed the Petition before remembred. But the third day of *November* coming on a-pace, and the Commiſſioners ſeeming deſirous to attend in Parliament, which was to begin on that day, the Treaty is adjourned to *London*; which gave the *Scots* a more dangerous opportunity to infect that City, than all their Emiſſaries had obtained in the times fore-going. Nor was it long before it openly appeared what great power they had upon their Party in that City; which animated *Pennington*, attended with ſome hundreds of inferior note, to tender a Petition to the Houſe of Commons, againſt the Government of Biſhops here by Law eſtabliſhed. It was affirmed, that this Petition was ſubſcribed by many thouſands; and it was probable enough to be ſo indeed. But whether it were ſo or not, he gave thereby ſuch an occaſion to the Houſe of Commons, that they voted down the Canons which had paſſed in the late Convocation, condemned the Biſhops and Clergy in great ſums of Money, which had ſubſcribed to the ſame: decry the Power of all Provincial or National Synods, for making any Canons or Conſtitutions which could bind the Subject, until they were confirmed by an Act of Parliament. And having brought this general terror on the Biſhops and Clergy, they impeach the Arch-biſhop of High Treaſon, cauſe him to be committed to the Black Rod, and from thence to the Tower. Which being done, ſome other of the Biſhops and Clergy muſt be ſingled out, informed againſt by ſcandalous Articles, and thoſe Articles printed, without any conſideration either true or falſe.

1641. 8. And though a Convocation were at that time ſitting; yet to encreaſe the Miſeries of a falling-Church, it is permitted, that a private Meeting ſhould be held in the Deanry of *Weſtminſter*, to which ſome Orthodox and Conformable Divines were called, as a foil to

the

the reſt, which generally were of *Presbyterian* or *Puritan* Princi- 1641.
ples. By them it was propoſed, That many paſſages in the Liturgy
ſhould be expunged, and others altered to the worſe. That Decency
and Reverence in officiating God's publick Service, ſhould be
brought within the compaſs of Innovations. That Doctrinal *Calvi-*
niſm ſhould be entertained in all parts of the Church; and all their
Sabbath-Speculations, though contrary to *Calvin*'s Judgment, ſuper-
added to it. But before any thing could be concluded in thoſe weigh-
ty matters, the Commons ſet their Bill on foot againſt *Root* and
Branch, for putting down all Biſhops and Cathedral Churches;
which put a period to that Meeting without doing any thing. And
though the Bill, upon a full debate thereon amongſt the Peers, was
caſt out of that Houſe, and was not by the courſe of Parliaments to
be offered again; yet, contrary to all former Cuſtom, it was preſt
from one time to another, till in the end they gained the point which
they ſo much aimed at. Hereupon followed ſome Petitions from the
Univerſities, in favour of Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with-
out which, Learning muſt be deſtitute of its chief encouragements;
and ſome Petitions from whole Counties, in behalf of Epiſcopacy,
without which there was like to be no preſervative againſt Sects and
Hereſies. But nothing was more memorable than the inter-pleadings
in the Houſe of Commons, between Dr. *John Hacket*, one of the
Prebendaries of St. *Pauls*, and Arch-Deacon of *Bedford*; and Dr.
Cornelius Burges, a right doubty Diſputant; but better skilled in
drawing down his Myrmidons, than in muſtering Arguments: the iſ-
ſue of whoſe Plea was this, *That though Cathedrals were unneceſſary,*
and the Quire-men ſcandalous; yet, that their Lands could not be
alienated unto private perſons, without guilt of Sacriledg.

9. But little did this edifice with the Leading-part in the Houſe of
Commons, who were reſolved to practiſe on the Church by little and
little, and at the laſt to play at ſweep-ſtake, and take all together.
Firſt therefore, they began with taking down the Starr-Chamber,
and the High Commiſſion, without which Courts the Subjects could
not eaſily be kept in order, nor the Church from Faction. And in
the Act for taking down the Court of the High Commiſſion, a clauſe
is cunningly inſerted, which plainly took away all Coercive Power
which had been veſted in the Biſhops and their Under-Officers, diſ-
abling them from impoſing any pain or penalty; and conſequently,
from inflicting all Church-Cenſures on notorious ſinners. Their Ju-
riſdiction being thus gone, it was not likely that their Lands ſhould
ſtay long behind; though in good manners it was thought conveni-
ent to ſtrip them firſt from having any place or ſuffrage in the Houſe
of Peers. And when they once were rendred uſeleſs to the Church
and State, the Lands would follow of themſelves without any great
trouble. And that they might attain the end which they ſo much
aimed at, *Burges* draws down his *Myrmidons* to the Doors of he
Parliament, and teacheth them to cry, *No Biſhops, No Biſhops*, with
their wonted violence. By which confuſed Rabble, ſome indignities
and affronts are very frequently put upon them, either in keeping

1641. them off from landing, if they came by water; or offer violence to their persons, if they came by Land. Which multiplied Injuries gave such just cause of fear and trouble, that they withdrew themselves from the House of Peers, but sent withall a *Protestation* to preserve their Rights: In which it was declared, *That all Acts made, or to be made, in the time of their absence, considering their absence was inforced, not voluntary, should be reputed void and null to all intents and purposes in the Law whatsoever.* This *Protestation* being tendred in the House of Peers, communicated to the House of Commons, and the supposed offence extreamly aggravated by the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, the Bishops are impeached of Treason, nine of them sent Prisoners to the Tower, and two committed to the custody of the Gentleman-Usher.

10. And there we leave them for a while, to look into the Fortunes of the publick Liturgy; not like to stand, when both the *Scots* and *English Presbyterians* did conspire against it. The Fame whereof had either caused it totally to be laid aside, or performed by halfs in all the Counties where the *Scots* were of strength and power; and not much better executed in some Churches of *London*; wherein that Faction did as much predominate, as if it had been under the protection of a *Scottish* Army. But the first great interruption which was made at the officiating of the publick Liturgy, was made upon a Day of Humiliation, when all the Members of the House of Commons were assembled together at St. *Margaret's* in *Westminster*. At what time, as the Priest began the second Service at the Holy Table, some of the *Puritans* or *Presbyterians* began a Psalm; and were therein followed by the rest in so loud a Tune, that the Minister was thereby forced to desist from his duty, and leave the Preacher to perform the rest of that day's Solemnity. This gave encouragement enough to the rest of that Party to set as little by the Liturgy in the Countrey, as they did in the City; especially in all such usages and rights thereof, as they were pleased to bring within the compass of *Innovations*. But they were more encouraged to it, by an Order of the Lower-House, bearing date on the 8*th* of *September*, *Anno* 1641. By which all Church-Wardens were required in their several Parishes to remove the Holy Table from the East-end of the Chancel, to any other part of the Church; to take away the Rails before it, and not to suffer any Tapers, Candlesticks, or Basons, to be placed upon it. It was required also by the same, That there should be no bowing at the Name of Jesus, nor adoration toward the East, nor any reverence used in men's approaches to the Holy Table. And by the same, all Dancing, and other lawful Recreations, were prohibited on their Lord's-day-Sabbath, after the duties of the Day; and Catechising turned into After-noon-Sermons, directly contrary to His Majesty's Declarations and Instructions given in that behalf. And though the Lords refused to join with them in that Vote, and sent them back unto an Order of the 16*th* of *January*, by which they had confirmed and enjoined the use of the Liturgy; yet *Pym* commands the Order to be put in execution by a Warrant under

under his own hand only, and that too during the *Recess*, when almoſt all the Lords and Commons had retired themſelves to their ſeveral dwellings. 1641.

11. Hereupon followed ſuch an alteration in all Churches and Chappels, that the Church-Wardens pulled down more in a Week or two, than all the Biſhops and Clergy had been able to raiſe in two Weeks of years. And hereupon there followed ſuch irreverences in God's publick Service, and ſuch a diſcontinuance of it in too many places, that His Majeſty was compelled to give new life to it by His Proclamation of the tenth of *December*; and taking order in the ſame for *puniſhing all the wilful Contemners and Diſturbers of it*. But this Proclamation being publiſhed in that point of time in which the Commons were intent on the Wars of *Ireland*, and the *Puritans* as much buſied in blowing the Trumpet of Sedition in the Kingdom of *England*; it only ſhowed the King's good meaning, with his want of Power. In which conjuncture hapned the Impeachment and Impriſonment of Eleven of the Biſhops: Which made that Bench ſo thin, and the King ſo weak, that on the 6th of *February* the Lords conſented to the taking away of their Votes in Parliament. The News whereof was ſolemnized in moſt places of *London*, with Bells and Bonfires. Nothing remained, but that the King ſhould paſs it into Act by his Royal Aſſent; by ſome unhappy Inſtrument extorted from Him when he was at *Canterbury*; and ſignified by His Meſſage to the Houſes on the fourteenth of that Month. Which Condeſcention wrought ſo much unquietneſs to His Mind and Conſcience, and ſo much unſecureneſs to His Perſon, for the reſt of His Life, that He could ſcarce truly boaſt of one day's Felicity, till God was pleaſed to put a final period to His Griefs and Sorrows. For in relation to the laſt, we find that the next Vote which paſſed in Parliament, deprived Him of His *Negative Voice*, and put the whole *Militia* of the Kingdom into the hands of the Houſes. Which was the firſt beginning of His following Miſeries. And looking on Him in the firſt, He will not ſpare to let us know in one of his Prayers, *That the injury which he had done to the Biſhops of* England, *did as much grate upon his Conſcience, as either the permitting of a wrong way of Worſhip to be ſet up in* Scotland; *or ſuffering innocent blood to be ſhed under colour of Juſtice.*

12. For ſo it was, that ſome of the prevailing-Members in the Houſe of Commons, conſidering how faithfully and effectually the *Scots* had ſerved them, not only voted a Gratuity of Three hundred thouſand pounds of good *Engliſh* Money, to be freely given them; but kept their Army in a conſtant and continual Pay, for Nine Months together. And by the terror of that Army, they forced the King to paſs the Bill for Trienial Parliaments, and to perpetuate the preſent Seſſion at the will of the Houſes; to give conſent for Murthering the Earl of *Strafford* with the Sword of Juſtice; and ſuffering the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* to be baniſhed from him; to fling away the Starr-Chamber, and the High-Commiſſion, and the Coercive Power of Biſhops; to part with all his right

1641. to Tonnage and Poundage, to Ship-money, and the Act for Knighthood; and by retrenching the Perambulation of His Forests and Chases, to leave his Game to the destruction of each Bore or Peasant. And by the terror of this Army, they took upon them to engage all the Subjects of the Kingdom in a *Protestation*, first hammered on the third of *May*, in order to the condemnation of the Earl of *Strafford*, for maintenance of the Priviledges and Rights of Parliament, standing to one another in pursuance of it, and bringing all persons to condign punishment who were suspected to oppose them. Encouraged also by the same, they took upon them an Authority of voting down the Church's Power in making of Canons, condemning all the Members of the late Convocation, calumniating many of the Bishops and Clergy, in most odious manner, and vexing some of them to the Grave. And they would have done the like to the Church it self, in pulling down the Bishops and Cathedral Churches, and taking to themselves all their Lands and Houses, if by the Constancy and Courage of the House of Peers, they had not failed of their Design. But at the last, the King prevailed so far with the *Scots* Commissioners, that they were willing to retire and withdraw their Forces, upon His Promise to confirm the Acts of the Assembly at *Glasgow*, and reach out such a Hand of Favour unto all that Nation, as might estate them in a happiness above their hopes. On this assurance they march homewards, and He followeth after. Where he consents to the abolishing of Bishops, and alienating all their Lands by Act of Parliament; suppresseth, by like Acts, the Liturgy, and the Book of Canons, and the five Articles of *Perth*; rewards the chief Actors in the late Rebellion, with Titles, Offices, and Honours; and parts with so much of His Royal Prerogative to content the Subjects, that He left Himself nothing of a King, but the empty Name. And to sum up the whole in brief, In one hour He unravelled all that excellent Web, the weaving whereof had took up more than Forty years; and cost His Father and Himself so much Pains and Treasure.

13. By this Indulgence to the *Scots*, the *Irish Papists* are invited to expect the like, and to expect it in the same way which the *Scots* had travelled; that is to say, by seizing on His Forts and Castles, putting themselves into the Body of an Army, and forcing many of His good Protestant-Subjects to forsake the Kingdom. The Motives which induced them to it, their opportunities for putting it in execution, and the miscarriage of the Plot, I might here relate, but that I am to keep my self to the *Presbyterians*; as dangerous Enemies to the King and the Church of *England*, as the *Irish Papists*. For so it hapned, that His Majesty was informed at His being in *Scotland*, That the *Scots* had neither took up Arms, nor invaded *England*, but that they were encouraged to it by some Members of the Houses of Parliament, on a design to change the Government both of Church and State. In which he was confirmed by the *Remonstrance of the state of the Kingdom*, presented to Him by the Commons at His first coming back; the forcible attempt for breaking into the

Abby

Abby of *Westminster*; the concourse of seditious people to the Dores of the Parliament, crying out, that they would have *no Bishops nor Popish Lords*; and their tumultuating in a fearful manner, even at *White-Hall* Gates, where they cryed out with far more horror to the Hearers, *That the King was not worthy to live*; *that they would have no Porter's Lodg between Him and them*; and, *That the Prince would govern better.* Hereupon certain Members of both Houses; that is to say, the Lord *Kimbolton* of the Upper; *Hollis* and *Hasterig*, *Hampden*, *Pym*, and *Strond*, of the Lower-House, are impeached of Treason, a Serjeant sent to apprehend them, and command given for sealing up their Trunks and Closets. 1641.

14. But on the contrary, the Commons did pretend and declared accordingly, That no Member of theirs was to be impeached, arrested, or brought unto a Legal Trial, but by the Order of that House; and, that the sealing up of their Trunks or Closets, was a breach of Priviledg. And thereupon it was resolved on *Monday*, *Jan.* 3. being the day of the Impeachment, *That if any persons whatsoever, should come to the Lodgings of any Member of the House, or seize upon their persons, that then such Members should require the aid of the Constable to keep such persons in safe custody till the House gave further Order.* And it was then resolved also, *That if any person whatsoever, should offer to arrest or detain the person of any Member of their House, without first acquainting the House therewith, and receiving further Order from the House; that then it should be lawful for such Member, or any person, to resist him, and to stand upon his or their guard of defence; and to make resistance, according to the Protestation taken to defend the Liberties of Parliament.* This brings the King on *Tuesday* morning to the Commons House, attended only by His Guard, and some few Gentlemen, no otherwise weaponed than with Swords; where having placed Himself in the Speaker's Chair, He required them to deliver the Impeached Members to the hands of Justice. But they had notice of His Purpose, and had retired into *London* as their safest Sanctuary; to which the whole House is adjourned also, and sits in the *Guild-Hall* as a Grand Committee. The next day brings the King to the City also; where in a Speech to the Lord Mayor and Common-Council, He signified the Reasons of His going to the House of Commons; *That He had no intent of proceeding otherwise against the Members, than in a way of Legal Tryal*; *and thereupon desired, That they might not be harboured and protected in despite of Law.* For answer whereunto, He is encountred with an insolent and sawcy Speech, made by one *Fowk*, a Member of the Common-Council, concerning the Impeached Members, and the King's proceedings; and followed in the Streets by the Rascal-Rabble; by some of which, a Virulent and Seditious Pamphlet, entituled, *Every man to his Tents, O Israel*; is cast into His Coach; and nothing sounded in His Ears, but *Priviledges of Parliament*, *Priviledges of Parliament*, with most horrible out-cries. The same night puts them into Arms, with great fear and tumult, upon a rumour that the King and the *Cavaliers* (for so they called such Officers of the late Army as attended

1641. attended on him for their Pay) had a deſign to ſack the City, who were then ſleeping in their beds, and little dreamed of any ſuch Seditious practiſes as were then on foot for the enflaming of the people.

15. And now comes *Calvin's* Doctrine for reſtraining the Power of Kings, to be put in practiſe. His Majeſty's going to the Houſe of Commons on the fourth of *January*, is voted for ſo high a breach of their Rights and Priviledges, as was not to be ſalved by any *Retractation*, or *Diſclaimer*, or any thing by Him alledged in excuſe thereof. The Members are brought down in triumph both by Land and Water, guarded with Pikes and Proteſtations, to their ſeveral Houſes; and the forſaken King neceſſitated to retire to *Windſor*, that he might not be an eye-witneſs of his own diſgraces. The Lord *Digby* goes to *Kingſton* in a Coach with ſix Horſes, to beſtow a viſit upon Collonel *Lundsford*, and ſome other Gentlemen; each Horſe is reckoned for a Troop, and theſe Troops ſaid to have appeared in a warlike manner. Which was enough to cauſe the prevailing party of the Lords and Commons to declare againſt it; and by their Order of the 13*th* of *January*, to give command, *That all the Sheriffs of the Kingdom, aſſiſted by the Juſtices and Trained-Bands of the Country, ſhould take care to ſuppreſs all unlawful Aſſemblies, and to ſecure the Magazines of their ſeveral Counties.* The King's Attorney muſt be called in queſtion, examined, and endangered, for doing his duty in the impeachment of their Members, that no man might hereafter dare to obey the King. And though His Majeſty had ſent them a moſt Gracious Meſſage of the twentieth of *January*, in which He promiſed them *to equal or exceed all Acts of Favour which any of His Predeceſſors had extended to the People of* England; yet nothing could ſecure them from their fears and jealouſies, unleſs the Trained-bands, and the Royal Navy, the Tower of *London*, and the reſt of the Forts and Caſtles, were put into ſuch hands as they might confide in. On this the King demurrs a while; but having ſhipped the Queen for *Holland*, with the Princeſs *Mary*, and got the Prince into his power, he denies it utterly. And this denial is reputed a ſufficient reaſon to take the Militia to themſelves, and execute the Powers thereof, without His conſent.

16. But leaving them to their own Councils, he removes to *York*, aſſembleth the Gentry of that County, acquaints them with the reaſons of His coming thither, and deſires them not to be ſeduced by ſuch falſe reports as had been raiſed to the diſhonour of His Perſon, and diſgrace of His Government. By their Advice he makes a journey unto *Hull*, in which he had laid up a conſiderable Magazine of Cannon, Arms, and Ammunition; intended firſt againſt the *Scots*, and afterwards deſigned for the Warr of *Ireland*; but now to be made uſe of in his own defence. And poſſibly He might have got it into His poſſeſſion, if He had kept His own Counſel, and had not let ſome words fall from Him in a Declaration, which betrayed His purpoſe. For hereupon *Hotham*, a Member of their Houſe, and one of the two Knights for the County of *York*, is ſent to Garriſon the Town;

Town; who moſt audaciouſly refuſed to give him entrance, (though he was then accompanied with no more than his private Guards) and for ſo doing, is applauded and indempnified by the reſt of the Members. This ſends him back again to *York*, and there he meets as great a Baffle as he did at *Hull*. For there he is encountred with a new Committee from the Houſe of Commons, conſiſting of *Ferdinand* Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Henry Cholmnly*, Sir *Hugh Cholmnly*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton*; ſent thither on purpoſe to ſerve as Spies upon his actions, to undermine all his proceedings, and to inſinuate into the people, that all their hopes of peace and happineſs, depended on their adhering to the preſent Parliament. And they applied themſelves to their Inſtructions with ſuch open Confidence, that the King had not more meetings with the Gentry of that County, in his Palace called the Mannor-houſe, than they had with the Yeomanry and Freeholders, in the great Hall of the Deanry. All which the King ſuffered very ſtrangely, and thereby robbed himſelf of the opportunity of raiſing an Army in that County, with which he might have marched to *London*, took the Hen ſitting on her Neſt before ſhe had hatched; and poſſibly, prevented all thoſe Calamities which after followed. 1642.

17. But to proceed, during theſe counter-workings betwixt them and the King, the Lords and Commons plied him with continual Meſſages for his return unto the Houſes; and did as frequently endeavour to poſſeſs the people with their Remonſtrances and Declarations, to his diſadvantage. To each of which, his Majeſty returned a ſignificant Anſwer, ſo handſomely apparelled, and comprehending in them ſuch a ſtrength of Reaſon, as gave great ſatisfaction to all equal and unbyaſſed men. None of theſe Meſſages more remarkable, than that which brought the Nineteen Propoſitions to his Majeſty's hands. In which it was deſired, *That all the Lords of his Majeſty's Council, all the great Officers both of Court and State, the two Chief Juſtices, and the Chief Barons of the Exchequer, ſhould be from thenceforth nominated and approved by both Houſes of Parliament. That all the great Affairs of the Kingdom, ſhould be managed by them, even unto the naming of a Governour for his Majeſty's Children, and for diſpoſing them in Marriage, at the will of the Houſes. That no Popiſh Lord (as long as he continued ſuch) ſhould vote in Parliament.* And amongſt many other things of like importance, *That he would give conſent to ſuch a Reformation of Church-Government and Liturgy, as both the Houſes ſhould adviſe.* But he knew well enough, that to grant all this, was plainly to diveſt himſelf of all Regal Power which God had put into his hands. And therefore he returned ſuch an Anſwer to them, as the neceſſity of his Affairs, compared with thoſe impudent Demands, did ſuggeſt unto him. But as for their Demand about Reformation, he had anſwered it in part, before they made it, by ordering a Collection of ſundry Petitions preſented to himſelf and both Houſes of Parliament, in behalf of *Epiſcopacy*, and for the preſervation of the Liturgy, to be printed and publiſhed. By which Petitions it appeared, that there was no ſuch general diſaffection in the

1642. the Subjects, unto either of them, (whether they were within the power of the Houſes, or beyond their reach) as by the Faction was pretended; the total number of Subſcribers unto ſeven of them only, (the reſt not being calculated in the ſaid Collection) amounting to Four hundred eighty two Lords and Knights, One thouſand ſeven hundred and forty Eſquires and Gentlemen of note, Six hundred thirty one Doctors and Divines, and no fewer than Forty four thouſand five hundred fifty nine Free-holders of good name and note.

18. And now the Warr begins to open. The Gentlemen of *Yorkſhire* being ſenſible of that great affront which had been offered to his Majeſty at the Gates of *Hull*; and no leſs ſenſible of thoſe dangers which were threatned to him by ſo ill a Neighbourhood, offered themſelves to be a Guard unto his perſon. The Houſes of Parliament upon the apprehenſion of ſome fears and jealouſies, had took a Guard unto themſelves in *December* laſt; but they conceived the King had ſo much innocence, that he needed none: and therefore his accepting of this Guard of Gentlemen, is voted for a levying of Warr againſt the Parliament, and Forces muſt be raiſed in defence thereof. It hapned alſo, that ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons, many of his Domeſtick Servants, and not a few of the Nobility and great men of the Realm, repaired from ſeveral places to the King at *York*; ſo far from being willing to involve themſelves in other mens ſins, that they declared the conſtancy of their adhæſion to his Majeſty's ſervice. Theſe men they branded firſt by the Name of *Malignants*, and after looked upon them in the notion of evil Councellors; for whoſe removing from the King, they pretend to arm, (but now the ſtale device muſt be taken up) as well as in their own defence: Towards the raiſing of which Army, the *Presbyterian* Preachers ſo beſtir themſelves, that the wealthy Citizens ſend in their Plate, the zealous Siſters rob'd themſelves of their Bodkins and Thimbles, and ſome poor Wives caſt in their Wedding-Rings, like the Widow's Mite, to advance the Service. Beſides which, they ſet forth Inſtructions, diſperſed into all parts of the Realm, for bringing in of Horſes, Arms, Plate, Money, Jewels, to be repayed again on the *Publick Faith*; appoint their Treaſurers for the Warr; and nominate the Earl of *Eſſex* for their chief Commander, whom ſome Diſgraces from the Court had made wholly theirs. Him they commiſſionate to bring the King from his *Evil Councellors*, with power to kill and ſlay all ſuch as oppoſed them in it. And that he might perform the Service with a better Conſcience, they laid faſt hold on an Advantage which the King had given them, who in his Declaration of the *16th* of *June*, either by ſome incogitancy, or the ſlip of his Pen, had put himſelf into the number of the Three Eſtates; for thereupon it was inferred, That the Two Houſes were co-ordinate with him in the Publick Government; and being co-ordinate, might act any thing without his conſent, eſpecially in caſe of his refuſal to co-operate with them, or to conform to their deſires. Upon which ground, both to encreaſe their Party, and abuſe the people, (who

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ſtill had held the Name of King in ſome veneration) the War is ma- 1642.
naged in the Name of *King and Parliament*, as if both equally con-
cerned in the Fortunes of it. It was alſo Preached and Printed by
the *Presbyterians* to the ſame effect, (as *Buchanan* and *Knox*, *Calvin*
and ſome others of the Sect had before delivered) *That all Power*
was originally in the people of a State or Nation; in Kings no other-
wiſe than by Delegation, or by way of Truſt; which Truſt might be re-
called when the People pleaſed. That when the underived Majeſty (as
they loved to phraſe it) *of the Common People, was by their volun-*
tary act transferred on the Supreme Magiſtrate, it reſted on that Magi-
ſtrate no otherwiſe than cumulative; *but* privative *by no means, in*
reference unto them that gave it. That though the King was Major ſin-
gulis, *yet he was* Minor univerſis; *Superior only unto any one; but far*
inferior to the whole Body of the People. That the King had no particu-
lar property in his Lands, Rents, Ships, Arms, Towers, or Caſtles; which
being of a publike nature, belonged as much to the people, as they did to
him. That it was lawful for the Subjects to reſiſt their Princes, even by
force of Arms, and to raiſe Armies alſo, if need required, for the preſer-
vation of Religion, and the common Liberties. And finally, (for what
elſe can follow ſuch dangerous premiſes?) *That Kings being only the*
ſworn Officers of the Commonwealth, they might be called to an account,
and puniſhed in caſe of Male-adminiſtration, even to Impriſonment,
Depoſition, and to Death it ſelf, if lawfully convicted of it. But that
which ſerved their turns beſt, was a new diſtinction which they had
coined between the *Perſonal* and *Political* capacity of the Supreme
Magiſtrate; alledging, that the King was preſent with the Houſes of
Parliament, in his *Political* capacity, though in his *Perſonal* at *York*.
That they might fight againſt the King in his *Perſonal* capacity, though
not in his *Politick*; and conſequently, might deſtroy *CHARLES*
STUART, without hurting the King. This was good *Presbyterian*
Doctrine; but not ſo edifying at *York*, as it was at *Weſtminſter*. For
his Majeſty finding a neceſſity to defend *CHARLES STUART*, if
he deſired to ſave the *King*, began to entertain ſuch Forces as re-
paired unto him, and put himſelf into a poſture of defence againſt
all his Adverſaries.

19. In *York-ſhire* he was countermined, and prevailed but little,
not having above Two thouſand men when he left that County. At
Nottingham he ſets up his *Standard*, which by an unexpected Tem-
peſt was blown down to the ground, and looked on as a ſad preſage
of his following Fortunes. Paſſing thorough *Staffordſhire*, he gain-
ed ſome ſmall encreaſe to his little Party; but never could attain
unto the reputation of an Army, till he came to *Shrewsbury*; to
which great multitudes flocked unto him out of *Wales* and *Cheſhire*,
and ſome of the adjoining Countreys. Encouraged with which ſup-
plies, and furniſhed as well by the Queen from *Holland*, as by the
Countrey-Magazins, with Cannon, Arms, and Ammunition, he re-
ſolves for *London*, gives the firſt bruſh unto his Enemies at *Poick*,
near *Worceſter*, and routs them totally at *Edg hill*, in the County of
Warwick: This battel was fought on *Sunday*, the 23*d* of *October*,
Anno

1642. *Anno* 1642, being a just Twelve-month from the breaking out of the *Irish Rebellion*; this being more dangerous than that, because the King's Person was here aimed at more than any other. For so it was, that by corrupting one *Blake*, (once an *English* Factor, but afterwards employed as an Agent from the King of *Morocco*) they were informed from time to time of the King's proceedings, and more particularly, in what part of the Army he resolved to be; which made them aim with the greater diligence and fury, at so fair a Mark. But the King being Master of the Field, possest of the dead Bodies, and withall of the Spoil of some of the Carriages, discovered by some Letters this most dangerous practise. For which, that wretched Fellow was condemned by a Court of Warr, and afterwards hanged upon the Bough of an Oak, not far from *Abington*.

20. In the mean time the King goes forward, takes *Banbury* both Town and Castle, in the sight of the Enemy, and enters triumphantly into *Oxon*, (which they had deserted to his hands) with no fewer than Six-score Colours of the vanquished Party. But either he stayed there too long; or made so many halts in his way, that *Essex* with his flying-Army had recovered *London*, before the King was come to *Colebrook*. There he received a Message for an Accommodation; made ineffectual by the Fight at *Brentford* on the next day after. Out of which Town he beat two of their choicest Regiments; sunk many pieces of Cannon, and much Ammunition, put many of them to Sword in the heat of the Fight, and took about Five hundred Prisoners for a taste of his Mercy. For knowing well how miserably they had been mis-guided, he spared their Lives, and gave them liberty on no other Conditions, but only the taking of their Oaths not to serve against him. But the Houses of Parliament being loath to lose so many good men, appointed Mr. *Stephen Marshall*, (a principal Zealot at that time in the Cause of *Presbytery*) to call them together, and to absolve them from that Oath: Which he performed with so much Confidence and Authority, that the Pope himself could scarce have done it with the like. The next day, being *Sunday*, and the 13*th* of *November*, he prepares for *London*, but is advertised of a stop at *Turnham-Green*, two miles from *Brentford*; where both the remainders of the Army under the Earl of *Essex*, and the Auxiliaries of *London*, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Warwick*, were in a readiness to receive him. On this Intelligence it was resolved on mature deliberation, in the Council of Warr, That he should not hazzard that Victorious Army by a fresh encounter, in which if he should lose the day, it would be utterly impossible for him to repair that Ruin. Accordingly he leads his Army over *Kingston*-Bridg, leaves a third part of it in the Town of *Reading*, and with the rest takes up his Winter-Quarters in the City of *Oxon*.

21. But long he had not been at *Oxon*, when he received some Propositions from the Houses of Parliament, which by the temper and complexion of them, might rather seem to have proceeded from a conquering, than a losing-side. One to be sure must be in favour of *Presbytery*, or else *Stephen Marshal*'s zeal had been ill regarded. And

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in relation to *Presbytery* it was thus desired; that is to say, *That his Majesty would give consent to a Bill for the utter abolishing and taking away of all Arch-bishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Sub-deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, Canons, and Prebendaries, and all Chaunters, Chancellors, Treasurers, Sub-treasurers, Succentors, and Sacrists, and all Vicars, Choral, and Choristers, old Vicars and new Vicars, of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, and all other their Under-officers, out of the Church of* England. And that being done, that he would consent to another Bill for consultation to be had with Godly, Religious, and Learned Divines, and then to settle the Church-Government in such a way, as upon consultation with the said Divines should be concluded and agreed on by both Houses of Parliament. A Treaty howsoever did ensue upon these Propositions; but it came to nothing: the Commissioners for the Houses being so straitned in point of time, and tyed up so precisely to the Instructions of their Masters, that they could yeeld to nothing which conduced to the Publick peace. Nor was the North or South more quiet than the rest of the Kingdom: For in the North the Faction of the Houses was grown strong and prevalent, commanded by *Ferdinand* Lord *Fairfax*, who had possest himself of some strong Towns and Castles; for maintenance whereof, he had supplies from *Hull* upon all occasions. The care of *York* had been committed by the King to the Earl of *Cumberland*; and *Newcastle* was then newly Garrisoned by the Earl thereof; whose Forces being joined to those of the Earl of *Cumberland*, gave *Fairfax* so much work, and came off so gallantly, that in the end both Parties came to an accord, and were resolved to stand as Neutrals in the Quarrel. Which coming to the knowledg of the Houses of Parliament, they found some *Presbyterian* Trick to dissolve that Contract, though ratified by all the Obligations both of Honour and Conscience. 1642.

22. But in the South, the King's Affairs went generally from bad to worse; *Portsmouth* in *Hampshire* declared for him when he was at *York*; but being besieged, and not supplied either with Men, Arms, or Victuals, as had been promised and agreed on, it was surrendred by Col. *Goring*, the then Governour of it, upon Capitulation. *Norton*, a Neighbouring Gentleman of a fair Estate, was one of the first that shewed himself in Arms against it for the Houses of Parliament, and one that held it out to the very last. For which good Service he was afterward made a Collonel of Horse, Governour of *Southampton*, and one of the Committee for *Portsmouth*, after the Government of that Town had been taken from Sir *William Lewis*, on whom it was conferred at the first surrendry. A Party of the King's, commanded by the Lord Viscount *Grandison*, was followed so closely at the heels by *Brown* and *Hurrey*, two mercenary *Scots* in the pay of the Houses, that he was forced to put himself into *Winchester*-Castle; where having neither Victuals for a day, nor Ammunition for an hour; it was some favour to his Soldiers to be taken to Mercy. But whatsoever Mercy was expresst to them, the poor Town found but little, and the Church much less: the Town being miserably plunder-

1642. plundered for no other reaſon, but that they were not able to keep *Grandiſon* out, had they been ſo minded. Which though it was ſufficient to impoveriſh a more Wealthy City; yet *Waller* had two pulls more at it in the courſe of the War, to the undoing of ſome Families, and the ſpoil of others. But it was more defaced by *Ogle* about three years after, in burning down ſome Houſes about the Caſtle; but moſt of all, by pulling down the Biſhop's Palace, the Deanry, and no fewer than eight Prebends Houſes, ſold by the *Presbyterians*, to make money of the Lead and Timber, the Iron, Glaſs, and Stones, which made up thoſe Edifices.

23. But for the Church, though it was not the firſt Example of their Reformation, according to the practiſe of the *Hugonot-French*, the *Scottiſh* and the *Belgick* Zealots; yet fared it worſe in ſome reſpects than the other Cathedrals, becauſe it fell unto the *Scots* (commanding ſome *Scotizing Engliſh*) to do execution. For they not only broke the Organs in pieces, and defaced the Carved Work of the Quire, containing the ſtory of the Old and New Teſtament, in moſt excellent Imagery; but threw down the Communion-Table, and broke down the Rails (which they burnt afterwards in an Alehouſe), and ſtrewed the Pavements of the Quire, with the torn leaves and Fragments of the Common-prayer-Books. Next, they proceeded to the ſpoiling of the Tombs and Monuments, erected to the memory of ſome eminent Prelates, which had been formerly both an Ornament and an Honour to it; as namely, that of Cardinal *Beaufort*, a principal Benefactor to the Church and Hoſpital of St. *Croſs*, neighbouring near unto the City; and that of *William Wainflet*, the Magnificent and ſole Founder of *Magdalen*-Colledg in *Oxon*. And whereas the Remainders of the Bodies of ſome *Saxon* Kings, and many Biſhops of thoſe times, had been gathered into ſeveral Leaden Cheſts, by Biſhop *Fox*, who lived and flouriſhed in the laſt times of K. *HENRY* the 7th; the barbarous Soldiers Sacrilegiouſly threw down thoſe Cheſts, ſcattered the duſt remaining of their Bodies, before the wind, and threw their bones about the Pavements of the Church. They break down as many of the Glaſs Windows as they could reach with Swords and Pikes; and at the reſt they threw the Bones of the dead Kings, or ſhot them down with their Muſkets; the ſpoil of which Windows could not be repaired for one thouſand pounds. After all this, they ſeize upon the Communion-Plate, the Surplices of the Prieſts and Quire-men, all the rich Hangings, and large Cuſhions of Velvet, and the coſtly Pulpit-clothes, ſomes of which were of Cloath of Silver, and others of Gold. And finding two Brazen Statua's of K. *JAMES*, and K. *CHARLES*, at the firſt entrance of the Quire; they brake off the two Swords which were placed by their ſides; and with their own, mangled the Crown upon the head of K. *CHARLES*, ſwearing in ſcorn, *That they would bring him back again to his Houſes of Parliament.*

24. This hapned upon *Thurſday* the fifteenth of *December*; and the ſame Month proved as calamitous to the Church of *Chicheſter*; which City had received ſome Soldiers of His Majeſty's Party, who either

either were too few to keep it, or found it not tenable enough to make any reſiſtance. *Waller* preſents himſelf before it, and without any great diſpute, becomes Maſter of it; by which the Town got little, and the Church loſt more. For upon *Innocents-day*, the Soldiers forcibly break into it, where they ſeize upon the Veſtments and Ornaments of the Church, together with the Conſecrated Plate ſerving for the Altar, not leaving ſo much as a Cuſhion for the Pulpit, or a Chalice for the bleſſed Sacrament. But this rich ſpoil being committed by the Marſhal and other Officers, the reſt was left unto the hands and weapons of the common Soldiers, who with their Pole-axes did not only break down the Organs, but cut in pieces the Communion-Table, with the Rail before it. They defaced the two Tables of the Law at the Eaſt end of the Quire, for fear they ſhould riſe up againſt them in the Day of Judgment; moſt miſerably made havock of the Hiſtory of that Churches Foundation, which they found on the one ſide of the South-croſs Iſle, pourtrayed in Artificial manner, with the Statues of the Kings of *England*; and coming to the Portraiture of K. *EDWARD* the ſixth, they picked out his eyes, ſaying in ſcorn, *That all this Miſchief came from him, in eſtabliſhing the Book of Common-prayer.* Which that it might not be officiated as in former times, they break open all the Cheſts and Cupboards in which the Quire-men had laid up their Singing-Books, Common-Prayer-Books, Gowns, and Surplices; ſtrewing the Pavements of the Church with the Leaves of the Books, but turning the Gowns and Surplices into ready money. To all which Acts of Sacrilegious Spoil and Rapine, as *Waller* gave ſome countenance by his perſonal preſence; and in that, ſomewhat worſe than *Nero* *, as the ſtory tells us: So *Haſlerig* gave much more, by his Voice and Actions: For, forcing his way into the *Chapter-Houſe*, he did not only command the Soldiers to break down the Wainſcot, but ſeized on all the rich Plate which belonged to the Church. And when it was deſired, that they would leave one Chalice only for the uſe of the Sacrament; anſwer was moſt prophanely made by one of the *Scots*, (of which Nation the two Houſes had employed too many) *That they might ſerve the turn with a Wooden Diſh.* Nor were ſome *Presbyterian* Zealots in the City of *Exeter*, more favourable to their own Cathedrals, than the rude Soldiers were to this; where being incenſed by ſome of their Seditious Preachers, they acted over all thoſe outrages of Spoil and Rapine, which have been formerly recited, and added to them ſuch prodigious and unheard Irreverences, by turning the Church into a Jakes, and leaving their filth on and about the holy Altar, as fills me with Religious horror at the thinking of it.

1642.

* *Et juſſit ſcelera Nero, non ſpectavit.* Tacit. in vit. Agric.

25. But their firſt Furies in this kind, brake out in the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, and that of *Rocheſter*, under the conduct and command of Colonel *Sandys*, one of the Natives of that County; who taking ſome Forces with him to make ſure of *Canterbury*, came thither in the end of *Auguſt*; and having got the Keys of the Cathedral into his poſſeſſion, gave a free entrance to the Rabble which attended on him; forcing their way into the Quire, they overthrew the

the Communion-Table, tore the Velvet Cloath which they found
1643. about it; defaced the goodly Screen or Tabernacle-work, violated the Monuments of the dead, ſpoiled the Organs, brake down the ancient Rails and Seats, with the brazen Eagle which did ſupport the Bible, forced open the Cupboards of the Singing-men, rent ſome of their Surplices, Gowns, and Bibles, and carried away others; mangled all the Service-Books, and Books of Common-Prayer, beſtrewing the whole Pavement with the Leaves thereof. They alſo exerciſed their madneſs on the Arras Hangings which adorned the Quire, repreſenting the whole ſtory of our Saviour. And meeting with ſome of his Figures amongſt the reſt, ſome of them ſwore that they would ſtab him; and others, that they would rip up his bowels; which they did accordingly, ſo far forth at the leaſt as thoſe figures in the Arras Hanging could be capable of it. And finding another *Statua* of Chriſt placed in the Frontiſpiece of the South-Gate there, they diſcharged Forty Muskets at it, exceedingly triumphing when they hit him in the Head or Face. And it is thought they would have fallen upon the Fabrick, if at the humble ſuit of the Mayor and Citizens, they had not been reſtrained by their principal Officers. Leſs ſpoil was made at *Rocheſter*, though too much in that; their Follies being chiefly exerciſed in tearing the Book of Common-Prayer, and breaking down the Rails before the Altar. *Seaton* a *Scot*, and one of ſome command in the Army afterwards, took ſome diſpleaſure at the Organs, but his hands were tyed; whether it were that *Sandys* repented of the Outrages which were done at *Canterbury*, or elſe afraid of giving more ſcandal and offence to the *Kentiſh* Gentry, I am not able to determine. But ſure it is, that he enjoyed but little comfort in theſe firſt beginnings, receiving his death's wound about three Weeks after, in the fight near *Powick*; of which, within few Weeks more, he dyed at *Worceſter*.

26. But I am weary of reciting ſuch Spoils and Ravages as were not acted by the *Goths* in the ſack of *Rome*. And on that ſcore I ſhall not take upon me to relate the Fortunes of the preſent Warr, which changed and varied in the Weſt, as in other places, till the Battel of *Stratton*; in which Sir *Ralph Hopton*, with an handful of his gallant *Corniſh*, raiſed by the reputation of Sir *Bevil Greenvile*, and Sir *Nicholas Slaining*, gave ſuch a general defeat to the Weſtern Rebels, as opened him the way towards *Oxon* with ſmall oppoſition. Twice troubled in his March, by *Waller*, grown famous by his taking of *Malmsbury*, and relieving *Gloceſter*; but ſo defeated in a fight at *Roundway-Down*, (*Run-away Down*, the Soldiers called it) that he was forced to flye to *London* for a new Recruit. Let it ſuffice, that the King loſt *Reading* in the Spring, received the Queen triumphantly into *Oxon* within a few Weeks after, by whom he was ſupplied with ſuch a conſiderable ſtock of Arms and other Neceſſaries, as put him into a condition to purſue the Warr. This Summer makes him Maſter of the North and Weſt; the North being wholly cleared of the Enemy's Forces, but ſuch as ſeemed to be impriſoned in the Town of *Hull*. And having loſt the Cities of *Briſtol* and *Exon*, no

Towns

Towns of consequence in the West remained firm unto them, but *Pool*, *Lime*, and *Plymouth*: so that the leading members were upon the point of forsaking the Kingdom, and had so done (as it was generally reported, and averred for certain) if the King had not been diverted from his march to *London*, upon a confidence of bringing the strong City of *Glocester* to the like submission. This gave them time to breathe a little, and to advise upon some course for their preservation; and no course was found fitter for them, than to invite the *Scots* to their aid and succour, whose amity they had lately purchased at so deer a rate. Hereupon *Armin* and some others are dispatched for *Scotland*; where they applied themselves so dextrously to that proud and rebellious people, that they consented at the last to all things which had been desired. But they consented on such terms as gave them an assurance of One hundred thousand pound in ready money; the Army to be kept both with Pay and Plunder; the chief Promoters of the Service to be rewarded with the Lands and Houses of the *English* Bishops, and their Commissioners; to have as great an influence in all Counsels both of Peace and Warr, as the Lords and Commons. 1643.

27. But that which proved the strongest temptation to engage them in it, was an assurance of reducing the Church of *England* to an exact conformity, in Government and Forms of Worship, to the Kirk of *Scotland*; and gratifying their Revenge and Malice, by prosecuting the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* to the end of his Tragedy. For compassing which Ends, a Solemn League and Covenant is agreed between them; first taken and subscribed to, by the *Scots* themselves; and afterwards by all the Members in both Houses of Parliament; as also, by the principal Officers of the Army, all the Divines of the Assembly, almost all those which lived within the Lines of Communication, and in the end by all the Subjects which either were within their power, or made subject to it. Now by this Covenant the Party was to bind himself, amongst other things, first, *That he would endeavour in his place and calling, to preserve the Reformed Religion in* Scotland, *in Doctrine, Discipline, and Government: That he would endeavour, in like manner, the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, *according to the Word of God, and the example of the best Reformed Churches; but more particularly, to bring the Churches of God in all the three Kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church-Government, and* Directory *for Worship, and Catechising.* Secondly, *That without respect of persons they would endeavour to extirpate Popery and Prelacy; that is to say, Church-Government by Arch-bishops, Bishops, their Chancellors & Commissairs, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on it.* And thirdly, *That he would endeavour the discovery of such as have been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, and evil Instruments, either in hindering the Reformation of Religion, or in dividing between the King and his people, &c. whom they should bring to condign punishment before the Supream Judicatories of either Kingdom, as their offen-*

1643. *ces ſhould deſerve.* Of which three Articles, the two firſt tended to the ſetting up of their dear Presbyteries; the laſt, unto the proſecution of the late Arch-biſhop, whom they conſidered as their greateſt and moſt mortal Enemy.

28. The terror of this Covenant, and the ſevere penalty impoſed on thoſe which did refuſe it, compelled great numbers of the Clergy to forſake their Benefices, and to betake themſelves to ſuch Towns and Garriſons as were kept under the command of his Majeſty's Forces; whoſe vacant places were in part ſupplied by ſuch *Presbyterians* who formerly had lived as Lecturers or Trencher-Chaplains: or elſe beſtowed upon ſuch Zealots as flocked from *Scotland* and *New-England*, like *Vultures* and other Birds of Rapine, to ſeek after the prey. But finding the deſerted Benefices not proportionable to ſo great a multitude, they compelled many of the Clergy to forſake their Houſes, that ſo they might avoid impriſonment or ſome worſe Calamity. Others they ſent to ſeveral Gaols, or ſhut them up in Ships whom they expoſed to ſtorms and tempeſts, and all the miſeries which a wild Sea could give to a languiſhing ſtomack. And ſome again they ſequeſtred under colour of ſcandal, imputing to them ſuch notorious and enormous Crimes, as would have rendred them uncapable of Life, as well as Livings, if they had been proved. But that which added the moſt weight to theſe Oppreſſions, was the publiſhing of a malicious and unchriſtian Pamphlet, entituled, *The firſt Century of Scandalous and Malignant Prieſts*: which, whether it were more odious in the ſight of God, or more diſgraceful to the Church, or offenſive to all ſober and religious men, it is hard to ſay. And as it ſeems, the ſcandal of it was ſo great, that the Publiſher thereof, though otherwiſe of a fiery and implacable nature, deſiſted from the putting forth of a *Second Century*, though he had promiſed it in the *Firſt*, and was inclinable enough to have kept his word. Inſtructions had been ſent before to all Counties in *England*, for bringing in ſuch Informations againſt their Miniſters as might ſubject them to the danger of a Deprivation. But the times were not then ſo apt for miſchief, as to ſerve their turns; which made them fall upon theſe wretched and unchriſtian courſes to effect their purpoſe. By means whereof, they purged the Church of almoſt all Canonical and Orthodox men. The greatneſs of which deſolation in all the parts of the Kingdom, may be computed by the havock which they made in *London*, and the Pariſhes thereunto adjoining, according as it is preſented in the Bill of Mortality hereunto ſubjoined.

1643.

29. *A General Bill of Mortality of the Clergy of* London, *which have been defunct by reason of the Contagious breath of the Sectaries of that City, from the year* 1641, *to the year* 1647: *with the several Casualties of the same.* Or, *A brief Martyrology and Catalogue of the Learned, Grave, Religious, and Painful Ministers of the City of* London, *who have been imprisoned, plundered, and barbarously used, and deprived of all Livelihood for themselves and their Families; for their constancy to the* Protestant *Religion established in this Kingdom, and their Loyalty to their Soveraign.*

THE Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, The Dean, Residentiaries, and other Members of that Church, sequestred, plundered, and turned out.

St. *Albans Woodstreet*, Dr. *Wats* sequestred, plundered, his Wife and Children turned out of doors, himself forced to flye.

Alhallows Barking, Dr. *Layfield* persecuted, imprisoned in *Elyhouse*, and the Ships; sequestred and plundered; afterwards forced to flye.

Alhallows Breadstreet ———

Alhallows Great ———

Alhallows Honey-Lane ———

Alhallows Less ———

Alhallows Lumbardstreet, Mr. *Weston* sequestred.

Alhallows Stainings ———

Alhallows the Wall ———

Alphage, Dr. *Halsie* shamefully abused, his Cap pulled off to see if he were not a shaven Priest; voted out, and forced to flye; dead with grief.

Andrew Hubbard, Dr. *Chambers* sequestred.

Andrew Undershaft, 1. Mr. *Mason* through vexation forced to resign. 2. Mr. *Prichard*, after that sequestred.

Andrew Wardrobe, Dr. *Isaacson* sequestred.

Ann Aldersgate, Dr. *Clewet* sequestred.

Ann Black-Fryers ———

Antholin's Parish ———

Austin's Parish, Mr. *Udal* sequestred, his Bed-rid Wife turned out of doors, and left in the streets.

Barthol. Exchange, Dr. *Grant* sequestred.

Bennet Fink, Mr. *Warfoll* sequestred.

Bennet Grace-Church, Mr. *Guelch* sequestred.

Bennet Paul's Wharf, Mr. *Adams* sequestred.

Bennet Shere-hog, Mr. *Morgan* dead with grief.

Botolph Billingsgate, Mr. *King* sequestred, and forced to flye.

Christ Church ——— turned out, and dead.

Christophers, Mr. *Hanslow*.

Clement Eastcheap, Mr. *Stone* shamefully abused, sequestred, sent Prisoner to *Plymouth*, and plundered.

Dionyse Back-Church, Mr. *Humes* sequestred and abused.

Dunstans East, Dr. *Chiderly* reviled, abused, and dead.

Edmonds Lombardstreet, Mr. *Paget*, molested, silenced, and dead.

Ethelborough, Mr. *Clark* sequestred and imprisoned.

Faiths, Dr. *Brown* sequestred and dead.

Fosters, Mr. *Batty* sequestred, plundered, forced to flye, and dead.

Gabriel Fenchurch, Mr. *Cook* sequestred.

1643. *George Botolphlane* ——
Gregory's by *Pauls* ——
Hellens, Mr. *Miller* turned out and dead.
James Duke-place, Mr. —— ſequeſtred.
James Garlickhithe, Mr. *Freeman* plundered and ſequeſtred, and Mr. *Anthony* turned out.
John Baptiſt, Mr. *Weemſly* ſequequeſtred.
John Evangeliſt ——
John Zachary, Mr. *Eldlin* ſequeſtred, forced to flye, and plundered.
Katherine Coleman, Dr. *Hill*, and Mr. *Kibbuts*, ſequeſtred.
Katherine Creechurch, Mr. *Ruſh* turned out.
Laurence Jury, Mr. *Crane* ſequeſtred.
Lawrence Poutney ——
Leonard Eaſtcheap, Mr. *Calf* forced to give up to Mr. *Roborow*, Scribe to the Aſſembly.
Leonard Foſter-lane, Mr. *Ward* forced to flye, plundered, ſequeſtred, and dead for want of neceſſaries.
Margaret Lothbury, Mr. *Tabor* plundered, impriſoned in the King's Bench, his Wife and Children turned out of doors at midnight, and himſelf ſequeſtred.
Margaret Moſes ——
Margaret New-Fiſhſtreet, Mr. *Pory* forced to flye, plundered, and ſequeſtred.
Margaret Pattons, Mr. *Megs* plundered, impriſoned in *Ely-houſe*, and ſequeſtred.
Mary Abchurch, Mr. *Stone* plundered, ſent Priſoner by Sea to *Plymouth*, and ſequeſtred.
Mary Aldermanbury ——
Mary Aldermary, Mr. *Brown* forced to forſake it.
Mary le Bow, Mr. *Leech* ſequeſtred and dead with grief.
Mary Botham, Mr. *Proctor* forced to flye, and ſequeſtred.
Mary Colechurch ——
Mary Hill, 1. Dr. *Baker* ſequeſtred, purſivanted, and impriſoned. 2. Mr. *Woodcock* turned out, and forced to flye.
Mary Mounthaw, Mr. *Thrall* ſequeſtred, and ſhamefully abuſed.
Mary Sommerſet, Mr. *Cook* ſequeſtred.
Mary Stainings ——
Mary Woolchurch, Mr. *Tireman* forced to forſake it.
Mary Woolnoth, Mr. *Shute* moleſted, and vext to death, and denied a Funeral-Sermon to be preached by Dr. *Holdſworth*, as he deſired.
Martins Ironmonger-lane, Mr. *Spark* ſequeſtred and plundered.
Martins Ludgate, Dr. *Jermine* ſequeſtred.
Martins Orgars, Dr. *Walton* aſſaulted, ſequeſtred, plundered, and forced to flye.
Martins Outwich, Dr. *Pierce* ſequeſtred, and dead.
Martins Vintry, Dr. *Ryves* ſequeſtred, plundered, and forced to flye.
Matthew Friday-ſtreet, Mr. *Cheſtlin* violently aſſaulted in his Houſe, impriſoned in the Counter, thence ſent to *Colcheſter* Gaol in *Eſſex*, ſequeſtred, and plundered.
Maudlins Milk-ſtreet, Mr. *Jones* ſequeſtred.
Maudlins Old-Fiſhſtreet, Dr. *Gryffith* ſequeſtred, plundered, impriſoned in *Newgate*, and when let out, forced to flye.
Michael Baſſiſhaw, Dr. *Gyfford* ſequeſtred.
Michael Cornhil, Dr. *Brough* ſequeſtred, plundred, Wife and Children

Children turned out of doors, and his Wife dead with grief.

But Mr. *Weld*, his Curate, aſſaulted, beaten in the Church, and turned out.

Michael Crooked-lane——

Michael Queenhithe, Mr. *Hill* ſequeſtred.

Michael Quern, Mr. *Launce* ſequeſtred.

Michael Royal, Mr. *Proctor* ſequeſtred, and forced to flye.

Michael Woodſtreet——

Mildred Breadſtreet, Mr. *Bradſhaw* ſequeſtred.

Mildred Poultry, Mr. *Maden* ſequeſtred and gone beyond Sea.

Nicholas Acons, Mr. *Bennet* ſequeſtred.

Nicholas Coleabby, Mr. *Chibbald* ſequeſtred.

Nicholas Olaves, Dr. *Cheſhire* moleſted, and forced to reſign.

Olaves Hartſtreet, Mr. *Haines* ſequeſtred.

Olaves Jury, Mr. *Tuke* ſequeſtred, plundered, and impriſoned.

Olaves Silver-ſtreet, Dr. *Boohe* abuſed, and dead with grief.

Pancras Soper-lane, Mr. *Eccop* ſequeſtred, plundred, and forced to flye; his Wife and Children turned out of doors.

Peters Cheap, Mr. *Votier* ſequeſtred and dead with grief.

Peters Cornhil, Dr. *Fairfax* ſequeſtred, plundred, impriſoned in *Ely-Houſe*, and the Ships, his Wife and Children turned out of doors.

Peters Pauls-Wharf, Mr. *Marbury* ſequeſtred.

Peters Poor, Dr. *Holdſworth* ſequeſtred, plundred, impriſoned in *Ely-Houſe*, then in the *Tower*.

Stephens Colemanſtreet——

Stephens Walbrook, Dr. *Howel* through vexation forced to forſake it, ſequeſtred out of all, and fled; divers ſince turned out. 1643.

Swithens, Mr. *Owen* ſequeſtred.

Thomas Apoſtle, Mr. *Cooper* ſequeſtred and plundred, ſent priſoner to *Leeds-Caſtle* in *Kent*.

Trinity Pariſh, Mr. *Harriſon* dead with grief.

In the 97 Pariſhes within the Walls, beſides St. *Pauls*, outed 85, dead 16.

Pariſhes without the Walls.

Andrew Holborn, Dr. *Hacket* ſequeſtred.

Bartholomew Great, Dr. *Weſtfield* abuſed in the ſtreets, ſequeſtred, forced to flye, and dead.

Bartholomew Leſs——

Brides Pariſh, Mr. *Palmer* ſequeſtred.

Bridewel Precinct, Mr. *Brown* turned out.

Botolph Alderſgate, Mr. *Booth* ſequeſtred.

Botolph Aldgate, Mr. *Swadlin* ſequeſtred, plundered, impriſoned at *Greſham-Colledg* and *Newgate*, his Wife and Children turned out of doors.

Botolph Biſhopſgate, Mr. *Rogers* ſequeſtred.

Dunſtans Weſt, Dr. *March* ſequeſtred, and dead in remote parts.

George Southwark, Mr. *Cook* ſequeſtred.

Giles Cripplegate, Dr. *Fuller* ſequeſtred, plundred, and impriſoned at *Ely-Houſe*: and Mr. *Hatton*, his Curate, aſſaulted in the Church, and impriſoned.

Olaves Southwark, Dr. *Turner* ſequeſtred, plundred, fetched up Priſoner with a Troop of Soldiers, and afterwards forced to flye.

1643.

Saviours Southwark ——
Sepulchers Pariſh, Mr. *Pigot* the Lecturer turned out.
Thomas Southwark, Mr. *Spencer* ſequeſtred and impriſoned.
Trinity Minories ——

In the 16 Pariſhes without the Walls, outed 14, and 2 dead.

In the Ten out-Pariſhes.

Clement Danes, Dr. *Dukeſon* ſequeſtred, and forced to flye.
Covent-Garden, Mr. *Hail* ſequeſtred, and forced to flye.
Giles in the Fields, Dr. *Heywood* ſequeſtred, impriſoned in the *Counter*, *Ely-Houſe*, and the ſhips; forced to flye; his Wife and Children turned out of doors.
James Clerkenwell ——
Katharine Tower ——
Leonard Shoreditch, Mr. *Squire* ſequeſtred, impriſon'd in *Greſham-Colledg*, *Newgate*, and the *King's Bench*; his Wife and Children plundred and turned out of doors.
Martins in the Fields, Dr. *Bray* ſequeſtred, impriſoned, plundred, forced to flye, and dead in remote parts.
Mary Whitechappel, Dr. *Johnſon* ſequeſtred.
Magdalen Bermondſey, Dr. *Paske* ſequeſtred.
Savoy, Dr. *Balcanqual* ſequeſtred, plundered, forced to flye, and dead in remote parts; and Mr. *Fuller* forced to flye.

In the ten out-Pariſhes, outed 9, dead 2.

In the adjacent Towns.

The Dean and Prebends of the Abby-Church of *Weſtminſter*, (but only Mr. *Lambert Osbaſton*) ſequeſtred.
Margarets Weſtminſter, Dr. *Wimberly* ſequeſtred.
Lambeth, Dr. *Featly* ſequeſtred, plundred, impriſoned, and dead a priſoner.
Newington, Mr. *Heath* ſequeſtred.
Hackney, Mr. *Moor* ſequeſtred.
Rederif ——
Iſlington, Divers turned out.
Stepney, Dr. *Stamp* ſequeſtred, plundred, and forced to flye.

In the adjacent Towns, beſides thoſe of the Abby-Church, and *Iſlington*, outed 7, dead 1.

The Total of the Miniſters of London, *within this Bill of Mortality, beſides* Pauls *and* Weſtminſter, *turned out of their Livings* —— 115.
Whereof Doctors in Divinity above —— 40.
moſt of them plundred of their Goods, their Wives and Children turned out of doors.
Impriſoned in London, *and in the Ships, and in ſeveral Gaols and Caſtles in the Countrey* —— 20
Fled to prevent Impriſonment —— 25.
Dead in remote parts and Priſons, with grief —— 22.
And at the ſame time about forty Churches void; having no conſtant Miniſter in them.

Uſque quo Domine, *Rev.* 6. 10?

30. By

30. By this sad Bill confined within the *Lines of Communication*, and some Villages adjoining, we may conjecture at the greatness of that *Mortality* which fell amongst the Regular Clergy in all parts of the Kingdom, by *Plundring*, *Sequestring*, and *Ejecting*; or finally, by vexing them into their Graves, by so many Miseries as were inflicted on them in the Ships, or their several Prisons. In all which ways, more men were outed of their Livings by the *Presbyterians* in the space of Three years, than were deprived by the *Papists* in the Reign of Queen *Mary*; or had been *silenced*, *suspended*, or *deprived*, by all the Bishops, from the first year of Queen *ELIZABETH*, to these very times. And that it might be done with some colour of Justice, they instituted a *Committee for Plundred Ministers*, under pretence of making some provision for such godly Preachers as had either suffered loss of Goods by His Majesty's Soldiers, or loss of Livings for adhering to the Houses of Parliament. Under which titles they brought in a confused Rabble of their own perswasions, or such at least as were most likely to be serviceable to their ends and purposes; some of which had no Goods, and most of them no Livings at all to lose. But the truth was, they durst not trust the Pulpits to the Regular Clergy; who if they had offended against the Laws, by the same Laws they ought to have been tryed, condemned, and deprived accordingly; that so the Patrons might present more deserving persons to the vacant Churches. But then this could not stand with the main Design: For possibly the Patrons might present such Clarks as would go on in the old way, and could not be admitted but by taking the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance to our Lord the King; and by subscribing to the Discipline and Doctrine of the Church of *England*, which they were then resolved to alter. Or, could they have prevailed so far with the several Patrons, as to present those very men whom they had designed unto the Profits of the Sequestred Benefices; yet then they were to have enjoyed them for *term of life*, and might pretend a Legal Right and Title to them, which would have cut off that dependance on the Houses of Parliament, which this Design did chiefly aim at. So that the best of this new Clergy were but *Tenants at will*; and therefore must be servile and obsequious to their mighty Landlords, upon whose pleasure they depended for their present Livelihood. 1643.

31. Such were the Mischiefs of this year. For remedy whereof, His Majesty most graciously published two Proclamations, one of them bearing date the 15*th* of *May*; and the other, on the 9*th* of *October*. In the first of which, His Majesty takes especial notice, *That many of the Clergy, no less eminent for their Learning, than their Zeal and Piety, were either driven or forced from their habitations, or silenced, or discharged from attending on their Cures: That they suffered these oppressions for no other reasons, but because they published his legal and just Commands, or had refused to pray against Him, or to submit, against their Consciences, to illegal Taxes for the continuance of the Warr; or were conformable to the Book of Common-Prayer, or preacht God's Word according to the purity of it, without any mixture of Sedition;*

1643. *dition: That being for these Crimes discharged of their several Cures, others were put into their Places to sow Sedition, and seduce His Majesty's good Subjects from their due obedience, contrary to the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land. His Majesty thereupon commandeth, That all such courses be forborn for the time to come. That all His good Subjects for the present set forth their Tythes, and pay them to the lawful* Incumbents, *or their Farmers only. That the Church-Wardens, Sidemen, and other Parishioners, shall resist all such persons as have been, or shall be intruded into any of the Cures aforesaid: but, that they should contribute their best assistance to the lawful Ministers, for the receiving and enjoying of their Glebes and Tythes. With an Injunction to all Sheriffs, Mayors, and other Ministers of Justice, to be aiding to them, and to resist by force of Arms all such as should endeavour to disturb them in their lawful possessions.* But this served rather for a Declaration of His Majesty's Piety, than an Example of His Power. For notwithstanding all this Care, his faithful Subjects of the Clergy in all parts of the Realm, were plundred, sequestred, and ejected for the Crime of Loyalty; some of them never being restored, and others most unjustly kept from their Estates till this present year, *Anno* 1660.

32. In the other Proclamation he forbids the tendring or taking of the Covenant before remembred. Which Proclamation being short, but full of substance, shall be recited in His Majesty's own words, which are these that follow. *Whereas* (saith he) *there is a printed Paper entituled*, A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; *pretended to be ordered by the Commons in Parliament, on the* 21 *of* September *last, to be printed and published. Which Covenant, though it seems to make some specious expressions of Piety and Religion, is in truth nothing else but a Traiterous and Seditious Combination against Us, and against the established Religion and Laws of the Kingdom, in pursuance of a Traiterous Design and Endeavour to bring in Forreign Forces to invade this Kingdom. We do therefore straightly charge and command all Our loving Subjects, of what degree or quality soever, upon their Allegiance, that they presume not to take the said Seditious and Traiterous Covenant. And We do likewise hereby forbid and inhibit them to impose, administer, or tender the said Covenant, as they and every of them will answer the contrary at their utmost and extreamest perils.* Such was the tenour of this Proclamation of the 9*th* of *October*; which though it served for a sufficient testimony of His Majesty's Prudence, yet it prevailed as little as the other did: For, as the Two Houses did extend their Quarters, and enlarge their Power; so were the Subjects forced more generally to receive this yoak, and to submit themselves to those Oaths and Covenants which they could neither take for fear of God's and the King's Displeasure; and dared not to refuse, for fear of losing all which was dear unto them. So that it was esteemed for a special favour, as indeed it was, for all those which came in on the *Oxford Articles*, to be exempted from the taking

taking of this leud and accurſed Covenant, by which they were to bind themſelves to betray the Church, and to ſtand no further to the King, than as he ſtood for the *defence* of that *Religion* which they then allowed of, and of thoſe *Liberties* which they had acquired by what way ſoever. 1642.

33. And to ſay truth, it was no wonder that the *Presbyterians* ſhould impoſe new Oaths, when they had broken all the old; or ſeize upon the Tythes and Glebes of the Regular Clergy, when they had ſequeſtred the Eſtates of the Loyal Gentry, and intercepted the Revenues of the King and Queen. And it would be no wonder neither that they ſhould ſeize on the Revenues of the King and Queen, when they were grown to ſuch a high degree of impudence, as to impeach the Queen of Treaſon, and were reſolved of having no more Kings to comptroll their Actions. They had already voted for the making of a new Great Seal, (though ſo to do, was made High Treaſon by the Statute of K. *EDWARD* the third), that they might expedite their Commiſſions with the more Authority, and add ſome countenance of Law to the preſent Warr. Which muſt be managed in the Name of the King and Parliament, the better to abuſe the people, and add ſome Reputation to the Crimes of their undertakings. And being Maſters of a Seal, they thought themſelves in a capacity of acting as a Common-wealth, as a State diſtinct; but for the preſent, making uſe of His Majeſty's Name as their *State-holder*, for the ordering of their new Republick. But long He muſt not hold that neither; though that was locked up as a Secret amongſt thoſe of the *Cabala*, till it was blurted out by *Martin*, then Knight for *Berks*. By whom it was openly declared, *That the felicity of this Nation did not conſiſt in any of the Houſe of STUART.* Of which His Majeſty complained, but without reparation. And for a further evidence of their good intentions, a view is to be taken of the old *Regalia*, and none ſo fit as *Martin* to perform that Service. Who having commanded the Sub-dean of *Weſtminſter* to bring him to the place in which they were kept, made himſelf Maſter of the Spoil. And having forced open a great Iron Cheſt, took out the Crowns, the Robes, the Swords, and Scepter, belonging anciently to K. *EDWARD* the Confeſſor, and uſed by all our Kings at their Inaugurations. With a ſcorn greater than his Luſts, and the reſt of His Vices, he openly declares, *That there would be no further uſe of thoſe Toys and Trifles.* And in the jollity of that humour, inveſts *George Withers* (an old *Puritan Satyriſt*) in the Royal Habiliments. Who being thus Crown'd, and Royally array'd, (as right well became him) firſt marcht about the Room with a ſtately Garb, and afterwards with a thouſand Apiſh and Ridiculous actions, expoſed thoſe Sacred Ornaments to contempt and laughter. Had the *Abuſe* been *ſtript and whipt*, as it ſhould have been, the fooliſh Fellow poſſibly might have paſſed for a *Prophet*, though he could not be reckoned for a *Poet*.

34. But yet the miſchief ſtayed not here. Another viſit is beſtowed upon theſe *Regalia*; not to make merry with them, but ſome money

ney of them: *Mildmay*, a *Puritan* in Faction, and Maſter of the
1643. Jewel-Houſe by his Place and Office, conceived that Prey to belong properly to him; and having ſold the King, muſt needs buy the Crowns. But being as falſe to his new Maſters, as he was to his old, he firſt pickt out the richeſt Jewels, and then compounded for the reſt at an eaſie rate. The like ill fortune fell unto the Organs, Plate, Coaps, Hangings, Altar-Cloaths, and many other coſtly Utenſils which belonged to the Church; all which were either broke in pieces, or ſeized upon and plundered for the uſe of the State. Amongſt the reſt, there was a goodly Challice of the pureſt Gold; which though it could not be leſs worth than 300 *l.* was ſold to *Allyn* a decayed Gold-Smith, but then a Member of the Houſe, at the rate of 60 *l.* The Birds being flown, the Neſt is preſently deſigned to the uſe of the Soldiers, who out of wantonneſs, and not for want of Lodging in that populous City, muſt be quartered there. And being quartered, they omitted none of thoſe ſhameleſs Inſolencies which had been acted by their Fellows in other Churches. For they not only brake down the Rails before the Table, and burnt them in the very place in the heats of *July*; but wretchedly prophaned the very Table it ſelf, by ſetting about it with their Tobacco and Ale before them, and not without the company of ſome of their zealous Lecturers to grace the Action. What elſe they did in imitation of the Brethren of *Exon*, in laying their filth and excrements about it alſo, I abhor to mention. And now I muſt crave leave to ſtep into the Colledg, the Government whereof was taken from the Dean and Prebendaries, and given to a ſelect Committee of fifty perſons, ſome Lords, but Members, for the moſt part, of the Lower-Houſe; who found there a ſufficient quantity of Plate, and ſome other good Houſhold-ſtuff, to a very good value; which was ſo Husbanded amongſt them, that it was either ſtoln, or ſold, or otherwiſe imbezilled and inverted to the uſe of ſome private perſons, who beſt knew how to benefit themſelves by the Church's Patrimony.

35. But the main buſineſs of this year, and the three next following, was the calling, ſitting, and proceedings of the new Aſſembly, called the *Aſſembly of Divines*; but made up alſo of ſo many of the Lords and Commons, as might both ſerve as well to keep them under, and comptroll their Actions, as to add ſome countenance unto them in the eye of the people. A Convocation had been appointed by the King when he called the Parliament, the Members whereof being lawfully choſen and returned, were ſo diſcountenanced and diſcouraged by the Votes of the Lower-Houſe, the frequent Tumults raiſed in *Weſtminſter* by the Raſcal Rabble, and the preparatives for a Warr againſt the King, that they retired unto their Houſes, but ſtill continued undiſſolved, and were in a capacity of acting as a Convocation, whenſoever they ſhould be thereunto required, and might do it with ſafety. But being for the moſt part well affected to the Church of *England*, they were not to be truſted by the Houſes of Parliament, who then deſigned the hammering of ſuch a *Reformation* both in Doctrine and Diſcipline, as might unite them in a perpetual

Bond

Bond and Confederation with their *Scottiſh* Brethren. And that they might be furniſhed with ſuch men, the Knights of every Shire must make choice of two to ſerve as Members for that County; moſt of them *Presbyterians*, ſome few *Royalliſts*, four of the *Independent* Faction, and two or three to repreſent the Kirk of *Scotland*. Which ploughing with an Ox and an Aſs, (as it was no other) was anciently prohibited by the Law of *Moſes*. And yet theſe men, aſſociated with ſome Members of either Houſe, as before is ſaid, no ways impowered or authoriſed by the reſt of the Clergy, muſt take upon them all the Powers and Priviledges of a Convocation; to which they were invited by an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, bearing date *June* the 12*th*. His Majeſty makes a ſtart at this encroachment on His Royal Prerogative, and countermands the ſame by His Proclamation of the 22*d*. In which He takes notice, amongſt other things, That the far greateſt part of thoſe who had been nominated to the preſent Service, were men of neither *Learning or Reputation*, *eminently diſaffected to the Government of the Church of* England, *and ſuch as had openly preached Rebellion, by their exciting of the people to take Arms againſt Him*; and therefore were not like to be proper Inſtruments of Peace and Happineſs, either unto the Church or State: For maintenance whereof, and for the preſervation of His own Authority; he inhibits them from meeting at the time appointed, declares their Acts to be illegal, and threatens them with the puniſhments which they had incurred by the Laws of the Land. 1642.

36. But they go forwards howſoever, hold their firſt Meeting on the firſt of *July*, and elect Dr. *Twiſſe* of *Newberry*, (a rigid *Sabbatarian*, but a profeſſed *Calvinian* in all other points) for their Prolocutor) called to this *Journey-work* by the Houſes; they were diſpenſed with for Non-reſidence upon their Livings, againſt the Laws, preferred to the beſt Benefices of the Sequeſtred Clergy, (ſome of them three or four together) and had withall four ſhillings a man for their daily wages, beſides the honour of aſſiſting in ſo great an action, as the ruin of the Church, and the ſubverſion of the preſent Government of the Realm of *England*. In reference whereunto, they were to be employed from time to time, as occaſion was, *to ſtir up the people of the Counties* for which they ſerved, *to riſe and arm* themſelves againſt the King, under colour of *their own defence*, as appears plainly by the Order of the tenth of *Auguſt*. And that they might be looked upon with the greater reverence, they maintain a conſtant intercourſe, by Letters, with their Brethren of *Scotland*, the Churches of the *Netherlands*, the *French* and *Switzers*; but chiefly, with *Geneva* it ſelf. In which they laid ſuch vile Reproaches on His Majeſty and the Church of *England*; the one, for having a deſign to bring in Popery; the other, for a readineſs to receive the ſame; that His Majeſty was neceſſitated to ſet out a Manifeſt in the *Latin* Tongue, for laying open the Impoſture to the Churches of all Forreign Nations. Amongſt the reſt of this Aſſembly, Dr. *Dan. Featly*, not long before made Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, muſt needs

1643. ſit for one; whether to ſhew his Parts, or to head a Party, or out of his old love to *Calviniſm*, may beſt be gathered from ſome Speeches which he made and printed. But he was theirs in heart before, and therefore might afford them his body now, though poſſibly he may be excuſed from taking the Covenant, as the others did. An *Exhortation* whereunto, was the firſt great work which was performed by theſe Maſters in *Iſrael*, after their aſſembling; the Covenant taken by them in moſt ſolemn manner at St. *Margarets* in *Weſtminſter*, on the 25th of *September*, the *Exhortation* voted to be publiſhed on the 9th of *February*.

37. Now to begin the bleſſed Reformation which they had in hand, the Houſes were reſolved upon exterminating all external Pomp, and comely Order, out of the Worſhip of Almighty God. And to this end, upon the humble motion of theſe Divines of the Aſſembly, and the ſollicitation of ſome zealous Lecturers, who were grown very powerful with them; or to ingratiate themſelves with the *Scottiſh* Covenanters, whoſe help they began to ſtand in need of; or finally, out of the perverſeneſs of their own croſs humours, they publiſhed an Ordinance on the 28th of *Auguſt*, *For the utter demoliſhing, removing, and taking away all Monuments of Superſtition and Idolatry*. Under which notion it was ordered, *That before the laſt of* November *then next following, all Altars and Tables of ſtone* (as if any ſuch were then erected!) *ſhould be demoliſhed in all Churches and Chappels throughout the Kingdom. That the Communion-Tables ſhould in all ſuch places be removed from the Eaſt end of the Chancel, unto ſome other part of the Church or Chappel. That all ſuch Rails as had been placed before or about the ſame, ſhould be taken away, and the ground levelled with the reſt, which had been raiſed for the ſtanding of any ſuch Table, within the ſpace of twenty years then laſt-paſt. That all Tapers, Candleſticks, and Baſons, which had of late been uſed on any of the ſaid Tables, ſhould alſo be removed and taken away; neither the ſame, nor any ſuch like, to be from thenceforth uſed in God's Publick Service. That all Crucifixes, Croſſes, and all Images and Pictures of any one or more Perſons of the Trinity, or of the Virgin* Mary, *and all other Images and Pictures of Saints, ſhould be alſo demoliſhed and defaced, whether they ſtood in any of the ſaid Churches or Chappels, or in any Church-yard or other open place whatſoever, never to be erected or renewed again:* With a Proviſo notwithſtanding, *for preſerving all Images, Pictures, and Coats of Arms, belonging to any of their Anceſtors, or any of the Kings of this Realm, or any other deceaſed perſons which were not generally conſidered and beheld as Saints.*

38. But yet to make ſure work of it, this Ordinance was re-inforced and enlarged by another of the 9th of *May*, in the year next following; wherein, beſides the particulars before recited, they deſcend to the taking away of all Coaps, Surplices, and other Superſtitious Veſtments (as they pleaſed to call them); as alſo to the taking away of all Organs, and the Caſes in which they ſtood, and the defacing of the ſame; requiring the ſame courſe to be alſo taken in the removing and defacing of Roods, Rood-Lofts, and Holy-water-

Fonts

water-Fonts (as if any such things had been of late erected or per- 1643.
mitted in the Church of *England*, as indeed there were not): where-
upon followed the defacing of all Glass Windows, and the demo-
lishing of all Organs within the compass of their power; the trans-
posing of the holy Table from the place of the Altar, into some
other part of the Church or Chancel; the tearing and defacing of all
Copes and Surplices, or otherwise employing them to domestick uses;
and finally, the breaking down and removing of the Sacred Fonts, an-
ciently used for the Ministration of holy Baptism; the name of *Holy-*
water-fonts being extended & made use of to comprise them also: here-
upon followed also the defacing and demolishing of many Crosses e-
rected as the Monuments of Christianity, in Cities, Towns, and most of
our Country-Villages; none being spared which came within the
compass of those Enemies of the Cross of Christ. Amongst which
Crosses none more eminent for Cost and Workmanship, than those
of *Cheapside* in *London*, and *Abington* in the County of *Berks*; both
of them famous for the excellencies of the Statua's which were pla-
ced in them; more for the richness of the trimming which was used
about them. But the Divine Vengeance fell on some of the Exe-
cutioners, for a terror to others; one of them being killed in pul-
ling down the Cross of *Cheapside*; and another hanged at *Stow on*
the Wold, within short time after he had pulled down the first Image
of the Cross in *Abington*. And because no Order had been made
for the executing of this Order in His Majesty's Chappels (as there
was in all Cathedral and Parish-Churches); a private Warrant was
obtained by *Harlow*, a Knight of *Herefordshire*, for making the said
Chappels equal to all the rest, by depriving them of all such Orna-
ments of State and Beauty with which they had been constantly
adorned in all times since the Reformation. And all this done, (or
at the least pretended to be done, as the Ordinance tells us) as being
pleasing unto God, and visibly conducing to the blessed Refor-
mation so much desired; but desired only, as it seems, by those Lords
and Commons who had a hand in the Design.

39. So far they went to show their hatred unto Superstition, their
dislike of *Popery*: but then they must do somewhat also for expres-
sing their great zeal to the glory of God, by some Acts of Piety.
And nothing seemed more pious, or more popular rather, than to
enjoin the more strict keeping of their *Lords-day-Sabbath*, by some
publick Ordinance. With this they had begun already on the fifth
of *May*, on which it was ordered by no worse men than the Commons
in Parliament, (the Lords being either not consulted, or not con-
curring) That His Majesty's Book for *tolerating Sports on the Lord's*
Day, should be forthwith burned by the hands of the common Hang-
man, in *Cheapside* and other usual places; and that the Sheriffs of
London and *Middlesex* should see the same put in execution; which
was done accordingly. Than which, an Act of a greater scorn, an
Act of greater Insolency and disloyal impudence, was never offered
to a Soveraign and Annointed Prince. So as it was no marvel if the
Lords joined with them in the Ordinance of the sixth of *April*, 1644,
for

for to expose all Books to the like disgrace which had been writ, or
1644. should be writ hereafter by any person or persons, against the Morality of the Sabbath: By which Ordinance it was also signified, *That no manner of person whatsoever, should publickly cry, shew forth, and expose to sale any Wares, Merchandises, Fruits, Herbs, or other Goods, upon that day, on pain of forfeiting the same; or travel, carry burthens, or do any act of Labour on it, on pain of forfeiting Ten shillings for the said offence. That no person from thenceforth on the said day should use, exercise, keep, maintain, or be present at any wrestling, shooting, bowling, ringing of Bells for pleasure or pastime, Mask, Wake, (otherwise called Feasts) Church-Ale, Games, Dancing, Sport, or other pastimes whatsoever, under the several penalties therein contained.* And that we may perceive with what weighty cares the heads of these good men were troubled, when the whole Nation was involved in Blood and Ruin; a Clause was added for the taking down of *May-poles* also; with a Command unto all Constables and Tything-men, to see it done, under the penalty of forfeiting five shillings weekly, till the said *May-poles* (which they looked upon as an *Heathenish Vanity*) should be quite removed. Which Nail was driven so far at last, that it was made unlawful for any Taylor to carry home a new Suit of Clothes, or any Barber to trim the man that was to wear them; for any Water-man to Ferry a passenger cross the *Thames*; and finally, to any person whatsoever (though neither new trimmed, or new apparelled) to sit at his own door, or to walk the streets, or take a mouth-full of fresh air in the open Fields. Most Rabinical Dotages!

40. The day of publick Worship being thus new-molded, they must have new Priests also, and new Forms of Prayer, a new Confession of the Faith, new Catechisms, and new Forms of Government. Towards the first, an Ordinance comes out from the Lords and Commons in *October* following, (Advice being first had with the Assembly of Divines) By which a power was given to some chief men of the Assembly, and certain Ministers of *London*, or to any seven or more of them, to impose hands upon such persons whatsoever whom they found qualified and gifted for the holy Ministry; a Clause being added thereunto, That every person and persons which were so ordained, should be reputed, deemed, and taken for a Minister of the Church of *England*, sufficiently authorised for any Office or Employment in it, and capable of receiving all advantages which appertained to the same. To shew the nullity and invalidity of which *Ordinations*, a learned Tractate was set out by Dr. *Bohe*, Chaplain sometimes to the Right Reverend Dr. *Houson*, Bishop of *Oxford* first, and of *Durham* afterwards. Never since answered by the *Presbyterians*, either *Scots* or *English*. Next after, comes the *Directory*, or new Form of Worship, accompanied with an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons on the third of *January*, for authorising the said *Directory* or Form of Worship; as also, for suppressing the publick Liturgy, repealing all the Acts of Parliament which confirmed the same, and abrogating all the ancient and established Festivals,

ſtivals, that ſo *Saint Sabbath* (as ſometimes they called it) might be all in all. The inſufficiency of which Directory to the Ends propoſed in the ſame, pronounced the weakneſs of the Ordinance which authoriſed it; and the excellency of the publick Liturgy in all the parts and offices of it, was no leſs learnedly evinced by Dr. *Hammond* then newly made a Chaplain in ordinary to His Sacred Majeſty. Which though it might have ſatisfied all equal and unbyaſſed men, yet neither Learning nor Reaſon could be heard in the new Aſſembly; or if it were, the voice thereof was drowned by the noiſe of the Ordinances. 1644.

41. For on the 23*d* of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1645, another Ordinance comes thundering from the Lords and Commons, for the more effectual Execution of the Directory for publick Worſhip; with ſeveral Clauſes in the ſame, not only for diſperſing and uſe thereof, but for calling in the Book of Common-prayer, under ſeveral penalties. Which coming to His Majeſty's knowledg, as ſoon as he returned to His Winter-Quarters, He publiſhed His Proclamation of the 13th of *November*, commanding in the ſame the uſe of the Common-Prayer, notwithſtanding any Ordinance to the contrary from the Houſes of Parliament. "For taking notice, firſt, of thoſe notable Benefits "which had for Eighty years redounded to this Nation by the uſe of "the Liturgy; He next obſerves, that by aboliſhing the ſaid Book "of Common-Prayer, and impoſing the Directory, a way would be "left open for all Ignorant, Factious, and Evil men, to broach their "Fancies and Conceits, be they never ſo erroneous, to miſlead peo-"ple into Sin and Rebellion againſt the King, to raiſe Factions and "Diviſions in the Church; and finally, to utter thoſe things for their "Prayers in the Congregation, to which no Conſcientious can ſay "*Amen*. And thereupon He gives Commandment to all Miniſters in "their Pariſh-Churches, to keep and uſe the ſaid Book of Common-"Prayer, in all the Acts and Offices of God's Publick Worſhip, ac-"cording to the Laws made in that behalf; and that the ſaid *Direc-"tory* ſhould in no ſort be admitted, received, or uſed; the ſaid pre-"tended Ordinances, or any thing contained in them to the contrary "notwithſtanding. But His Majeſty ſped no better by His Procla-mation, than the two Doctors did before by their Learned Argu-ments. For if He had found little or no obedience to his Proclamati-ons when he was ſtrong, and in the head of a victorious and ſucceſful Army, He was not to expect it in a low condition, when his Affairs were ruinated and reduced to nothing.

42. For ſo it was, that the *Scots* having raiſed an Army of Eighteen thouſand Foot, and Three thouſand Horſe, taking the Dragoons into the reckoning, break into *England* in the depth of Winter, *Anno* 1643, and marched almoſt as far as the Banks of the River *Tine*, without oppoſition. There they received a ſtop by the coming of the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, with his Northern Army, and entertain'd the time with ſome petit skirmiſhes, till the ſad news of the ſurpriſe of *Selby* by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, compelled him to return towards *York* with all his Forces, for the preſerving of that place, on which the

1644. the ſafety of the North did depend eſpecially. The *Scots* march after him amain, and beſiege that City, in which they were aſſiſted by the Forces of the Lord *Fairfax*, and the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who by the Houſes were commanded to attend that Service. The iſſue whereof was briefly this; that having worſted the great Army of Prince *Rupert* at *Marſton-moor*, on the ſecond of *July*, *York* yeelded on Compoſition upon that day fortnight; the Marquess of *Newcaſtle*, with many Gentlemen of great Note and Quality, ſhipt themſelves for *France*; and the ſtrong Town of *Newcaſtle* took in by the *Scots* on the 19th of *October* then next following. More fortunate was His Majeſty with His *Southern* Army, though at the firſt he was neceſſitated to retire from *Oxon* at ſuch time as the Forces under *Eſſex* and *Waller* did appear before it. The news whereof being brought unto them, it was agreed that *Waller* ſhould purſue the King, and that the Earl's Army ſhould march Weſtward to reduce thoſe Countreys. And here the *Myſtery of Iniquity* began to ſhow its ſelf in its proper colours. For whereas they pretended to have raiſed their Army for no other end, but only to remove the King from his *Evil Councellors*, thoſe *Evil Councellors*, as they call them, were left at *Oxon*, and the King only hunted by his inſolent Enemies. But the King having totally broken *Waller* in the end of *June*, marched after *Eſſex* into *Devonſhire*, and having ſhut him up in *Cornwall*, where he had neither room for forrage, nor hops of ſuccours, he forced him to flye ingloriouſly in a Skiff or Cockboat, and leave his Army in a manner to the Conqueror's Mercy. But his Horſe having the good fortune to ſave themſelves, the King gave quarter to the Foot, reſerving to Himſelf their Cannons, Arms, and Ammunition, as a ſign of His Victory. And here again the Warr might poſſibly have been ended, if the King had followed his good fortune, and march'd to *London* before the Earl of *Eſſex* had united his ſcattered Forces; and *Mancheſter* was returned from the Northern Service. But ſetting down before *Plymouth* now, as he did before *Gloceſter* the laſt year, he loſt the opportunity of effecting his purpoſe, and was fought withall at *Newberry*, in his coming back, where neither ſide could boaſt of obtaining the Victory.

43. But howſoever, having gained ſome reputation by his Weſtern Action, the Houſes ſeem inclinable to accept His offer of entring into Treaty with Him for an Accommodation. This He had offered by His Meſſage from *Eveſham* on the 4th of *July*, immediately after the defeat of *Waller*; and preſſed it by another from *Taveſtock* on the 8th of *September*, as ſoon as he had broken the great Army of the Earl of *Eſſex*. To theſe they hearkned not at firſt. But being ſenſible of the out-cries of the common people, they condeſcend at laſt, appointing *Uxbridg* for the place, and the thirtieth day of *January* for the time thereof. For a preparative whereunto, and to ſatisfie the importunity and expectation of their Brethren of *Scotland*, they attaint the Arch-biſhop of High Treaſon, in the Houſe of Commons, and paſs their Bill by Ordinance in the Houſe of Peers, in which no more than ſeven Lords did concur to the Sentence;

tence; but being sentenced howsoever, by the malice of the *Presby-* 1644.
terians both *Scots* and *English*, he was brought to act the last part of his Tragedy on the 10th of *January*, as shall be told at large in another place. This could presage no good success to the following Treaty. For though Covenants sometimes may be writ in blood; yet I find no such way for commencing Treaties. And to say truth, the King's Commissioners soon found what they were to trust to. For having condescended to accompany the Commissioners from the Houses of Parliament, and to be present at a Sermon preached by one of their Chaplains, on the first day of the meeting they found what little hopes they had of a good conclusion. The Preacher's Name was *Love*, a *Welsh-man*, and one of the most fiery *Presbyters* in all the Pack: In whose Sermon *there were many passages very scandalous to His Majesty's Person, and derogatory to His Honour; stirring up the people against the Treaty, and incensing them against the King's Commissioners; telling them, That they came with hearts full of Blood; and that there was as great a distance betwixt the Treaty and Peace, as there was between Heaven and Hell.* Of this the *Oxon* Lords complained, but could obtain no reparation for the King or themselves; though afterwards *Cromwel* paid the debt, and brought him to the Scaffold when he least looked for it.

44. But notwithstanding these presages of no good success, the King's Commissioners begin the long-wisht-for Treaty, which is reduced to these three Heads, *viz.* Concernments of the Church, The Power of the Militia, and the Warr of *Ireland*. In reference to the first (for of the other two I shall take no notice) His Majesty was pleased to condescend to these particulars; that is to say, 1. *That freedom be left to all persons whatsoever in matters of Ceremony; and that all the penalties of the Laws and Canons which enjoin those Ceremonies, be suspended.* 2. *That the Bishops should exercise no act of Jurisdiction or Ordination, without the consent and counsel of the Presbyters, who shall be chosen by the Clergy of each Dioceſs, out of the gravest and most learned men amongst themselves.* 3. *That the Bishop shall be constantly resident in his Dioceſs, except he be required to attend His Majesty; and shall preach every Sunday in some Church or other, within the Dioceſs, if he be not hindred either by old age or sickness.* 4. *That* Ordination *shall be publick, and in solemn manner; and none to be admitted into Holy Orders, but such as are well qualified and approved of by the Rural Presbyters.* 5. *That an improvement be made of all such Vicaridges as belonged to Bishops, Deans, and Chapters; the said improvement to be made out of Impropriations, and confirmed by Parliament.* 6. *That from thenceforth no man should hold two Churches with Cure of Souls.* And, 7. *That One hundred thousand pound should be forthwith raised out of the Lands belonging to the Bishops and Cathedral Churches, towards the satisfaction of the Publick Debts.* An Offer was also made, for regulating the Jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical Courts, in Causes Testamentary, Decimal, and Matrimonial; for rectifying some Abuses in the exercise of Excommunication; for moderating the excessive Fees of the Bishops Officers, and

and ordering their Visitations to the best advantage of the Church;
1644. and all this to be done by consent of Parliament.

45. His Majesty also offered them the Militia for the space of three years; which might afford them time enough to settle the Affairs of the Kingdom, had they been so pleased; and to associate the Houses with Him in the Warr of *Ireland*; but so, as not to be excluded from His Care of that People. But these Proposals did not satisfie the *Puritan English*, much less the *Presbyterian Scots*, who were joined in that Treaty. They were resolved upon the abolition of *Episcopacy*, both Root and Branch; of having the Militia for Seven years absolutely, and afterwards to be disposed of as the King and the Houses could agree: and finally, of exercising such an unlimited power in the Warr of *Ireland*, that the King should neither be able to grant a Cessation, or to make a Peace, or to show mercy unto any of that people, on their due submission. And from the rigour of these terms, they were not to be drawn by the King's Commissioners; which rendred the whole Treaty fruitless, and frustrated the expectation of all Loyal Subjects, who languished under the calamity of this woful Warr. For as the Treaty cooled, so the Warr grew hotter; managed for the most part by the same Hands, but by different Heads: Concerning which, we are to know, That not long after the beginning of this everlasting Parliament, the *Puritan* Faction became subdivided into *Presbyterians* and *Independents*. And at the first, the *Presbyterians* carried all before them both in Camp and Council. But growing jealous at the last of the Earl of *Essex*, whose late miscarriage in the West was looked on as a Plot to betray his Army; they suffered him to be wormed out of his Commission, and gave the chief Command of all to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; with whose good Services and Affections they were well acquainted. To him they joined Lieutenant General *Oliver Cromwell*, who from a private Captain had obtained to be Lieutenant to the Earl of *Manchester* in the associated Counties, as they commonly called them; and having done good Service in the Battel of *Marston-moor*, was thought the fittest man to conduct their Forces. And on the other side, the Earl of *Brentford* (but better known by the Name of General *Ruthuen*) who had commanded the King's Army since the Fight at *Edg-hill*, was outed of his Place by a Court-Contrivement, and that Command conferred upon Prince *Rupert*, the King's Sisters Son, not long before made Duke of *Cumberland*, and Earl of *Holderness*.

46. By these new Generals, the Fortune of the Warr, and consequently the Fate of the Kingdom which depended on it, came to be decided. And at the first, the King seemed to have much the better by the taking of *Leicester*; though afterwards it turned to his disadvantage: For many of the Soldiers being loaded with the Spoil of the place, withdrew themselves for the disposing of their Booty, and came not back unto the Army, till it was too late. News also came, that *Fairfax* with his Army had laid siege to *Oxon*, which moved the King to return back as far as *Daventry*, there to expect the re-assembling of his scattered Companies. Which hapning as *Fair-*

fax

fax had desired, he marcht hastily after him, with an intent to give him Battel on the first opportunity: In which he was confirmed by two great Advantages; first, by the seasonable coming of *Cromwel* with a fresh Body of Horse, which reach'd him not until the Evening before the fight: and secondly, by the intercepting of some Letters sent from General *Goring*, in which His Majesty was advised to decline all occasion of Battel, till he could come up to him with his Western Forces. This hastned the Design of fighting in the adverse Party, who fall upon the King's Army in the Fields near *Naisby*, (till that time an obscure Village) in *Northamptonshire*: on *Saturday* the 19th of *June*, the Battels joined; and at first His Majesty had the better of it, and might have had so at the last, if Prince *Rupert* having routed one Wing of the Enemy's Horse, had not been so intent upon the chase of the Flying-Enemy, that he left his Foot open to the other Wing. Who pressing hotly on them, put them to an absolute Rout, and made themselves Masters of his Camp, Carriage, and Cannon; and amongst other things of His Majesty's Cabinet: In which they found many of his Letters, most of them written to the Queen; which afterwards were published by Command of the Houses, to their great dishonour. For whereas the *Athenians* on the like success, had intercepted a Packet of Letters from *Philip* King of *Macedon*, their most bitter Enemy, unto several Friends, they met with one amongst the rest to the Queen *Olympias*; the rest being all broke open before the Council, that they might be advertised of the Enemy's purposes, the Letter to the Queen was returned untouch't; the whole Senate thinking it a shameful and dishoneſt act to pry into the Conjugal Secrets betwixt Man and Wife. A Modesty in which those of *Athens* stand as much commended by *Hilladius Bisantinus*, an ancient Writer, as the chief Leading-men of the Houses of Parliament, are like to stand condemned for want of it, in succeeding Stories.

1645.

47. But to proceed, this miserable Blow was followed by the surrendry of *Bristol*, the storming of *Bridgwater*, the surprise of *Hereford*, and at the end of *Winter*, with the loss of *Chester*. During which time the King moved up and down with a Running-Army, but with such ill Fortune as most commonly attends a declining-side. In which distress he comes to his old Winter-Quarters, not out of hope of bringing his Affairs to a better condition before the opening of the Spring. From *Oxon* he sends divers Messages to the Houses of Parliament, desiring that He might be suffered to return to *Westminster*, and offering for their security the whole Power of the Kingdom, the Navy, Castles, Forts, and Armies, to be enjoyed by them in such manner, and for so long time, as they had formerly desired. But finding nothing from them but neglect and scorn, His Messages despised, and His Person vilified, He made an offer of Himself to *Fairfax*, who refused also. Tired with repulse upon repulse, and having lost the small remainder of His Forces near *Stow on the Wold*; He puts Himself, in the beginning of *May*, into the hands of the *Scots* Commissioners, residing then at *Southwell* in the County of *Nottingham*, a Mannor-House belonging to the See of *York*. For the *Scots*

1646. *Scots* having maſtered the Northern parts, in the year 1644, ſpent the next year in harraſing the Countrey, even as far as *Hereford*; which they beſieged for a time, and perhaps had carried it, if they had not been called back by the Letters of ſome ſpecial Friends, to take care of *Scotland*, then almoſt reduced to the King's obedience, by the Noble Marqueſs of *Montroſs*. On which Advertiſement they depart from *Hereford*, face *Worceſter*, and ſo marcht Northward: From whence they preſently diſpatch Col. *David Leſhly*, with Six thouſand Horſe; and with their Foot employed themſelves in the Siege of *Newark*; which brought down their Commiſſioners to *Southwell*, before remembred. From thence the King is hurried in poſt-haſte to the Town of *Newcaſtle*, which they looked on as their ſtrongeſt Hold. And being now deſirous to make eeven with their Maſters, to receive the wages of their Iniquity, and being deſirous to get home in ſafety with that Spoil and Plunder which they had gotten in their marching and re-marching betwixt *Tweed* and *Hereford*, they preſt the King to fling up all the Towns and Caſtles which remained in His Power, or elſe they durſt not promiſe to continue Him under their Protection.

48. This Turn ſeemed ſtrange unto the King. Who had not put Himſelf into the Power of the *Scots*, had He not been aſſured before-hand by the *French* Ambaſſador, of more courteous uſage; to whom the *Scots* Commiſſioners had engaged themſelves, not only to receive His Perſon, but all thoſe alſo which repaired unto Him into their protection, as the King ſignified by His Letters to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*. But having got Him into their Power, they forget thoſe Promiſes, and bring Him under the neceſſity of writing to the Marqueſſes of *Montroſs* and *Ormond* to diſcharge their Soldiers, and to His Governours of Towns in *England*, to give up their Garriſons. Amongſt which, *Oxford* the then Regal City, was the moſt conſiderable, ſurrendred to Sir *Thomas Fairfax* upon *Midſommer-day*. And by the Articles of that Surrendry, the Duke of *York* was put into the Power of the Houſes of Parliament; together with the Great Seal, the Signet, and the Privy-Seal, all which were moſt deſpitefully broken in the Houſe of Peers, as formerly the *Dutch* had broke the Seals of the King of *Spain*, when they had caſt off all Fidelity and Allegiance to him, and put themſelves into the Form of a Common-wealth. But then to make him ſome amends, they give him ſome faint hopes of ſuffering him to beſtow a viſit on his Realm of *Scotland*, (his *ancient and native Kingdom*, as he commonly called it) there to expect the bettering of his Condition in the changes of time. But the *Scots* hearing of his purpoſe, and having long ago caſt off the yoke of ſubjection, voted againſt his coming, in a full Aſſembly; ſo that we may affirm of him, as the Scripture doth of our Saviour Chriſt, viz. *He came unto his own, and his own received him not*, John cap. 1. 2. The like reſolution was taken alſo by the Commiſſioners of that Nation, and the chief Leaders of their Army, who had contracted with the two Houſes of Parliament, and for the ſum of Two hundred thouſand pounds in ready money, ſold and betrayed him into the

the hands of his Enemies, as certainly they would have done the Lord Christ himself for half the money, if he had *bowed down the Heavens, and came down to visit them.* Being delivered over unto such Commissioners as were sent by the Houses to receive him, he was by them conducted on the third of *February*, to his House of *Holdenby*, not far from the good Town of *Northampton*; where he was kept so close, that none of his Domestick Servants, no not so much as his own Chaplains were suffered to have any access unto him. And there we leave him for the present; but long he shall not be permitted to continue there, as shall be shewn hereafter in due place and time. 1646.

49. Such being the issue of the Warr, let us next look upon the *Presbyterians* in the acts of Peace; in which they threatned more destruction to the Church, than the Warr it self. As soon as they had setled the strict keeping of the Lord's-day-Sabbath, suppressed the publick Liturgy, and imposed the Directory, they gave command to their Divines of the Assembly, to set themselves upon the making a new Confession. The Nine and thirty Articles of the Church of *England*, were either thought to have too much of the ancient Fathers, or too little of *Calvin*, and therefore fit to be reviewed, or else laid aside. And at the first, their Journey-men began with a Review, and fitted Fourteen of the Articles to their own conceptions; but in the end, despairing of the like success in all the rest, they gave over that impertinent labour, and found it a more easie task to conceive a *new*, than to accommodate the old Confession to their private Fancies. And in this new Confession, they establish the Morality of their Lord's-day-Sabbath, declare the Pope to be the *Antichrist, the Son of Perdition, and the Man of Sin.* And therein also interweave the *Calvinian* Rigours, in reference to the absolute Decree of Predestination, Grace, Free-will, *&c.* But knowing that they served such Masters as were resolved to part with no one Branch of their own Authority, they attribute a Power to the Civil Magistrate, not only of calling Synods and Church-Assemblies, but also of being present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is therein contracted, be done agreeably to the Mind and Will of God. But as to the matter of Church-Government, the Divine Right of their Presbyteries, the setting of Christ upon his Throne, the Parity or Imparity of Ministers in the Church of Christ, not a word delivered. Their mighty Masters were not then resolved upon those particulars; and it was fit the Holy Ghost should stay their leisure, and not inspire their Journey-men with any other Instruction than what was sent them from the Houses.

50. But this Confession, though imperfect, and performed by halves, was offered in the way of an *Humble Advice to the Lords and Commons*; that by the omnipotency of an Ordinance it might pass for currant, and be received for the established Doctrine of the Church of *England*. The like was done also in the tendry of their *Larger Catechism*, which seems to be nothing in a manner but the setting out of their *Confession* in another dress, and putting it into the form of Questions and Answers, that so it might appear to be some-

1646. what elſe than indeed it was. But being ſomewhat of the largeſt to be taught in Schools, and ſomewhat of the hardeſt to be learned by Children, it was brought afterwards into an Epitome, commonly called *The leſſer Catechiſm*, and by the Authors recommended to the uſe of the Church, as far more Orthodox than *Nowel's*, more clear than that contained in the Common-Prayer-Book, and not inferior to the *Palatine* or *Genevian* Forms. But in all three, they held forth ſuch a Doctrine touching God's Decrees, that they gave occaſion of reviving the old *Blaſtian* Hereſie, in making God to be the *Author of Sin*. Which Doctrine being new publiſhed in a Pamphlet, entituled, *Comfort for Believers in their Sins and Troubles*, gave ſuch a hot Alarm to all the *Calviniſts* in the new Aſſembly, that they procured it to be burnt by the hands of the Hangman. But firſt, they thought it neceſſary to prepare the way to that execution, by publiſhing in print their *deteſtation of that abominable and blaſphemous Opinion, That God hath a hand in, and is the Author of the ſinfulneſs of his people*, as the Title tells us. So that now *Calvin's* Followers may ſleep ſupinely without regard to the reproaches of uncivil men, who had upbraided them with maintaining ſuch blaſphemous Doctrine. The Reverend Divines of the Aſſembly have abſolved them from it, and ſhowed their *Deteſtation* of it; and who dares charge it on them for the time to come?

51. But theſe things poſſibly were acted as they were *Calvinians*, and perhaps *Sabbatarians* alſo, and no more than ſo. And therefore we muſt next ſee what they do on the ſcore of *Presbytery*, for ſetting up whereof, they had took the Covenant, called in the *Scots*, and more inſiſted on the abolition of the Epiſcopal Function, than any other of the Propoſitions which more concern them. To this they made their way in thoſe Demands which they ſent to *Oxon*, the Ordinance for Ordination of Miniſters, and their advancing of the Directory in the fall of the Liturgy. They had alſo voted down the Calling of Biſhops, in the Houſe of Commons, on *Septemb.* 8. 1642; and cauſed the paſſing of that Vote to be ſolemnized with Bells and Bonfires in the ſtreets of *London*, as if the whole City was as much concerned in it, as ſome Factious Citizens. But knowing that little was to be effected by the Propoſitions, and much leſs by their Votes, they put them both into a Bill, which paſt the Houſe of Peers on the third of *February*, ſome two days after they had tendred their Propoſals to the King at *Oxon*. And by that Bill it was deſired to be Enacted, That from the Fifth of *November*, (the day deſigned for the blowing up the Parliament by the Gun-powder-Traytors) which ſhould be in the year of our Lord 1643, there ſhould be *no Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Commiſſaries*, &c. (with all their Train recited in the *Oxon* Article, Numb. 21.) *in the Church of* England: *That from thenceforth the Name, Title, and Function of Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Chancellors*, &c. *or likewiſe the having, uſing, or exerciſing any Juriſdiction, Office, and Authority, by reaſon or colour of any ſuch Name, Dignity, or Function, in the Realm of* England, *ſhould utterly and for ever ceaſe*. And that the King might yeeld the ſooner to the Alteration,

tion, they tempt him to it with a Clauſe therein contained, for put- 1646.
ting him into the actual poſſeſſion of all the Caſtles, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, belonging to the ſaid Arch-biſhops, or Biſhops, or to any of them. And for the Lands of Deans and Chapters, the Brethren had a hope to parcel them amongſt themſelves, under the colour of encouraging and maintaining of a Preaching-Miniſtry; ſome ſorry pittance being allowed to the old Proprietaries, and ſome ſhort Penſion during life to the ſeveral Biſhops.

52. Such was the tenour of the Bill; which found no better entertainment than their Propoſitions. So that deſpairing of obtaining the King's conſent to advance Presbytery, they reſolved to do it of themſelves, but not till they had broken the King's Forces at the Battel of *Naisby*: For on the nineteenth of *Auguſt* then next following, they publiſh "*Directions* in the name of the Lords and "Commons, (after advice with their Divines of the Aſſembly) for "the chuſing of *RULING-ELDERS* in all the Congregations, and "in the Claſſical Aſſemblies, for the Cities of *London* and *Weſtmin-*"*ſter*, and the ſeveral Counties of the Kingdom, in order to the "ſpeedy ſetling of Presbyterial Government. Amongſt which, no "ſmall care was taken for making twelve Claſſes of the Miniſters "of *London* only; and after, for dividing each particular County "into ſeveral *Claſſes*, with reference to the largeneſs and extent "thereof. Which Orders and Directions, were after ſeconded by the Ordinance of *October* the twentieth; containing certain Rules for the ſuſpenſion of ſcandalous and ignorant perſons from the holy Supper, and giving power to certain perſons therein named, to ſit as Judges and Tryers, as well concerning the Election, as the Integrity and Ability of all ſuch men as are elected *Elders* within any of the Twelve *Claſſes* of the Province of *London*. It is not to be thought, but that the *London-Elderſhips* made ſufficient haſte to put themſelves into the actual poſſeſſion of their new Authority. But in the Countrey, moſt men were ſo cold and backward, that the Lower-Houſe was fain to quicken them with ſome freſh *Reſolves*; by which it was required, on the twentieth of *February*, *That choice be forthwith made of Elders, thoroughout the Kingdom, according to ſuch former Directions as had paſt both Houſes; and that all Claſſes and Parochial Congregations, ſhould be thereby authoriſed effectually to proceed therein.* And that the Church might be ſupplied with able Miniſters in all times ſucceeding, the Power of Ordination, formerly reſtrained to certain perſons reſiding in and about the City of *London*, (according to the Ordinance of the ſecond of *October*, 1644.) is now communicated to the Miniſters of each ſeveral *Claſſes*, as men moſt like to know the wants of the Pariſh-Churches under their Authority.

53. But here it is to be obſerved, that in the ſetling of the Preſbyterian Government in the Realm of *England*, as the Presbyteries were to be ſubordinate to the Claſſical, Provincial, and National Aſſem-

1646. Aſſemblies of the Church, ſo were they all to be ſubordinate to the Power of the Parliament, as appears plainly by the Ordinance of the fourteenth of *March*; which makes it quite another thing from the *Scottiſh* Presbyteries, and other Aſſemblies of that Kirk, which held themſelves to be ſupream, and unaccountable in their actings, without reſpect unto the King, the Parliament, and the Courts of Juſtice. But the truth is, that as the *Engliſh* generally were not willing to receive that yoak; ſo neither did the Houſes really intend to impoſe it on them, though for a while, to hold fair quarter with the *Scots*, they ſeemed forward in it. And this appears ſufficiently by a Declaration of the Houſe of Commons, publiſhed on the ſeventeenth of *April*, 1646; in which they ſignifie, That they were not able to conſent *to the granting of an Arbitrary and unlimited Power and Juriſdiction to near Ten thouſand Judicatories to be erected in the Kingdom, which could not be conſiſtent with the Fundamental Laws and Government of it, and which by neceſſary conſequence did exclude the Parliament from having any thing to do in that Juriſdiction.* On ſuch a doubtful bottom did Presbytery ſtand, till the King had put himſelf into the Power of the *Scots*, and that the *Scots* had poſted him in all haſte to the Town of *Newcaſtle*. Which cauſed the Lords and Commons no leſs haſtily to ſpeed their Ordinance of the fifth of *June*; *For the preſent ſetling of the Presbyterial Government, without further delay*, as in the Title is expreſt. And though it was declared in the end of that Ordinance, That it was to be in force for three years only, except the Houſes ſhould think fit to continue it longer; yet were the *London*-Miniſters ſo intent upon them, that they reſolve to live no longer in ſuſpence, but to proceed couragiouſly in the execution of thoſe ſeveral Powers which both by Votes and Ordinances were intruſted to them. And to make known to all the World what they meant to do, they publiſhed a Paper with this Title, that is to ſay, *Certain Conſiderations and Cautions agreed upon by the Miniſters of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and within the* Lines of Communication, *June the nineteenth*, 1646. *According to which they reſolve to put the Presbyterial Government into execution, upon the Ordinances of Parliament before publiſhed.*

54. In which conjuncture it was thought expedient by the Houſes of Parliament, to ſend Commiſſioners to *Newcaſtle*, and by them to preſent ſuch *Propoſitions* to his Sacred Majeſty, as they conceived to be agreeable to his preſent condition. In the ſecond of which it was deſired, *That according to the laudable Example of his Royal Father, of happy memory, he would be pleaſed to ſwear and ſign the Solemn League and Covenant, and cauſe it to be taken by Acts of Parliament in all his Kingdoms and Eſtates.* And in the third it was propoſed, That a Bill ſhould paſs for the utter aboliſhing and taking away of Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Chancellors, Commiſſaries, Deans, *&c.* as they occur before in the *Oxon* Articles, Num. 21. That the Aſſembly of Divines, and Reformation of Religion, according to the ſaid Covenant, ſhould be forthwith ſetled and confirmed

firmed by Act of Parliament; and that ſuch unity and uniformity between the Churches of both Kingdoms, ſhould in like manner be confirmed by Act of Parliament, as by the ſaid Covenant was required, after Advice firſt had with the Divines of the ſaid Aſſembly. It was required alſo in the ſaid Propoſitions, That he ſhould utterly diveſt himſelf of all power to protect his people, by putting the Militia into the hands of the Houſes; and that he ſhould betray the greateſt part of the Lords and Gentry which had adhered unto him in the courſe of the Warr, to a certain ruin; ſome of which were to be excluded from all hope of Pardon, as to the ſaving of their Lives; others to forfeit their Eſtates; and to loſe their Liberties; the Clergy to remain under ſequeſtration; the Lawyers of both ſorts to be diſabled from the uſe of their Callings. Demands of ſuch unreaſonable and horrid nature, as would have rendred him inglorious and contemptible both at home and abroad, if they had been granted. 1646.

55. Theſe Propoſitions were preſented to him on the eleventh day of *July*, at *Newcaſtle*, by the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Suffolk*, of the Houſe of Peers; *Erle*, *Hipiſly*, *Robinſon*, and *Goodwin*, from the Houſe of Commons: Of whom his Majeſty demanded, Whether they came impowred to treat with him, or not? And when they anſwered, *That they had no Authority ſo to do*: He preſently replied, That then the Houſes might as well *have ſent their Propoſitions by an honeſt Trumpeter*, and ſo parted with them for the preſent. His Majeſty had ſpent the greateſt part of his time ſince he came to *Newcaſtle*, in managing a diſpute about Church-Government with Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*, the moſt conſiderable Champion for *Preſbytery* in the Kirk of *Scotland*. *Henderſon* was poſſeſt of all advantages of Books and Helps, which might enable him to carry on ſuch a Diſputation. But His Majeſty had the better Cauſe, and the ſtronger Arguments. Furniſhed with which, (though deſtitute of all other Helps than what he had within himſelf) he preſt his Adverſary ſo hard, and gave ſuch ſatisfactory Anſwers unto all his Cavils, that he remained Maſter of the Field, as may ſufficiently appear by the Printed Papers. And it was credibly reported, that *Henderſon* was ſo confounded with grief and ſhame, that he fell into a deſparate ſickneſs, which in fine brought him to his Grave; profeſſing, as ſome ſay, that he dyed a Convert; and frequently extolling thoſe great Abilities which, when it was too late, he had found in his Majeſty. Of the particular paſſages of this Diſputation, the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners had received a full Information; and therefore purpoſely declined all diſcourſe with his Majeſty, by which the merit of their Propoſitions might be called in queſtion. All that they did, was to inſiſt upon the craving of a poſitive Anſwer, that ſo they might return unto thoſe that ſent them; and ſuch an Anſwer they ſhall have, as will little pleaſe them.

56. For though his Fortunes were brought ſo low, that it was not thought ſafe for him to deny them any thing; yet he demurred upon the

1647. the granting of such points as neither in Honour nor in Conscience could be yeelded to them. Amongst which, those Demands which concerned Religion, and the abolishing of the ancient Government of the Church by Arch-bishops and Bishops, may very justly be supposed to be none of the least. But this delay being taken by the Houses for a plain denial, and wanting money to corrupt the unfaithful *Scots*, who could not otherwise be tempted to betray their Soveraign; they past an Ordinance for abolishing the Episcopal Government, and setling their Lands upon Trustees for the use of the State. Which Ordinance being past on the ninth of *October*, was to this effect; that is to say, *That for the better raising of moneys for the just and necessary Debts of the Kingdom, in which the same hath been drawn by a War mainly promoted in favour of Arch-bishops and Bishops, and other their Adherents and Dependents; it was ordained by the Authority of the Lords and Commons, That the Name, Title, Stile, and Dignity of Arch-bishop of* Canterbury, *Arch-bishop of* York, *Bishop of* Winchester, *and Bishop of* Durham, *and all other Bishops or Bishopricks within the Kingdom, should from and after the fifth of* September, *1646, then last past, be wholly abolished or taken away; and that all persons should from thenceforth be disabled to hold that Place, Function, or Stile, within the Kingdom of* England, *and Dominion of* Wales, *or the Town of* Berwick; *or exercise any Jurisdiction or Authority thereunto formerly belonging by vertue of any Letters Patents from the Crown, or any other Authority whatsoever; any Law or Statute to the contrary notwithstanding.* As for their Lands, they were not to be vested now in the Kings possession, as had been formerly intended; but to be put into the power of some Trustees which are therein named, to be disposed of to such uses, intents, and purposes, as the two Houses should appoint.

57. Amongst which uses, none appeared so visible, even to vulgar eyes, as the raising of huge Sums of Money to content the *Scots*, who from a *Remedy* were looked on as the *Sickness* of the Commonwealth. The *Scots* Demands amounted to Five hundred thousand pounds of *English* money, which they offered to make good on a just account; but were content for quietness sake to take Two hundred thousand pounds in full satisfaction. And yet they could not have that neither, unless they would betray the King to the power of his Enemies. At first they stood on terms of Honour; and the Lord Chancellor *Lowdon* ranted to some tune (as may be seen in divers of his Printed Speeches) concerning the indelible Character of Disgrace and Infamy which must be for ever imprinted on them, if they yeelded to it. But in the end, the *Presbyterians* on both sides did so play their parts, that the sinful Contract was concluded, by which the King was to be put into the hands of such Commissioners as the two Houses should appoint to receive his Person. The *Scots* to have One hundred thousand pounds in ready money, and the *Publick Faith* (which the Houses very prodigally pawned upon all occasions) to secure the other. According unto which Agreement

his

his Majesty is sold by his own Subjects, and betrayed by his Servants; by so much wiser (as they thought) than the Traytor *Judas*, by how much they had made a better Market, and raised the price of the Commodity which they were to sell. And being thus sold, he is delivered for the use of those that bought him, into the custody of the Earl of *Pembroke*, (who must be one in all their Errands) the Earl of *Denbigh*, and the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton*, with twice as many Members of the Lower House; with whom he takes his Journey towards *Holdenby*, before remembred, on the third of *February*. And there so closely watcht and guarded, that none of his own Servants are permitted to repair unto him. *Marshal* and *Caril*, two great sticklers in behalf of Presbytery, (but such as after warped to the *Independents*) are by the Houses nominated to attend as Chaplains. But he refused to hear them in their Prayers or Preachings, unless they would officiate by the publick Liturgy, and bind themselves unto the Rules of the Church of *England*. Which not being able to obtain, he moves the Houses by his Message of the 17th of that Month, to have two Chaplains of his own. Which most unchristianly and most barbarously they denyed to grant him. 1647.

59. Having reduced him to this streight, they press him once again with their Propositions; which being the very same which was sent to *Newcastle*, could not in probability receive any other Answer. This made them keep a harder hand upon him, than they did before; presuming, that they might be able to extort those Concessions from him by the severity and solitude of his restraint, when their Perswasions were too weak, and their Arguments not strong enough to induce him to it. But, Great God! How fallacious are the thoughts of men? How wretchedly do we betray our selves to those sinful hopes which never shall be answerable to our expectation? The *Presbyterians* had battered down *Episcopacy* by the force of an *Ordinance*, outed the greatest part of the Regular Clergy, of their Cures and Benefices; advanced their new Form of Government, by the Votes of the Houses, and got the King into their power, to make sure work of it. But when they thought themselves secure, they were most unsafe. For being in the height of all their Glories and Projectments, one *Joice*, a Cornet of the Army, comes thither with a Party of Horse, removes his Guards, and takes him with them to their Head-Quarters, which were then at *Woburn*, a Town upon the North-west Road in the County of *Bedford*: Followed, not long after, by such Lords and others as were commanded by the Houses to attend upon him. Who not being very acceptable to the principal Officers, were within very few weeks discharged of that Service. By means whereof, the *Presbyterians* lost all those great advantages which they had fancied to themselves, and shall be better husbanded to the use of their Adversaries, though it succeeded worse to his Majesty's person, than possibly it might have done, if they had suffered him to remain at *Holdenby*, where the Houses fixt him.

1647. 59. This great turn hapned on the fourth of *June*, *Anno* 1647, before he had remained but four Months in the Power of the Houſes. Who having brought the Warr to the end deſired, poſſeſt themſelves of the King's Perſon, and diſmiſſed the *Scots*, reſolved upon diſbanding a great part of the Army, that they might thereby eaſe the people of ſome part of their burthens. But ſome great Officers of the Army had their Projects and Deſigns apart, and did not think it conſonant to common prudence, that they ſhould either ſpend their blood, or conſume their ſtrength, in railing others to that Power, which being acquired by themſelves, might far more eaſily be retained, than it had been gotten. Upon theſe grounds they are reſolved againſt disbanding, ſtand on their Guards, and draw together towards *London*, contrary to the Will and expreſs Commandment of their former Maſters, by whom they were required to keep at a greater diſtance. The Officers thereupon impeach ſome Members of the Lower Houſe; and knowing of what great Conſequence it might be unto them to get the King into their Power, a Plot is laid to bring him into their Head-Quarters without noiſe and trouble; which was accordingly effected, as before is ſaid. Thus have the Presbyterians of both Nations, embroiled the Kingdom firſt in Tumults, and afterwards in a calamitous and deſtructive Warr. In which the Sword was ſuffered to range at liberty, without diſtinction of Age, Sex, or Quality. More goodly Houſes plundered and burnt down to the ground, more Churches ſacrilegiouſly prophaned and ſpoiled, more Blood poured out like Water within four years ſpace, than had been done in the long courſe of Civil-Warrs between *York* and *Lancaſter*. With all which Spoil and publick Ruin, they purchaſed nothing to themſelves but ſhame and infamy; as may be ſhown by taking a brief view of their true condition before and after they put the State into theſe Confuſions.

60. And firſt, the *Scots* not long before their breaking out againſt their King, had in the Court two Lords High Stewards, and two Grooms of the Stool, ſucceſſively one after another. And at their taking up of Arms, they had a Maſter of the Horſe, a Captain of the Guard, a Keeper of the Privy Purſe, ſeven Grooms of eight in his Majeſty's Bed-Chamber, and an equal number at the leaſt of Gentlemen-Uſhers, Quarter-waiters, Cup-bearers, Carvers, Sewers, and other Officers, attending daily at the Table. I ſpeak not here of thoſe who had places in the Stables, or below the Stairs; or of the Servants of thoſe Lords and Gentlemen who either lived about the Court, or had Offices in it. All which together, make up ſo conſiderable a number, that the Cour might well be called an Academy of the *Scots* Nation; in which ſo many of all ſorts had their Breeding, Maintenance, and Preferment. Abroad, they had a Lieutenant of the Tower, a Fortreſs of moſt conſequence in all the Kingdom; and a Maſter-Gunner of the Navy; an Office of as great a Truſt as the other: and more of thoſe Monopolies, Suits, and Patents, which were conceived to be moſt grievous to the Subjects,

jects, than all the *Engliſh* of the Court. In the Church they had two Deanries, divers Prebendaries, and ſo many Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, as equalled all the Revennes of the Kirk of *Scotland*. All which they had loſt, like *Æſop*'s Dog, catching after a ſhadow. And yet by catching at that ſhadow, they loſt all thoſe Advantages which before they had both in Court and Countrey; and that not only for the preſent, but in all probability for the time to come. Such loſers were the *Scots* by this brutiſh bargain; but whether out of pure zeal to the Holy Diſcipline, or their great love to filthy lucre, or the perverſneſs of their nature, or the rebellious humour of the Nation, or of all together, let them judg that can. 1647.

61. If then the *Scots* became ſuch loſers by the bargain, as moſt ſure they did; as ſure it is that their dear Brethren in the Cauſe of *Presbytery*, the *Puritans* or *Presbyterians* in the Realm of *England*, got as little by it. The *Engliſh Puritans* laid their heads and hands together to embroil the Realm, out of a confidence, that having alienated the greateſt part of the Tribes from the Houſe of *David*, they might advance the Golden Calves of their Presbyteries, in *Dan* and *Bethel*, and all other places whatſoever within the Land. And for the maintenance thereof, they had devoured (in conceit) all Chapter-Lands, and parcelled them amongſt themſelves into *Augmentations*. But no ſooner had they driven this Bargain, but a Vote paſſed for ſelling thoſe Lands towards the payment of the Debts of the Commonwealth. Nor have they lived to ſee their dear Presbytery ſetled, or their Lay-Elders entertained in any one Pariſh of the Kingdom. For the advancement whereof, the *Scots* were firſt incouraged to begin at home, and afterwards to purſue their Work by invading in *England*. Nor fared it better with thoſe great *Achitophels* of the popular Party, who laboured in the railing of a new Common-wealth, out of the Ruins of a Glorious and Ancient Monarchy. To which end they employed the *Presbyterians*, as the fitteſt Inſtruments for drawing the people to their ſide, and preaching up the piety of their Intentions. Which Plot they had been carrying on from the firſt coming of this King to the Crown of *England*, till they had got His Sacred Perſon into their poſſeſſion. Which made them a fit parallel to thoſe Husband-men in St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, (*Matt.* 21. 38.) who ſaid *amongſt themſelves*, *This is the Heir, come let us kill him, and let us ſeize on his Inheritance.* A Commonwealth which they had founded, and ſo modelled in their brains, that neither Sir *Thomas Moor*'s *Utopia*, nor the Lord *Verulam*'s new *Atlantis*, nor *Plato*'s *Platform*, nor any of the old *Idea*'s, were equal to it. The Honours and Offices whereof, they had diſtributed amongſt themſelves, and their own dependance. But having brought the King (though, as it chanced, by other hands) to the End they aimed, and being intent on nothing more than the dividing of that rich Prey amongſt themſelves, gratifying one another with huge ſums of Money, and growing fat on the Revenues of the Crown, and the Lands of the Church, and guarded as they thought by invincible Armies, they were

1647. were upon a ſudden ſcattered like the duſt before the wind, turned out of all, and pulickly expoſed to contempt and ſcorn. All which was done ſo eaſily, with ſo little noiſe, that the loſs of that exorbitant Power did not coſt ſo much as a broken Head, or a bloody Noſe; in purchaſing whereof, they had waſted ſo many Millions of Treaſure, and more than One hundred thouſand Lives.

Thus have we ſeen the dangerous Doctrines and Poſitions, the ſecret Plots and open Practiſes; the Sacriledges, Spoils, and Rapins; the Tumults, Murthers, and Seditions; the horrid Treaſons and Rebellions, which have been raiſed by the *Presbyterians* in moſt parts of Chriſtendom, for the time of One hundred years, and upwards. Which having ſeen, we ſhall conclude this Hiſtory in the words of that Cenſure which by the Doctors of the *Sorbonne* was once paſſed on the Jeſuits; that is to ſay, *Videtur hæc Societas in negotio fidei periculoſa, pacis Eccleſiæ perturbativa, Religionis rectæ everſiva; & magis ad deſtructionem quàm ad ædificationem.*

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